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## Editorial note



### National Secretary- Buti Manamela

The Young Communist League of South Africa [uFasimba] held its 7th Plenary Session of the 3rd National Congress Committee from the 19th – 21st of April 2013, in Johannesburg.

The National Committee received presentations and was given the opportunity to engage several Ministers and representatives of the Alliance and of the Presidency during its Plenary Session.

The National Committee deems it very important to ensure information is shared with all structures of the YCLSA and to members in all corners of the country and this publication serves that purpose. This edition of the Hola Batsha captures much of the discussions during the 7th Plenary Session.

The Hola Batsha contains a lot of information on topics that is dominating the current media space and will do so for some time to come. It is therefore important that YCLers read, familiarise and engage one another on the content constructively and therefore be strengthened ideologically; this will ensure that the YCLSA speak with one voice. We can't allow that any discussion point causes division between our members, but it should rather serve as an opportunity to sharpen our perspectives and make us more

effective in our socialist revolution.

At this point in time the National Committee is busy preparing for the National Council that will be taking place and much of the Discussion Documents of the Council will be about the topics discussed in this publication.

This year the YCLSA will be celebrating its 10th year since the re-launch of the YCLSA. During the past 10 years a solid foundation has been laid for our organisation and to ensure further growth of the YCLSA as a progressive youth movement and for the work that must be done in the 2nd decade that lies ahead. The next 10 years will be providing the YCLSA with new opportunities; opportunities to effect genuine youth development for the poor and working class youth.

Forward to the next 10 years, forward!



## The SACP, the working class and State Power-For Socialism

A Discussion Document of the YCLSA National Committee  
April 2013

Recently, there have been discussions relating to the role of the South African State, its nature and character and how the SACP should relate to the state by way of advancing towards socialism. There are various approaches to 'State Theory' in general, and the characterization of our state. The release of the National Development Plan has also sparked some debates in society (a separate document on this issue will be released in the build-up to the National Council of the YCLSA to be held in June) in relation to what set of immediate and long-term interventions should be applied in order to deal with the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequalities and to build a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.

We move from the premise that our guiding theory, the National Democratic Revolution, remains relevant and requires the unity of all motive forces under the leadership of the alliance to deepen and advance the NDR as the shortest route towards socialism. The capture of certain levers of the state by the liberation movement presented an opportunity to advance the ideals and build a society as expressed by the theory of a NDR.

This paper is in part a response to the debates on the state and its revolutionary transformation, but also in part to contribute to the ongoing debates within the SACP on the same topic. It derived some of its origins from the exchange between the SACP Deputy General Secretary and the General Secretary of NUMSA, but also from previous discussions within the SACP and the National Committee meeting of the YCLSA (19-21 April 2012) and its discussions of the Political Report.

### A brief background

In the build-up to the Party Special Congress in Durban, 2005, there was a heated debate about the role of the SACP and the working class in relation to 'state power'. This debate was framed at the time as

such, but was more about 'whether the SACP should contest for elections in 2009 on its own'. The debate was postponed to the 12th Congress held in Port Elizabeth, and that Congress, held on the heels of the Polokwane Conference of the ANC, resolved that the 'party will contest elections as part of a reconfigured alliance' and that the Central Committee 'will set-up a commission to look into this question and report at the next Congress'. Again this issue was raised in some of the Commissions at the 13th Congress, and through a lengthy plenary discussion, concluded that the Party reaffirms its resolutions from the 12th Congress.

Since 2005, there have been developments in relation to the context in which the Party was to contest for elections.

Firstly, relations in the alliance, although not at their best, have improved. The anti-communist faction in the ANC, together with those who shared their ideological line but supported Zuma for political expedience, was finally defeated in Mangaung, at least at a national level. Secondly, the party is as much a part of certain apparatus of the state with all but two office bearers being part of the legislative and administrative parts. Thirdly, there are more members of the SACP in legislative, executive and administrative branches of the state. There is still a significant number of SACP cadres serving in ANC structures (and COSATU's). Thus, the SACP is as much part of state apparatus as the ANC is (although only as a party of governance in alliance with the ANC and not necessarily a governing party, which the ANC is).

The key question we are interested in at the moment as part of this discussion is, given all of this, what is the relationship between the SACP and state power, and therefore, the working class and state power, mindful of our use of the phrases 'state power' and 'state apparatus' as separate phrases and for discussion later.

I

What kind of society do we seek to achieve? Our slogan as the YCL is 'Socialism in our Lifetime' whilst the SACP's injunction is "Socialism is the Future: Build it Now".

It is important that we restate some of the obvious, but yet sometimes easily forgotten aims and objectives of the SACP, our mother body, so that we are

able to inform our slogan for 'socialism in our lifetime'. Cde Chris Hani said, to paraphrase him, that 'Socialism is not about big concepts and heavy theory. Socialism is about decent shelter for those who are homeless. It is about water for those who have no safe drinking water. It is about health care, it is about a life of dignity for the old. It is about overcoming the huge divide between urban and rural areas. It is about a decent education for all our people. Socialism is about rolling back the tyranny of the market. As long as the economy is dominated by an unelected, privileged few, the case for socialism will exist'.

The SACP, and the working class, can only achieve all of these through smashing the capitalist state and creating a working class state and apparatuses that will guarantee these basic needs. However, this does not mean that the working class should await the proverbial fall of capitalist walls, or should merely struggle for the ultimate goals, which is the smashing of the capitalist state, without advocating for reforms and immediate transformation of the colonial and apartheid state apparatuses.

Marx and Engels correctly remarked in the Communist Manifesto, that 'the communist fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement'. In the immediate, it is about using the space opened by the democratic dispensation to demand revolutionary reforms in education, health, water, housing and dignity for all our people. It is also about ensuring that these are quality public goods provided for by the 'democratic state' and not for private accumulation. It is also about challenging the logic of apartheid capital, exposing the continued 'urban and rural divide' and laying bare the consequences of 'the tyranny of the markets'.

The working class, with the Party in leadership, should be advocating for an alternative and prosperous society that completely breaks away from the remnants of a colonial and apartheid society and state. It should use that space opened up by the democratic dispensation, and the levers of state and power, to contest the hegemony of capitalism in all sites. This can only be attained through struggle. And thus, the declaration of the Party programme that

Aluta Continua!

## II

The Party Programme, 'The South African Road to Socialism' identifies various but key sites of struggle in our society to build working class hegemony and for power. This is not merely a Gramscian approach to wrestle for power in society, but also intended to build working class unity and contest the hegemony of capitalism in these sites of power.

The affirmation of the NDR, i.e. the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society and the liberation of blacks in general and Africans in particular from political and economic bondage by the 13th Party Congress represents ideological consistency in the party's theory for the road to socialism in South Africa. Since the Party is only actively participating in the component parts of state power, which are the legislative and executive apparatus, and given that it is not entirely in control of these apparatuses but is part of those who are governing, it is important to distinguish between a party in particular levers of power and a party that merely controls certain apparatuses of the state.

In the intervention made by the General Secretary of NUMSA in response to the letter by the Deputy General Secretary of the SACP, there seems to be a confusion between what is the state (1), what are state apparatuses (2), who is the ruling class (3), what is the class character of our society and therefore, what is the nature of the South African state (5) and how should the 'working class (not the Party)' approach issues of state transformation and building blocks for socialism.

This confusion mainly lies in treating Marxism as static, as a dogma, in the form that appears no different from internet accessed quotations instead of a deeper immersion in its inner essence as a living theory and guide to action over a materially changing world. Worst of all, the confusion arises out of treating Marxism as if it were a religion. And, associated with this, proceeding from religious denominational leanings if not sectarianism, rhetoric and derogatory labelling (and somewhat containing racial undertones) as a platform and approach to Marxism. On the contrary, (our) Marxism, and in our case (our) Marxism-Leninism in the context of its further development and in its essence, (concrete analysis of

concrete condition) must be appreciated in its evolutionary and dynamic nature as well as its outlook of society in terms of dialectical and historical materialism.

There are scientific conclusions and theories on the state that Marx arrived at on the basis mainly of his analysis of the Paris Commune and lessons for the working class the world over. But these have over the years been redeveloped in Marxism-Leninism as captured by Lenin as just referred to above. Without being revisionists, the Party adopted its programme for socialism on the basis of its analysis of the concrete conditions pertaining at each period.

In the intervention made by the General Secretary of NUMSA in response to the letter by the Deputy General Secretary of the SACP, there seems to be a confusion between what the state is (1), what are state apparatuses (2), who is the ruling class (3), what is the class character of our society and therefore, what is the nature of the South African state (4) and, how should the 'working class (not the Party)' approach issues of state transformation and building blocks for socialism (5). This confusion mainly lies in treating Marxism as static and not appreciating its evolutionary nature and of society. There are scientific conclusions and theories that Marx arrived at on the basis mainly of his analysis of the Paris Commune and lessons for the working class the world over.

Instead of copying a theory that is developed in "France" based on "French peculiarities" and pasting its application elsewhere, South Africa included, while forgetting that the conditions in which that theory is developed are left behind in "France" or forgetting those conditions in "France", an approach Marx condemned, our approach, in line with Marx, to Marxism-Leninism in South Africa is succinctly summed up by Moses Kotane in his famous Cradock letter dated 23 February 1934. In the short of it, our approach to Marxism-Leninism is rooted in the specific history and conditions of South Africa.

The intervention by NUMSA General Secretary, for instance, fell short of calling for the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and that its abandonment (arguably) by the SACP is a sign of 'abandoning the working class' (a very archaic approach, we must say). The current 'socialist states', as Michael Lebowitz

noted (in reference to Venezuela), are constantly criticized for not being 'socialist enough' based on the fact that they do not follow the Soviet Union model of socialism. But even Marx, and Lenin, warned against this tendency of wanting to adapt every word that they wrote into practice even in conditions where their observations and conclusions may not deem fit. They actually referred to this as dogmatism. Let us take each point in turn also with the hope of further clarifying ourselves (and Cde Jim) on what needs to be done.

### III

The state is a 'system of apparatuses, the state is a type of formal organization. It is distinguished by its specific functions: coercive defence (army, police etc), political governance (by supreme rule-making), administrative management (by rule-application), and judicial regulation of a given social formation', writes Goran Therbon in What does the Ruling Class do When it Rules.

To see the state as a solid unit in the South African context, whose entire machinery is rooted in advancing the interests of only of the capitalist class is being ideologically static. Of course each contending class force in society seeks to 'dominate' society through economic, social and political forces; and thus, until such time each of these contending class forces have subordinated society into their power, the struggle degenerates into two contending class forces: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The colonial and the apartheid capitalist state was a unitary state which used all its apparatuses to defend the interests of the minority by advancing national oppression, gender domination and the super-exploitation of the entire society in economic, social and political participation. This unitary nature of the apartheid state was challenged post-1994 with a majority in rule-making and rule-application. This contest and contradiction within the state represented a challenge to the hegemony of the ruling 'apartheid capitalist' class and an opportunity for transition in all the other levers of the state.

Through wrestling against the agents of apartheid, and in building a new society in the territory of the old, a lot has been done to move forward towards a national, democratic and prosperous society relative to colonialism and apartheid. This contradiction is

important and requires unity of the working class and the poor, but also a change in the social and material conditions of the agents of change, in order for the transition not to be won in favour of apartheid forces.

It is not 'only' the voices of those elected into 'rule-making' or those appointed into 'rule application' which will bring about change, but the collective voice and unity of the working class as the main motive forces of the NDR. The fundamental failure of Black Economic Empowerment in altering the logic of capital lies in the fact that the agents of change were building within the logic the old (which in part was as a result of submission to neoliberalism and in part as a result of the 1994 breakthrough in its characteristic features as a compromise). The same applies, for instance, in the failure in building co-operatives as a means to get the unemployed and the poor to actively participate in the economy due to the historical foundation and logic of accumulation by the previous apartheid regime, and the attempt to build this new form of economic foundations within that logic.

Lets us return once more to Therborn who further says that 'the state is the concentrated expression of a highly complex set of class relations, which are refracted in disjunctures of varying profundity between the different apparatuses. Within limits imposed by the general nature of the state, it is especially probable that the class character of its diverse apparatuses will vary with the link between the tasks of the apparatus and the concern of classes rooted in the mode of production'. This is a further elaboration of the 'non-unitary nature of state power' and a call to strengthen the 'concern(s) of classes rooted in the mode of production' in relation with the 'tasks of the apparatus' of the state. We would not have had, for instance, Khutsong remaining in Gauteng, or the workers in De Doorns getting more than double increase on their wages or many other interventions by the state had it not been of the 'concern of classes rooted in (that) mode of production'.

This is exactly what the SACP programme instructs us to do, the unity of the working class in confrontation and struggle with the various apparatuses of the state in order to complete the wrestle for 'state-power' and create the building blocks for socialism. We

also have to concede that not all the 'state-actors', irrespective of their race, have appreciated the urgent need for change since this has to do with them foregoing the benefits they derived from the old institution.

Also, to assume that the ANC-alliance is a class-unitary movement will be to short-circuit the struggle for a national democratic society and for socialism. It is also important to make a distinction between the state, the government, which are often wrongly interchangeably used, on the one hand, with the party and the class, and not use the three interchangeably as is the case with some of the interventions made by some comrades in our movement when engaging on the relationship between the SACP and State Power.

#### IV

We have already dealt with the definition of both the state and state apparatuses. But it may be important to restate some theoretical issues in order to ensure that we are all on board. The ANC has the majority in rule-making, which is parliament, and has used this platform to ensure that the main apartheid laws are changed in order to facilitate the creation of a 'new society'.

Through the majority in parliament, theoretically, the ANC can also control the executive (administration), judiciary and the army and therefore create a 'new society'. But this has been less than true in practice, and to presuppose that this is far from class struggle and therefore class balance of forces, and that the state is a unitary capitalist state on the basis of defeats at whatever level, be it policy development or application, would result in throwing the baby with the bath water.

There is more confusion, self-contradiction and absolutely dogmatic misunderstanding of Marxism-Leninism along the lines of a tendency identified by Lenin as an infantile disorder. The South African state is condemned as nothing else but a capitalist class state (i.e. machine) exercising no other purpose except brutalising the working class. The very state, without any class alteration, without any alteration of its class foundations whatsoever, is then called on to wield itself and serve the working class.

Socialism in  
our lifetime

The confusion is much more than that. One cadre is condemned for serving in the state (say, Blade Nzimande or Jeremy Cronin) because of coming from the leadership ranks of the Communist Party while another (say Zanoxolo Wayile), from the same movement, is being defended for serving in the state and protected against removal in an executive of the state from a leading position of managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeois, if the dogmatism was to be turned head on against its own logic. To use the argument that the former are being criminalized for participating in the state due to constitutional iterations is infantile and weighs against the argument that this has weakened the Party and its capacity to wage a class struggle.

In as much as the latter is expected to advance the class struggle in institutions of the state, so will we expect the former at the levels in which they serve. To also blame some of the policies which were adopted by government on, say, Jeremy Cronin, constitutes entryism of the highest order. Lebowitz's emphasis that the working class must in the first place wrestle state power from the capitalist class if it were to ensure the development of society towards socialism. This is very much in line with Marx and Engels in the Manifesto of the Communist Party. Marx and Engels point out that the working class must win the battle of democracy. This is both a condition of building a working class state, i.e. the working class organised as the state, and of raising the working class to the position of ruling class.

In order to win there must be contest. And the contest, as the struggle, in line with Lenin, and Joe Slovo's seminal intervention the 'SA working class and the NDR', will go nowhere if it were to take place or be limited as a single battle in a single front, i.e. it has to be fought in all fronts, the state included. The fact that we are still struggling to legitimize some of the progressive pieces of legislation (and also revolutionary relative to colonialism and apartheid) in front of the judiciary, or we had to rely on the judiciary to force the government (under 1996 class project) to provide anti-retroviral drugs, is of significance in the debate on the non-unitary capitalist nature of the state.

Some of the struggles waged by the working class and the poor would have to be waged even under a state in transition to socialism. The South African capital and imperialist capital operating in South Africa or having interests in or eyeing it understand that it has to wage struggles against trade-unions, the Communist Party and even the government for it to realise its interests on private capita accumulation. What is important is how we strengthen struggles against the capitalist class in production relations and challenge the 'varying tasks of the state apparatuses' in order to enforce working class change. After all, it was Chris Hani who said that the 'struggle continues, whether one is a key minister or not', and thus, we should not be complaining.

V

Who is the ruling class?

What the South African ruling class has succeeded in doing is to convince the working class and the poor that the ANC or the government that it leads, by appearance (i.e. parliament, executive, judiciary and the army), is the ruling class and therefore whatever fortunes or miseries, the ANC as the governing party is to blame, and by extension the Communist Party as well (this explains sectarian attacks against the Party and factional oppositions against its leadership serving in government as its role as a Party of governance develops).

Such a misleading interpretation lies in a liberal notion that a party in the leadership of government as a result of winning elections is a ruling party and then confusing this for a ruling class if not concealing the fact that there is a ruling class. The truth is, in South Africa, an unelected ruling class which retains a strategic advantage owing to its economic power, is hostile to the alliance as led by the ANC which is a governing party and which has its support base constituted and is therefore elected in overwhelming majority by the working class.

This is partly based on the historical role that the state played in our society, and the different relations various classes had to that state. It is also partly the result of maintaining a leverage, a political innocence of some sort, just so that it is the political representatives who are at the receiving end of a revolt rather than the bourgeoisie. The liberal notions that we

identified above account, albeit partly, in pitting the people against a political party they hold a revolutionary duty to defend, build and strengthen for the success of the objectives of the NDR.

This does not exonerate the ANC as a governing party and by extension the SACP as a party of government in alliance with the ANC; and neither does it exonerate the entire alliance inclusive of Cosatu which mobilise support for the ANC and has its deployees in state institutions including the government, from some of the social, economic and political problems that our society is facing (such as corruption, lack of capacity to intervene in production relations, maladministration, poor enforcement of legislation etc.).

The suggestion by the General Secretary of COSATU that it will be difficult to 'sell the ANC to the working class' if the National Development Plan is adopted smacks of opportunism and political blackmail, especially given the fact that COSATU was extensively consulted and formed part of the Commissioners that developed the plan. In the period when the worst economic policy, Gear, was adopted, COSATU never even threatened to 'leave' the Alliance (as it is our conclusion from the statement by Vavi) but worked internally within the ANC and the Alliance to ensure that we end the Gear period. More so, even by admission of the NPC and the ANC Mangaung Conference, the NDP is a living document that should be engaged inclusively with policies such as the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan iterations.

With domination of certain leverages of state power, a lot more could have been done in advancing and deepening the creation of an equal society. Political will and boldness should have removed the barriers created to protect and lead to the prospering of white capital post-apartheid. Instead, momentary ideological lapses led to an authoritarian introduction of a macro-economic policy that created the conditions for further accumulation of white capital. The dominance of the IMF and World Bank monetary and fiscal policies of 1996 were all within the framework that There Is No Alternative!

Getting back to Who is the ruling class, if we look at the aggregate cause of the crises of unemployment, poverty and inequality, the capitalist class (i.e. those

who owns the means of production and acquire labour to transform these into commodities) should take the major blame. In the after-math of Marikana, for instance, we noted as the YCLSA on how the killing of workers (police and members of NUM included) and the impending state inquiry will not looking into the role of Lonmin, or the loan-sharks who pushed workers into massive debts, but has reduced this into the shooting and killing of workers in a supposedly 'bargaining issue' and seek to pin the entire blame only on the police. Yes, if there was improper conduct on the part of the police, they must take responsibility. However, Marikana, just like other countless issues such as retrenchments, poverty wages, price-fixing, corruption, nepotism, meat-labelling, rent-seeking, inflated prices for consumer goods should be put on the doorstep of the capitalists.

It is therefore 'lazy-marxism' to conflate the ruling class with the governing party in the South African context, and 'childish innocence to present one's own impatience as a theoretically convincing argument' as Engels pointed out.

Yes, there may be 'agents', willingly or (un)willingly, of the ruling global and local capitalist class whose mandate they see as merely that of the 'deracialisation of the economy' and thus failing to challenge the logic of colonial and apartheid capitalism. The apartheid capitalist state has not been smashed and reduced to fetters, it has not 'withered away'. Thus, the debate about the historical origins of poverty, unemployment and inequality is important not merely for party political gain, but also to explain the root-causes and therefore, the elixir required to resolve such causes. As Marxists, we cannot view the current state as though 'it fell from the sky', and therefore, devoid of its historical and materialistic origins. This will be a messianic view of the state (supposedly released together with Nelson Mandela from Robben Island. But does that fact that we did not smash the apartheid capitalist state mean that we should be reductionists, and reduce the entire state apparatuses of post-apartheid democracy into a mass

(mess) of capitalism? The role of the working class, and its allied class forces (as we will show in the next section) is to smash the colonial and apartheid capitalist state machinery in its entirety in order to

prevent another Marikana, another food labelling scandal, another price-fixing scandal or another collusion with the administration for purposes of corruption. But this cannot be achieved as an event. It is a process.

## VI

This brings us to the question of the class character of our society and therefore, the nature of the South African state.

At the 11th Party Congress, an extensive analysis was made on post-1994 class reconfigurations including the restructuring of the working class given the nature of South African and global capitalism and its impact in our society. This was not the first time a working class party in the world made analysis of the class forces in society, and in particular, the working class. In fact, Marx and Engels used the introduction of the Communist Manifesto to delve into this class analysis of society.

From the Party's analysis (which largely remains relevant today) "the working class can broadly be divided into core, peripheral and informalised sections". The Party programme went on to say that "in addition South Africa's working class is still stratified along racial lines, with the small white working class stratum still predominantly occupying the more permanent and skilled jobs, and the existence of a hierarchy within the black working class itself".

The Party programme goes further to make an analysis of the middle-class, asserting that it is also stratified (although growing and highly indebted) with the white middle class still occupying the highly skilled and managerial positions. The other class section the Party programme identifies is the petty bourgeoisie, which the programme asserts that it is squeezed from both top and bottom by the bourgeoisie.

All of these class forces wage a struggle amongst and between themselves (intra-class struggle) and with the bourgeoisie for survival. At the centre (not that it is neutral) are various state apparatuses of the state playing their role of force, legislation, judicial and administrative. How the state responds to each of these contestations, intra-class and inter-class struggles is very critical.

The unleashing of police forces to quell the Marikana crisis (note this class reality, not just between Lonmin

– the capitalist class – and the workers – the working class but also between the workers and the workers themselves in the aftermath of workers killed by other workers) is one form of reaction against the collective of the working class (the issue of interest, and in whose interest this intervention was made, is debatable); or the deployment of soldiers to Central Africa Republic; or the legislation in favour of tolling of roads and many other interventions which some regard as anti-working class behaviour (again debatable).

Important in this regard, are the unity of the working class in the first instance, and the unity of its allied class forces in the advancement of the NDR and socialism. To further fragment working class organisations, as was the case with AMCU in Lonmin, can only serve the interests of the capitalist class. Likewise, to assume that, as we are made to think wrongly, that there are no problems between Cosatu affiliates Numsa and NUM (as witnessed in this week's public exchanges), (and) Marikana included, can only be to the peril not only of Cosatu but also of the workers; it would be to apply a mask to difficulties that must be resolved and to ignore the task of uniting and building a strong Cosatu.

Are we arguing that the state is Bonapartist? No. We are arguing that the state is an active role player in society and that its various strands and apparatuses intervene dependent on the interests of the class forces and their strengths in a given mode of production at a given point in time. Against pressures from the ideological representatives of capital in parliament, the state (as measured in the role of government) has significantly intervened in the economy, which is against the backdrop of Polokwane resolutions.

What is being wrestled about is the nature, character and class content of that intervention (note that this is not independent or free from the fundamental and prevailing class balance of forces) and the extent within which this advances our society away from the logic of apartheid capital. Take for instance the issue of national planning. This is not necessarily the fortress of capitalist social relations. In fact, neo-liberalism dictates that the state should stay away from the market and allow market forces to determine the production, distribution and consumption of goods and wealth; and for them this represents democracy.

The state should, in their view, only intervene when there is market failure. They also see the role of the state as merely being that of 'creating the conditions within which business can prosper'. However, since we have won the debate on the need for central planning, the issue is, then, how must we influence this as part of the struggle and process to achieve conditions within which we can fight against poverty, unemployment and class inequalities. This is the ideological contestation, political and therefore class struggle that the working class and its unity must be galvanized by the SACP in particular and Cosatu.

## VII

How should the 'working class (which must not be confused for the Party)' approach issues of state transformation and the building blocks for socialism?

We always have to make the distinction between the 'party' as an institution, the vehicle for socialism, and the 'working class' as the motive force, the agent for socialism. The working class builds the Party as their vanguard to collectively advance their struggle, to maintain discipline within working class forces, to create ideological fusion and, more importantly, to lead the working class in the struggle for socialism. One of the mistakes committed in the Soviet Union was to substitute the Party for the class, and thus, convert the Party into bureaucratic machinery that supervises the conduct of each worker in building socialism. This is why, when the Party collapsed, and Party leaders such as Gorbachev announced perestroika, the working class became disintegrated and could not collectively hold the Party accountable and therefore halt the imminent transition to capitalism, let alone to defend the revolution.

Thus, the working class should at all times be central to the vision, strategy and tactics of the Party and the direction that it takes at each point in time. They must be the lifeblood of the Party. But grandstanding and howling at the party are no solutions. As one writer recently cautions in a Party online journal, shouting from the rooftop at one's own liberation movement, and by extension one's political party as well, like a jackal bulks the whole night at the moon is counterrevolutionary.

Once you engage in such behaviour you must be

worried there is something wrong with you or missing with your political activity. It would be advisable to engage instead in a self-introspection first, and the starting point could be, an assessment of your absence if not your influence in "your own" liberation movement and political party. It is actually cowardice for some cadres to decline to participate in either the Party or the ANC so that they can hide behind the oppositionism of either COSATU or its affiliates in social, political and economic issues.

In the words of Harry Gwala, inasmuch as the Party 'must take the masses along', conversely, the working class must lead the Party, and therefore by extension their own liberation movement instead of abstaining or thinking that in collaboration with the liberal media one can exercise outside influence without active participation in the leadership as well as in the rank and file in practical activities.

The tasks of the working class in the current conjuncture is to strengthen its organisations, advance its own independent means and modes of production, and develop its capacity to wage constant struggle with the bourgeoisie and various apparatuses of the state. From this, we have seen through SACP, COSATU, civil society and YCLSA campaigns, there are bound to be results through working class struggles.

Through collective struggles either for wage increases (note that socialism is about the abolition of the wages system), against high energy costs (not just as a problem to the bourgeois as an input to production and by consequence to the workers, but as a problem to the working class), lack of service delivery, are important; it is in those struggles that the working class must discard the practices of individualism and competition as imbued under the capitalist society and begin to cooperate. As Marx and Engels state in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, competition "competition between the workers themselves [i.e. competition within the working class]" can only continually upset the unity of the proletariat.

The Party programme insists that it can only be through 'building socialism' that we involve workers in their own liberation, and therefore, begin the building of a new man (i.e. by this is referred to a new woman as well (as articulated by Che in his pamphlet, Man and Socialism)).

## VIII

By way of conclusion, the Polokwane (and Mangaung) developments represents important questions that the YCL (and consequently the SACP) should interrogate.

The state and its apparatus represents a contradiction, a state in transition (back to barbarism or into a true democratic society, and ultimately socialism), and a state under the domination and control of capitalism. In the course of contradictions and struggles within the state (the main contradiction and struggle), there are also contradictions and struggles within the ANC and the alliance (the secondary contradictions).

Contrary to a seemingly malicious and divisive analogy represented in the media (see Carol Paton, Business Day of 16 April 2013) and in certain quarters of society, the SACP has to wrestle for power and hegemony within the alliance, in society and within the state. The same applies to the YCL. The fact that we are playing a leading role in youth development does not mean that this will be without contradictions and struggle. But they also mean that we have to be tactical in how we deal with the outcomes of some of the setbacks suffered within these struggles and contradictions.

Without succumbing to opportunistic pressures of whether the SACP should contest for elections or not, which in any case it has since 1994 been contesting within the context of the alliance, and also without behaving in an oppositionist fashion as displayed by some of the comrades in our trade union movement, we must theorise, engage and put into practice the outcomes thereof, on how should the SACP deal with some of the challenges emanating from the realm of governance. How long the SACP will contest for elections as part of the alliance is a question which both the Party itself, and working class organisations, will have to constantly engage with and determine from time to time.

How should we, for instance, respond to the scandalous bureaucratic mess relating to the President's residence, or to the crises of textbooks in schools the country over, or to the crises at the Department of Communications, or those areas in the National Development Plan that stand opposed to our per-

spectives? Our answer must be sensitive both to our character as an independent formation and the fact that we are as such involved in an alliance with a revolutionary movement which is made up by the working class and the poor as its overwhelming majority, i.e. a movement of our own in the context of our membership to it in our own right.

What then must our immediate tasks as the Party (i.e. inclusive of the YCL) following this meeting, in the class struggle (i.e. intra- and inter), in intra- and inter-class alliances, as part and parcel of our duty towards the working class without abandoning the responsibility and role that we are playing and must play in the state?

We have to ask ourselves as to what are the tasks that we face in building a united nation, deepening democracy, fighting patriarchy and building socialism in our lifetime. These are the critical questions for a Young Communist League and for a Communist Party.

There will always be criticism of the ANC-led government, and by extension, of the Party (as part of the ruling alliance). This criticism will sometimes be objective, and at times be subjective and accompanied by what seems to be a dialogue between some of our cadres and the media: that the SACP has sold out or that specific individuals in the SACP, by agreeing to participate in government, have sold out. It is critical that in this criticism we distinguish between what is genuine concern for the role and independence of the Party and what is subjective criticism from the enemies of the Party.

We now have a five year account of what it means to have so many party cadres in the ANC and in government. This should be the basis of debates, based on practice, in order for the Party to decide whether it wants to revisit its resolutions of the deployment of party cadres or not. However, to want to 'create an imaginary Communist Party whose role is political education and the moral compass of a ruling ANC' (flattering as this may be) without the Party dirtying its hands in governance, will be foolhardy. We must accept that sometimes what people disagree with is not whether the Party participates in elections and in state power, sometimes people disagree with the form of participation.

The often distorted injunction by Chris Hani is more timeless: “What is important is the continuation of the struggle - and we must accept that the struggle is always continuing - under different conditions whether within parliament, or outside parliament...”

## **A contribution to the critique of the National Development Plan**

**By OJ Fourie**

### Introduction

The African National Congress in its 53rd National Conference held in Mangaung adopted the National Development Plan (NDP). The economic resolution adopting the NDP states as follows.

“The ANC must take the lead in mobilising and uniting all South Africans around a common vision of economic transformation that puts South Africa first. The National Development Plan is a living and dynamic [our emphasis] document and articulates a vision which is broadly in line with our objective to create a national democratic society, and should be used as a common basis for this mobilisation. The ANC will continue to engage with the plan, conscious of the need to unite South Africans in action around a common vision and programme of change [our emphasis]” (p. 22).

This resolution clearly captures the tasks of the ANC arising out of Mangaung with regards to the NDP. It captures the spirit with and within which the ANC in its Mangaung declaration embraces the NDP. In other words, the ANC Mangaung declaration embracing the NDP will be misunderstood, engendering misconceptions and mistaken reactions, if it were to be viewed in isolation from the “main resolution” adopting the NDP. We endorse here reference to the “main resolution” on the NDP. This is not only because of the need to locate the declaration properly but also because there is another resolution which similarly needs to be located properly.

That is the (ANC Mangaung) resolution 2.1.3.1 (p.12) which is dealing with “social cohesion and nation building” (pp. 11-12). In so doing the resolution makes reference to the NDP. It states that the ANC needs to “work towards the implementation of the recommendations of the 2030 National Development Plan as a long term vision which should serve as a basis for partnerships across society...” (p. 12). How this work must and will be undertaken is, clearly captured by “the main resolution” adopting, as quoted

above, the NDP, as a “living and dynamic” document, which the ANC itself, let alone other organisations and social forces, “will continue to engage with”.

Therefore the NDP was adopted in Mangaung, not absolutely for implementation as one extreme seeks to suggest, but for engagement as a basis for “mobilising and uniting all South Africans around a common vision of economic transformation that puts South Africa first”, being “conscious of the need to unite South Africans in action around a common vision and programme of change”.

In fact followed by a series of other resolutions on promoting industrialisation and thus manufacturing and employment creation, “the main resolution” on the NDP goes further, as thus:

“Within the NDP vision, critical instruments and policy initiatives will continue to drive government’s medium-term policy agenda. These include:

§ The national infrastructure plan, which is an opportunity to change the structure of the economy, apartheid spatial distortions, support beneficiation and industrialisation and contribute to facilitating intra-African trade. As a flagship programme of the state, all departments and spheres of government must join in taking forward this programme.

§ The New Growth Path is the economic strategy designed to shift the trajectory of economic development, including through identified drivers of job creation.

§ The industrial policy action plan, which guides the re-industrialisation of the South African economy.”

The above shows that the ANC’s work to engage with the NDP has started, and, as we will show, some policy initiatives that are either contradicted or forgotten in the NDP are clearly reaffirmed as the policies that “will continue to drive government’s medium-term policy agenda”. This gives rise to two tasks. Firstly, where the NDP contradicts these policies it must be realigned to eliminate the contradictory relationship. Secondly, where these policies are forgotten (i.e. not mentioned) in the NDP they are thus accordingly incorporated in it. This for us does not necessarily mean that some of these policies are no longer sites of struggle to the extent we believe that particular aspects in their content must change. The struggle must indeed continue.

Flowing from the above, there are at least two important principles for us concerning the NDP.

First is the need to reaffirm and assert the principle of central planning, coupled with the principle of long-term planning, but which must be buttressed by participatory democracy. This brings into question the composition and modus operandi of the National Planning Commission (NPC) which must be re-looked at anew, re-engineered and re-designed to reflect the class majority of our people and their conditions of life.

This must ensure that both the planning processes and the planning outcomes are rooted and grounded where an overwhelming majority of our people are, in the townships, in the urban semi-peripheries and peripheries, in squatter settlements, in rural areas and villages, deep down in the body of the earth in the mines, in shops, factories and on the roads without necessarily excluding others elsewhere. The virtual consultation that the NPC engaged in for example, notwithstanding that it was extensive, excluded an overwhelming majority of our people. Planning processes must be preceded by and include thoroughgoing capacity building so that the people are included meaningfully instead of being included in a terrain where they are excluded because of capacity constraints.

Second is therefore the principle that was defined by the SACP in its assessment of the first decade of democracy in our country, that no significant centre of power in our society must be able to exercise that power without the presence, influence and impact of the working class and its input including in the state as a terrain of struggle, contrary to the misconception of the infantile disorder.

In view of the conclusion that the Party reached in its assessment, i.e. our first decade of democracy benefited the capitalist class the most in economic terms despite the many advances that the working class achieved and therefore that this, going forward, must as stated above challenged, we must as part of the working class contribute in planning processes, influence and impact on the plans developed as well as in the subsequent changes that are required of

those plans.

It is exactly these two principles that we must advance.

In fact, the NDP itself states that is neither complete nor perfect but that it represents the basis for engagement for the advance of our country in the next years towards 2030. This contains some sense. The plan however contradicts itself. It suggests that the achievement of the vision that it sets out is dependent on the implementation of all the “actions” that it proposes. This does not make sense of a plan that recognises itself as incomplete and imperfect, a plan that calls for public engagement in order that it can become complete and perfect.

As you read the NDP you will realise that the “actions” proposed are preceded by bold vision statements some of which are fairly progressive and well informed. But get deeper in the proposed “actions” then you will appreciate where some of the major problems with the NDP partly lie.

The NDP adopts the capability approach to development. The Indian philosopher and economist Amartya Sen was instrumental in developing this approach which came to be incorporated in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and inform its Human Development Index. But embedded in liberalism or neoliberalism or both and not coupled with without a thoroughgoing process of the transformation of the social relations of production this approach becomes not only reformist in both nature and character and its potential weakened and curtailed but will as such not be an answer to the South African question of development.

In the NDP the capability approach is subordinated or located in the growth school of thought, which is where one of the structural faults lies. This neoliberal growth school of thought argues that employment, resources with which to expand access to education and health care, to reduce inequality and poverty, and to achieve other development goals, trickledown from growth.

Therefore it follows that chasing a set growth target (e.g. 5.2% annual growth rate in average over a set period of time, say by 2030) is the overriding eco-

nomical policy objective to which all else are subordinated or will result. As such, the action plan that is required is to identify constraints to growth and address them. About this ideology, which found its way in the 2013 state of the nation address and as usual in the budget speech, the SACP had the following to say.

“Chasing growth rates as a panacea to our problems has and will never be an appropriate response to our challenges. Similarly the myth that there are legislative and other bottlenecks to be unlocked in favour of business must be carefully examined. It seems to us that all business wants are concessions without any commitments on its part to realise our goals of tackling unemployment, poverty and inequality. The SACP will strongly resist all attempts by business to try and blackmail us into succumbing to their narrow concerns about profits without telling us about their own contributions.” (15 February 2013)

The NDP recognises the New Growth Path (NGP) as one of the policy frameworks that will continue to inform government’s economic policy approach. However, the NDP reconstructs and co-opts the NGP in the neoliberal growth school of thought, which is actually an antithesis of the basic philosophy of and the experiences that led to the development of the concept of NGP.

The NGP was developed following the experiences of what is now commonly known as a jobless growth. Although it has some contradictions, by and large the NGP seeks to alter the quality and character of growth. Basically for the NGP either growth should result from employment creation and decent work or employment creation and decent work should be the drivers of growth.

It is important to recognise that given her history as a victim of colonialism and apartheid, South Africa and her economy require transformation and development, not just growth. Neither will she succeed in achieving prosperity on the basis of transformation and development that are subordinated to growth. In other words, growth as measured in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the South African context will not result in the strategic goals that the national democratic revolution seeks to achieve.

It is also important to recall from South Africa's experience of a jobless growth that the produce of the GDP are not necessarily shared and distributed equitably. This same experience has also shown that growth can occur while the share of the working class in the national income falls and profits rise for the capitalist class to heap up and to accumulate capital.

For example, in other words when it is said that South Africa became one of the world's leading middle income countries in inequalities it is partly because the share of the working class in the national income declined while that of the capitalist class increased. In essence growth in the context was and remained a capitalist growth. The reason why the growth school of thought has the support of the capitalists is because it is essentially capitalist growth in character that is talked about.

Indeed we must similarly pay attention to the rest of the NDP, among others Chapter 3, which deals with the economy and employment. There are actions advocated in this chapter that have serious implications for the youth. These include "a tax subsidy to employers" to "reduce" the "cost" of hiring new labour market entrants who are young; a subsidy to the "placement sector" to identify, prepare and place matric graduates in jobs; simplifying procedures to dismiss workers. These actions could prove to be diametrically opposed to our adopted policy positions. It is important therefore when engaging with the NDP, as with any other policy, to do so from the standpoint of our own policy positions.

The tax subsidy to employers could mean a youth wage subsidy. This has been discarded as a policy approach and has no expression in the latest policy approach on youth unemployment which we recently signed, i.e. the youth employment accord. The "placement sector" could mean labour brokers. Presently the so-called placement sector is nothing other than labour brokers, in the main. However, the youth employment accord again takes a step away from the placement sector being defined by labour brokers. By the placement sector the accord asserts the labour department's centres. That is how we must proceed.

From the above examples of innovative engagement with the NDP as a living and dynamic document can be seen, although still requiring the struggle to be intensified against problematic policies such as the youth wage subsidy and the practice of labour brokers. After all, we are opposed to the youth wage subsidy. We do not want labour brokers. We want it to be easy to find work, not to lose it. Simplifying procedures to dismiss workers could mean making it easy to dismiss workers, which presupposes that the NDP could have bought into the neoliberal argument that our labour laws are rigid and responsible for unemployment or lack of employment creation.

Underlining, however, that there are areas where the NDP is problematic and backing this up with some examples does not mean, as we have highlighted, that there are, relatively speaking, no progressive areas in the NDP. On the contrary, there are progressive lines in the NDP, for example such as in health and education although in some instances not completely reflecting what we would like as our own vision. These need to be defended, advanced and developed further towards the achievement of the final goals that the national democratic revolution and by way of struggle, as part of our work to prepare for a socialist revolution.

The main strategic question is, therefore how must we handle the reality of a plan which on the one hand has progressive visions and actions which we support but on other hand comprises also of a mixture of counter-progressive, neoliberal content that stands in contrast to our principles and adopted policy positions.

Our detractors who are suffering from an infantile disorder and who because of this some at times confuse the ANC for the state, will stand in the rooftop, grandstand and boo us for not throwing the baby with the bath water. Some of them are stuck in the past as if the conditions in the alliance have not changed from those of the 1996 class project which marginalised the alliance and offered no room for engagement. Similarly, we must not be distracted by utopian socialist approaches. We must remain scientifically rooted.

Equally we must not give into those who would like the NDP to be embraced as if it is complete and perfect. Those who do so represent another extreme of the all or nothing tendency but in the polar opposite with the totalitarian rejectionists constituting the other polarity.

In maintaining a scientific outlook on development, we must recognise that there are other class forces in our society that are strongly opposed to the actions that we believe are progressive and are in favour of the actions that go against our principles and adopted policy positions. Ultimately, the real character of the battle will reveal itself in its true nature as the struggle of class against class, i.e. class struggle. It would be upon achieving advances against and victories over hostile class forces that the balance of forces will tilt in favour of what we want not only in the NDP and other public policies, but also in the overall direction of our society.

At the same time, we must be on the outlook of some who are posturing themselves as if they are part of our ranks in the left whereas in fact they are not. For example, the NDP states that small and medium enterprises have an important to play role in employment creation. This is the correct perspective. What constitutes a weakness with the NDP, which the ANC Mangaung resolutions as we have quoted seek to correct, is its lack of focus and emphasis on industrialisation.

The NDP's correct perspective on small and medium enterprises has been attacked. In whose class interests is the attack? Definitely, the attack is in the interests of "big business", conglomerates and imperialist capital in the form of multinational corporations. The attack does not even seek to assert public property rights. If the attack against the correct perspective on developing small and medium enterprises succeeds, then we might equally have to forget about co-operatives development and the participation of the workers and the poor in ownership and control.

The criticism against small and medium enterprises is ill-informed and needs to be engaged, at least from the standpoint of Karl Marx's Capital, and at least Volume I chapter 15 and 25 on an introduc-

tory basis. In reality, the large-scale conglomerates that are promoted by the attack against small and medium enterprises reach a point where, and this is presently the case in South Africa, they are saturated and contribute to the production of what Karl Marx called the industrial reserve army of labour through restructuring, increased employment of production technology and variations in the technical and organic compositions of capital.

### **OJ Fourie is a National Committee member of the YCLSA**



## Co-operative Development Agency

By Braam Hanekom

April 2013

Cde Rob Davies, Central Committee Member of the SACP and Minister of Trade and Industry, gave a brief presentation to the National Committee on the Co-operative Development Agency.

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has developed new legislation which is aimed at creating the right environment for the development and sustainability of co-operatives which will be tabled in Parliament soon.

He stated that there is a serious need for government to recognise the specific nature of co-operatives and to design programmes geared towards addressing their unique needs and that co-operatives themselves were involved in developing this legislation.

The legislation provides for the creation of a Co-operative Development Agency, Co-operative Academy to provide training, a Co-operative Tribunal which will deal with disputes, as well as a new Co-operative Advisory Council.

Through establishing this new Co-operative Development Agency, the department will be able to inject more resources to the development and support of co-operatives so they can create jobs, alleviate poverty and boost economic growth.

The Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP2) has identified several new areas of growth and developments that would create opportunities for co-operatives. These include agro-processing, aqua-culture and organic farming.

Cde Davies has highlighted that co-operatives can play a pivotal role in addressing the challenge of youth unemployment. It was also indicated that the DTI is close to finalising a youth enterprise development strategy.

The department will ensure that co-operative and youth development programmes speak to each other. There will be more synergy between the efforts and initiatives of the DTI and those of the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) so that our focus and “products” assist young people.

South Africa must take advantage of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on co-operatives that was signed by BRICS countries in Beijing. The MOU should open international markets for the South African co-operatives to do business on the global stage.

Among some of the commitments made in the MOU is facilitation of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among co-operative enterprises in BRICS countries. The countries also pledged to facilitate trade and investment cooperation between cooperative enterprises in BRICS countries through exhibitions, trade fairs and delegation visits.

The presentation of Cde Davies has reiterated the call by the YCLSA for the establishment of co-operatives, especially by the youth, in order to address youth unemployment.

For further enquiries contact the Co-operative Unit in the Department of Trade and Industry [jndumo@thedti.gov.za](mailto:jndumo@thedti.gov.za)

**Braam Hanekom is National Committee member of the YCLSA**



## General Secretary of the SACP, Cde Blade Nzimande

By Mafika Damane Mndebele

April 2013

### The Task of YCLSA

The major task of YCLSA cadres is to build a strong organisation in general. The YCLSA faces the challenge of building a strong, mass based, ever-present and dominant organisation. The YCLSA must be present in branches throughout the country. In executing the tasks of the YCLSA we should recruit all young people, and not only young communists. We cannot afford to have some elitist youth organisation of well-read Marxists that locks itself in a board-room and engage with a discourse it has never experienced.

The YCLSA should recruit young workers in factories, universities, schools and everywhere where they can be found and impart to them the basic principles of communism. Central to the task of building a strong YCLSA is to ensure that it indeed remains a home for young communists. We should do so through an intensive political education programme located within the South African Road to Socialism.

The YCLSA needs to ensure that it prepares youth for the struggle of socialism. It further needs to prepare the youth to take the SACP to heights unimagined in this country. We cannot afford to have members who are not actively involved in programmes of the organisation.

YCLSA, SASCO and the Department of Higher Education and Training

The South African Student Congress (SASCO) has for many years adopted the Free Education Campaign. Young Communist needs to ensure that this demand remains on the agenda of Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA).

There are many achievements scored by the Department of Higher Education and Training. Amongst

other things the department has been able to ensure that:

- FET College enrolments has grown substantially over the last few years – from about 350 000 in 2010 to 657 690 in 2012.
- The introduction of fee-free education for poor students in FET Colleges and the expansion of shorter skills courses offered in FET Colleges with the assistance of the SETAs.
- A turnaround strategy to improve the quality of FET College teaching and management has been developed. This includes short term interventions to stabilise some of the weaker colleges, the appointment of qualified Chartered Accountants as Chief Financial Officers in 43 of the 50 FET Colleges, the development of specialised qualifications for college lecturers, special interventions to strengthen student support, just to mention a few.
- A review of the curriculum of the National Certificate (Vocational), i.e. NCV, is being undertaken to tackle some of the challenges associated with the current curriculum including R 2.5 billion for the current MTEF period to upgrade their infrastructure.
- National Student Financial Scheme (NS-FAS) funding for loans and bursaries to students in universities and colleges have expanded massively from R2.375 billion in 2008 to R5.769 billion this year. FET College students coming from poor backgrounds and following occupational programmes are now completely exempted from paying fees.
- Overall for university infrastructure, the Department is spending R6 billion over this 3-year MTEF period, with an additional R2 billion in co-funding from the universities' own coffers, with an estimated 37 000 direct jobs being created. These and many other programmes of the department are practical steps taken by the department to transform Higher Education and improve the life of the poor. YCLSA together with SASCO should continue to take forward campaigns on higher education.

### YCLSA and young workers

Capitalist propagandist has been doing all to convince us that the days of global Capitalist crisis are over, while all evidence points otherwise. We are still feeling the effect of the Capitalist crisis and

witnessing the intensification of attempts to increase the rate of profit maximisation at the direct expense of the working class.

With the increasing casualization and labour 'brokering' of workers in South Africa, today less and less workers for instance have access to provident fund and medical aid. The impact and implications of these realities are enormous. For instance this means that the burden of looking after the health of labour brokered workers becomes the sole responsibility of workers themselves and the state without any employer contribution. Similarly, lack of access to provident fund means an additional burden on the state when these workers retire and depends on grants. This means that both workers and the state are increasingly and directly subsidizing the profits of the bourgeoisie.

The growth of the trade union movement over the last decade has been more in the public than the private sector, as COSATU's own statistics show. The YCLSA must work with young workers and develop a comprehensive campaign to strengthen the trade union movement in the workplace. This is more important to YCLSA as the restructuring at workplace affect in the main young workers who are already at the receiving end of triple challenges confronting our country.

In tackling the challenges facing the workplace we also need to ask some serious questions about the state of the trade union movement in South African today. There is an emerging threat in our progressive trade union movement, where there is collusion between business unionism, elements bought by bosses and tenderpreneurs whose goal is to divide and weaken the trade union movement as part of capturing these unions.

This new tendency which is anti-working class, anti-communist and even having proto-fascist that is in the forefront of trying to destroy the NUM, with the intention to divide and weaken COSATU as a whole.

This is a tendency whose goal is to accumulate by all means, and whose mission has been to capture our movement for purposes of self-enrichment and accumulation. The YCLSA has a duty to recruit young workers and empower them theoretically, so to safe-

guard the Unity of the left.

### Conclusion

The General Secretary of the SACP also directed the YCLSA to play an active role in the ANCYL as it is in a process of establishing itself again. The YCLSA should also be involved in the NYDA to ensure that the NYDA will be a truly progressive instrument to ensure real youth development will take place in the country. The NYDA must be an agent that will work for all young people in line with the Youth Employment Accord and other government initiatives aimed at tackling youth unemployment.

The GS also called on the YCLSA to start "reading and writing" campaigns and a campaign geared towards "cleaning the environment". The YCLSA should stress the destruction that capitalism has on the environment.

Having raised these and many other tasks that the YCLSA must take forward, our General Secretary re-emphasized the importance of political education which YCLSA must do jointly with the SACP. The National Committee welcomed these inputs made by our General Secretary.

**Mafika Damane Mndebele is a National Committee member of the YCLSA.**



## ANC Election Campaign Strategy for the General Elections 2014

By Vuyolethu “TK” Sifanqane

April 2013

Cde Jesse Duarte, Deputy Secretary General of the ANC, presented the ANC’s Election Campaign Strategy for the 2014 General Elections to the National Committee of the YCLSA.

There will be active campaigning in all the 4 860 wards and 53 regions throughout the country. The election campaign strategy consists of five phases in the build-up to the general elections that is likely to take place during May 2014:

1. Lay Foundation
2. Back to the People
3. Mayihlome
4. Siyanqoba
5. Election Week

“The Mandela Generation” is the group born in 1994 at the height of the democratic breakthrough. This is the group that, to a large extent, might not share any political loyalty towards the Alliance but who are not necessarily hostile towards neither the Alliance nor the opposition, mainly the DA. This group has been the target of the recent DA campaigns (including the Mandela poster) that are aimed at misconstruing history of the liberation struggle in favour of the DA. This group will be voting for the first time and consists of an estimated potential voter number of about 3 million.

Effective and efficient campaign tactics are required to ensure that we capture this generation. Key points of focus should therefore be:

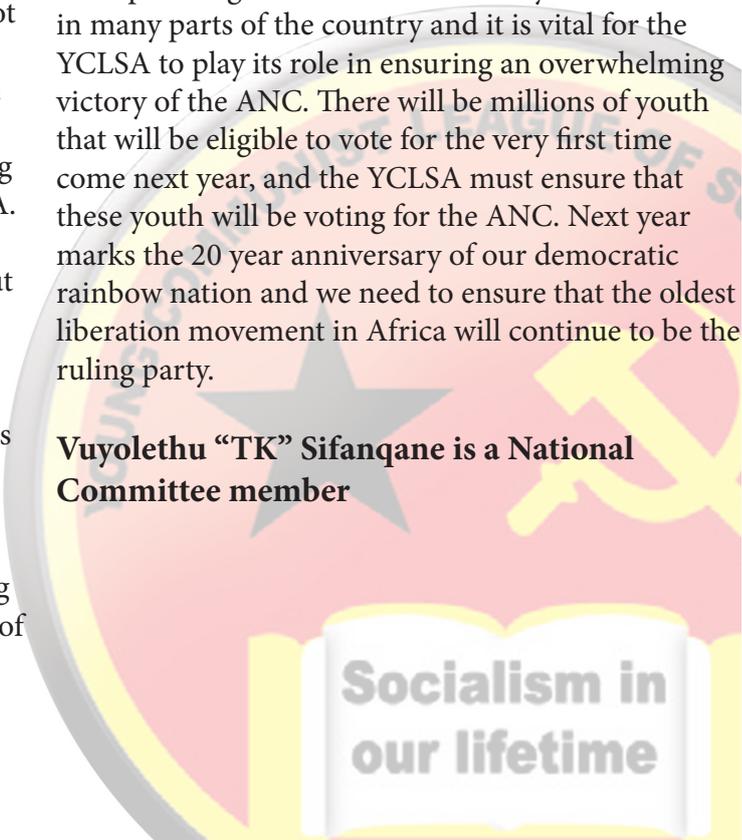
- Social networks such as twitter and facebook should be used where a large number of young people converge to express themselves on a myriad of issues.
- Higher learning institutions and the role of other PYA structures.
- Community based youth groups.

Some of our campaigns and strategies should include the following:

- Door-to-door campaigns remain one of the most basic and effective campaign strategies to reach the masses. Our proactive participation should provide context as to why members of the general public should vote the ANC in the next general elections. We must emphasise the achievements since our democratic breakthrough.
- Memorial lectures are effectively used to reclaim our heroes and to relay their contribution and what it means in the broader struggle for the realisation of the objectives as set out in the National Democratic Revolution.
- Public figures or celebrities who are popular and loyal to the movement with whom the youth can easily associate must also be roped in.
- With an estimated population of around 160 000 inmates, prisons and correctional centres must also form part of election campaigns. The recent parole granted by the sitting president to some prisoners that qualify has generated much interest in politics by the inmate population.

The upcoming elections will be closely contested in many parts of the country and it is vital for the YCLSA to play its role in ensuring an overwhelming victory of the ANC. There will be millions of youth that will be eligible to vote for the very first time come next year, and the YCLSA must ensure that these youth will be voting for the ANC. Next year marks the 20 year anniversary of our democratic rainbow nation and we need to ensure that the oldest liberation movement in Africa will continue to be the ruling party.

**Vuyolethu “TK” Sifanqane is a National Committee member**



**Socialism in  
our lifetime**

## Industrial Policy Action Plan

By Nhlakanipho Zuma

April 2013

Cde Rob Davies, Central Committee Member of the SACP and Minister of Trade and Industry, gave a presentation to the National Committee on the Industrial Policy Action Plan.

The YCLSA has taken serious consideration of the South African economy, its development and its relationship to the employment crisis facing South Africans, youth in particular. In the main these issue can be summed up as the triple challenges, with South Africa having the highest level of inequalities in the whole world, with high levels of unemployment and with millions of South Africans living below the poverty line.

While we are 19 years post-apartheid it is unfortunate that the vast majority of the working class are still suffering from the legacy of the apartheid regime. This is through our eyes a result of imbalances that were left by the regime in the production world as the policies that were used by the regime to oppress the working class are still intact. We therefore as the YCLSA took an initiative of inviting the minister of trade and industry Comrade Rob Davis to give us a perspective on the interventions by the ANC led

government with the main focus being the Industrial Policy Action Plan.

In receiving the presentation it was now clear to us how much damage was done by the apartheid regime and how much time and effort it would take us to redress all the imbalances that were left behind. The fact is that without the concerted effort of all the left forces we are not going to realize socialism in our lifetime. It is very unfortunate to find some of the worker representative organizations (unions) rejecting interventions by the ANC led government in challenging the status quo where workers lose their jobs on daily bases.

In 2010 the clothing, textile and leather industry were dealt a serious blow as workers were losing their jobs due to the duty credit certificate policy which then was revoked to be replaced by a more progres-

sive policy which managed to create a stability in the industry and workers sustained their jobs and later in 2011 more jobs were created as the Clothing and Textile Competitiveness Programme (CTCP) was put in place.

Furthermore the Transnet National Ports Authority (TNPA) had committed to changing its pricing model so as it can be in favour of the export of manufactured goods. The proposal to lower tariffs on tradable exports by 40% reversing the previous tariff structure which favoured commodity exports. South Africa has been known for its great supply of commodities as we had never focused on industrializing the country for creation of a socio-economic growth that will create sustainable jobs, reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and bring us closer to the end of poverty.

These are just but a few examples of the intervention-al programme of the ANC led government which we want to come out clear in support of as an interim intervention to the challenges facing communities. We take note of the DA's illusive statements attacking the IPAP and understand their point of departure which is informed by their capitalist bias industrial policy that seeks to entrench exploitation of the South African worker with intentions to advance their neo-liberal agenda. IPAP is at no stage assuming COSATU but represents the views of the South African productive forces and serves as one of the more successful programmes of government in propelling us towards a National Democratic Society.

The aim of the IPAP is to industrialise the country that will create more decent and permanent employment opportunities for the working class. One of the key components and a challenge at the same time is to utilise and further develop the minerals that we mine instead of just exporting it as raw material. The further development of the raw materials is where the decent and permanent employment opportunities will be created.

The National Committee has welcomed the new IPAP and believe that it will take our economy in the right direction in the fight against unemployment.

**Nhlakanipho Zuma is a National Committee member**

## A Discussion Document of the YCLSA National Committee

By OJ Fourie

April 2013

### National Development Plan

The important aspect for the YCLSA in exploring the National Development Plan (NDP) is not terms of an academic/textual analysis of the document, but to look at it from a political perspective. Currently it is worrying to the YCLSA that the debate on the NDP is creating division within the Alliance rather than strengthening the Alliance in the fight against poverty, inequality and unemployment.

### Composition of National Planning Commission (NPC):

It is important to note who the individuals are who were tasked with developing the NDP. The National Planning Commission (NPC) is made up of individuals who are from various sectors and organisations, with only 1 or 2 members of the NPC working in government. As communists for us it is vital that government takes the lead in planning for the future of our country. The future of the country is too important to purely be left in the hands of any individual from any sector or organisation in society. The future of the country must be determined by the precise, specific, accurate, scientific planning of government for which government officials should be responsible and play the leading role. It should be expected that the implementation of the NDP must also therefore be the responsibility of government. In other words non-government officials can't plan what government should be implementing. Government must take full responsibility for the planning, implementation and monitoring of the development plan for the country.

The South African Road to Socialism indicates that State Power is one of the key sites of struggle in building the road to socialism. This further emphasises the important role that the state has to play in order for us to achieve socialism, to be considered a socialist state. The state therefore needs to play the leading role in any planning that involves the future of the country. Government must set the pace and

direction in which the country must go in order to achievement socialism in our lifetime. Our state is a very big machine that has the potential to achieve the goals as set in the NDP. It will depend on how effective and efficient the state resources can be utilised towards achieving the goals of the NDP.

The YCLSA agrees with the SACP with regards to the NPC:

“The NPC should now be dissolved (having produced a 2030 vision) – and with the incoming 2014 administration a new, more organic State Planning capacity should be established.”

“We cannot have a free-floating NPC, with an apparent presidential endorsement and using the budget of the presidency, playing a lone-ranger game. While we need to encourage public engagement, including critical engagement with our plans and policies, we cannot have a free-floating presidential National Planning Commission effectively playing a factionalist game.”

“Was it remotely realistic to expect a part-time, semi-external national planning commission, composed of 26 commissioners with disparate skills and ideological inclinations, to develop, in 18 months, a 484-page, relatively detailed 20-year plan that would also enjoy universal support from the entire nation and be purpose-fit for implementation?”

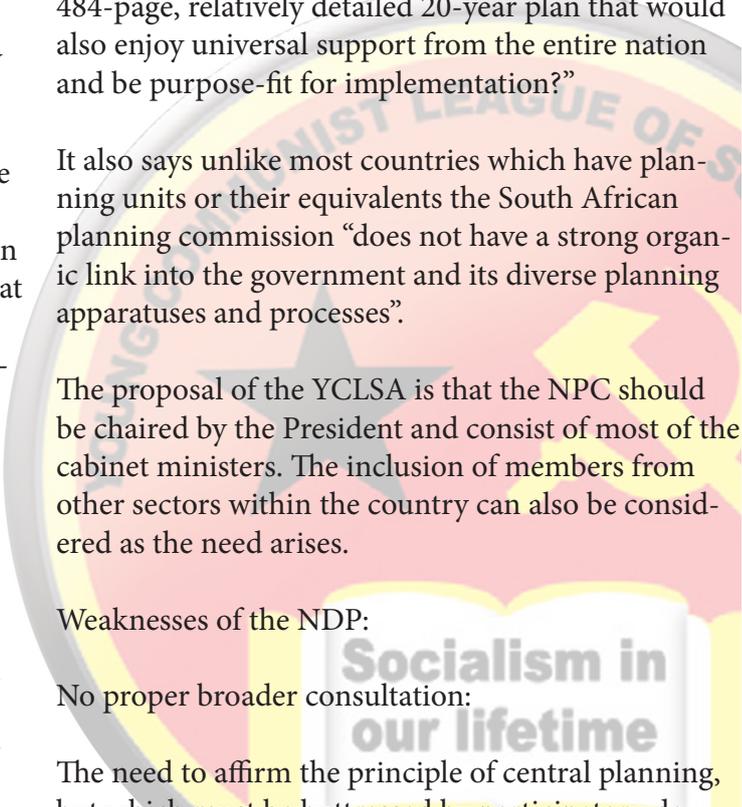
It also says unlike most countries which have planning units or their equivalents the South African planning commission “does not have a strong organic link into the government and its diverse planning apparatuses and processes”.

The proposal of the YCLSA is that the NPC should be chaired by the President and consist of most of the cabinet ministers. The inclusion of members from other sectors within the country can also be considered as the need arises.

Weaknesses of the NDP:

No proper broader consultation:

The need to affirm the principle of central planning, but which must be buttressed by participatory de-



Socialism in  
our lifetime

mocracy with the working class in the forefront. We are concerned that although there was extensive virtual consultation in the development of the NDP, it is also important that the NDP is rooted in our communities, workplaces, townships and in all corners of our country if it were to succeed in its objective of mass mobilization not only for implementation purposes but also for allowing an overwhelming majority of our people to inform and develop the plan as a living document. The latter should have been the case in the first place.

The NPC must make use of democratic participatory process as a platform to contribute in planning and as well as influencing the changes that are required in the NDP and other plans that have been developed. It is exactly this that we shall advance as the YCLSA.

We believe that the consultative processes that the NPC had leave much to be desired. We are of the opinion that most government departments were not involved in the process of contributing to the NDP. Government departments should be central to a government plan (NDP). Government departments should be fully involved and represented in the NPC.

This will also make it easy for the effective contribution of the various government departments towards to NDP if they are involved in the NPC.

Existing policies and documents of government:

Concerning some of the key theoretical assumptions that underpin the NDP there are extremely problematic premises. There is a deviation from the 'growth through employment and decent work' back towards 'trickledown growth' in which other transformation and development objectives are subordinated. The NDP is also lacking in emphasis in relation to industrialization, and focuses more on the services sector as well as the so-called domestic oriented sectors such as hair dressing, office cleaning and maintenance.

Part of our concerns in relation to dealing with youth employment is the idea that unemployment is caused by the labour law regime which liberals regard as rigid instead of the logic of our economy pre- and post-

1996. This leads to the NDP proposing that there must be changes in labour laws so as to make the firing of workers easy, arguing for the strengthening of the placement sector through incentives. The so-called placement sector in South Africa is made up predominantly by labour brokers. The NDP also proposes incentives for employers to employ new labour market entrants. This is highly problematic given that such could mean the youth wage subsidy which as the YCLSA we remain fundamentally opposed.

The NDP focusses more on the services industry to create more employment opportunities. Whereas we believe that the NDP should focus more on industrialisation of the country to create more employment opportunities. Government has already existing policies and documents that are excellent that the NDP does not make mention of. For example PICC, NGP and the IPAP. Obviously we should not consider the one or the other but should see the existing policies and documents contributing towards achieving the goals of the NDP. But it is important that the NDP makes mention of the existing policies and documents.

We must grasp the NDP as an opportunity to unite the alliance, rather than to divide the alliance. The alliance as a whole should meet and discuss how the current form/content of the NDP can be improved and strengthened, rather than just criticizing the NDP as in its current form. This could be an ideal opportunity for the alliance to clarify each member's specific role and contribution towards the NDP for the country. We call on the alliance to hold bi-laterals to enhance the NDP. In doing so we will be using the NDP to advance our NDR! Surely the alliance cannot allow something to divide itself that has been crafted by non-alliance members.

We must see the NDP as an opportunity to build alliance relations and also define afresh what the role of the alliance in government is. We must not forget the fact that the government of today is not the government as of the apartheid regime; the government of today is our government and a lot of the alliance members are in government and rightly so. In the same light as taking ownership and responsibility of the NDP; so the alliance must also take ownership and responsibility of our government. It goes without saying that it is comrades amongst ourselves that are

employed and deployed in all spheres of government which must implement the NDP.

These are some of the things which we will engage with, but hope that the existing policies and approaches would be maintained and further developed, such as the Industry Policy Action Plan and the progressive content of the New Growth Path among others.

The NDP must be seen as a government plan for the development of the country. Government officials therefore need to be the NPC themselves. Government resources therefore will be streamlined towards the achievement of the goals of the NDP. Government will also monitor and evaluate all spheres of government's contribution towards the NDP; and also track the progress made. The YCLSA wants to see all government ministers being involved, in some capacity, in the NDP.

#### Conclusion:

The question is not to accept or reject the NDP. We believe that both extremes are unhelpful and against the spirit within which the Mangaung ANC Conference resolved, which said that 'the NDP is a living document' and that it is not 'cast in stone' with its word as the last of the development of the South African society. The NDP document itself concedes that it is neither perfect nor complete.

It is of utmost importance that the alliance must accept the NDP.

If the alliance is to reject the NDP then, any good that will come for the NDP, the opposition will claim the credit for. There is good that will come of the NDP as it is at the moment and we need to ensure that we position ourselves in such a way, by accepting the NDP, that the good that will come of the NDP will be credited to the government of the alliance. The NDP presents a golden opportunity for us as communists to steer the country towards Socialism. Obviously we have not been able to capitalize on the process thus far with regards to the content of the NDP; but we must take ownership of the NDP so that we will be in position to influence the NDP moving forward. We cannot allow missing this opportunity to influence the NDP which can go a long way to achievement Socialism. To-date the broader

public has fully accepted the NDP as the main document of planning for government; therefore if we can influence the NDP moving forward we will maintain the buy-in of the broader public.

The YCLSA believes that the above mentioned constructive criticism will only enhance the NDP moving forward. "Even though we recognise that the ANC adopted the vision at its Mangaung conference, like many other policy positions in the movement it was not cast in stone and that it should be subjected to constructive criticism."

#### **OJ Fourie is a National Committee member**



## YCLSA NATIONAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

April 21, 2013

The 3rd Congress National Committee of the Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) held over this weekend its 7th Plenary Session. The meeting received a Political Report dealing with the State, State Power and the South African Communist Party (SACP), which excerpts will be released in the course of the week as a contribution to the on-going discussion around the SACP, the working class and the state.

The National Committee was addressed by the SACP General Secretary comrade Blade Nzimande on the challenges and role of the YCLSA in contributing towards building a democratic developmental state for youth development, the SACP First Deputy General Secretary comrade Jeremy Cronin on the National Development Plan, SACP Central Committee members and Minister of Trade and Industry comrade Rob Davies on Co-operatives and on the 5th Review on the Industrial Policy Action Plan, and the ANC Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC comrade Jessie Duarte on the National Elections.

The National Committee congratulated Comrade Yershen Pillay as the newly appointed chairperson of the NYDA, and the Deputy Chairperson, Comrade Kenny Morolong, together with the entire Board. We also congratulate the newly appointed members of the National Task Team of the ANC Youth League. We are looking forward towards renewed efforts to build and strengthen the relationship among the formations of the Progressive Youth Alliance and on working with young people towards their development.

### National Development Plan

The YCLSA is worried about the manner in which the debate on the National Development Plan (NDP) has been structured following the ANC's 53rd National Conference held in Mangaung, particularly a polarising approach in which you either embrace or reject it altogether. We believe that both extremes

are unhelpful and against the spirit within which the Mangaung ANC Conference resolved, which said that 'the NDP is a living document' and that it is not 'cast in stone' with its word as the last of the development of the South African society. The NDP document itself concedes that it is neither perfect nor complete. Our approach will be within that framework and context.

To suggest, on the one hand, that the NDP is a Democratic Alliance (DA) document and based on DA policies as it is a joint contention by both the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) and the DA, is unhelpful. It is also unhelpful for some in the ANC to suggest that we should, in a very authoritarian manner, accept the NDP, as if it were cast in stone. This would be against what Mangaung said about the NDP.

There are two important principles for us.

Firstly is the need to affirm the principle of central planning, but which must be buttressed by participatory democracy with the working class in the forefront. We are concerned that although there was extensive virtual consultation in the development of the NDP, it is also important that the NDP is rooted in our communities, workplaces, townships and in all corners of our country if it were to succeed in its objective of mass mobilization not only for implementation purposes but also for allowing an overwhelming majority of our people to inform and develop the plan as a living document. The latter should have been the case in the first place.

Secondly, is the need to make use of democratic public participatory process as a platform to contribute in planning and as well as influencing the changes that are required in the NDP and other plans that have been developed.

It is exactly these two principles that we shall advance as the YCLSA. At the heart of these principles is also the need to re-look at the structure and the workings of the National Planning Commission.

Concerning some of the key theoretical assumptions that underpin the NDP there are extremely problematic premises. There is a deviation from the 'growth through employment and decent work' back towards 'trickledown growth' in which other transformation and development objectives are subordinated. The

NDP is also lacking in emphasis in relation to industrialization, and focuses more on the services sector as well as the so-called domestic oriented sectors such as hair dressing, office cleaning and maintenance.

Part of our concerns in relation to dealing with youth employment is the idea that unemployment is caused by the labour law regime which liberals regard as rigid instead of the logic of our economy pre- and post-1996. This leads to the NDP proposing that there must be changes in labour laws so as to make the firing of workers easy, arguing for the strengthening of the placement sector through incentives. The so-called placement sector in South Africa is made up predominantly by labour brokers. The NDP also proposes incentives for employers to employ new labour market entrants. This is highly problematic given that such could mean the youth wage subsidy which as the YCLSA we remain fundamentally opposed.

These are some of the things which we will engage with, but hope that the existing policies and approaches would be maintained and further developed, such as the Industry Policy Action Plan and the progressive content of the New Growth Path among others.

We will continue to engage with the NDP building on its strengths and seeking the correction of its weaknesses as well as those policy actions which we believe will not be helpful. We will release an extensive critique as the process unfolds.

#### National Youth Development Agency

We welcome the appointment of the new NYDA board and offer our full support in their efforts to clean up and restore credibility to the beleaguered entity. We urge the new board to consider with speed the process of reviewing the NYDA act.

We are convinced that the current act has many loopholes, remains incomplete and this poses a challenge for the new leadership. The board will determine the new vision, goals and objective of the NYDA. As the YCLSA, we firmly believe that loan finance disbursed by the then uMsohomvu Youth Fund and continued by the previous administration of the NYDA has not made a meaningful impact on the lives of young

people.

We call for the immediate termination of loan finance by the NYDA and for the NYDA to determine a better, more viable means of financial assistance to young entrepreneurs.

We must remind the public that as the YCLSA we were the first organization to call for a forensic audit into the NYDA and for a special investigation into the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) festival. We are pleased with the progress made by the Public Protector on the investigations into the WFDY festival. However, we call on the Public Protector to immediately complete the investigations and release the report the WFDY order to bring the matter to a closure and allow a fresh start for the NYDA.

The YCLSA noted the response by the General Secretary of NUMSA, Irvin Jim, towards the Deputy General Secretary of the SACP. We will be releasing a more extensive response in due course. We are however concerned of the racial undertones contained in the response by comrade Jim which are premised on religious sectarianism as an approach of Marxism. We are of the view that destructive labelling will not take our struggle forward.

#### National Council

We will be having a National Council on the 27-30 June 2013 in Kimberley. We will also be launching our elections programme focusing on getting young people have Identify Documents and register to vote in the elections. We will be celebrating the 91st Anniversary of the YCLSA, and have an expansive Youth Month programme which we will launch in due course.

#### Youth Accord

The YCLSA notes and welcomes the signing by social partners of the Youth Employment Accord this ending week. We are encouraged by the acceptance in the Accord that youth employment programmes should target net new employment creation and avoid displacing older workers. The Accord takes into consideration the important roles that education and training particularly Further Education and Training colleges and Sector Education and Training

Authorities, work exposure and therefore a school-to-work transition programme, public sector measures including youth brigades, youth targets, as well as youth entrepreneurship and co-operatives can play in driving youth employment.

The Accord recognises that the structural challenges facing the economy will need to be addressed if we are finally to achieve success in dealing with youth employment but it is limited. A number of areas in the accord remain open for engagements and further consolation while implementation of the agreed areas will be taking place. As the YCLSA we shall engage in these processes. Concerning structural challenges we shall be advancing our perspective that the ultimate success in dealing with youth unemployment as with unemployment in general lies in transforming, developing, diversifying and expanding economic activity particularly manufacturing to open new spaces for work.

ISSUED BY YCLSA NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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