

**IDEOLOGIZE, ORGANIZE, FOR
TAKE OVER!!!
(IOTA)**



*A Programme to restore the Revolutionary Commitment, Purpose, Vibrancy and
Credibility of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania*

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1. PRELUDE

Centuries ago, human-kind was characterized by social relations between slave and master, landlord and serf. Bloody wars were waged and won for this social milieu to be thrown to the gutters of history. As we now know at the heart of these relations was capitalist greed to control the means of production, distribution and exchange through systematic violent economic deprivation and exploitation of majority by minority.

It is now common course too that upon the prospects of defeat by the militant, advanced majority the oppressor classes have always attempted other discreet neo-colonial ways to retain their ill-gotten power. In a post-colonial situation such as Africa imperialists use these neo-colonial methods driven by national liberals in order to advance their objectives.

Africa has been the hardest hit by rich mineral and agricultural land dispossession in which the majority African masses almost overnight became slaves and servants of the oppressor class. Although this was presented as a contest of race against race, it was actually one between a capitalist adventurer seeking more wealth and the hospitable African dispossessed owner.

Today we live in truly eventful times. This is a time when technology has advanced to its highest levels. A time when capitalism is intensifying its ideological brainwash of society such as that there is no ideology, all people are equal, and people's rights are determined by courts and laws written by them.

The phenomenon of globalization is being used effectively to create a notion of equal nations and equal people. In the midst of deeply widening wealth gap between developed countries and underdeveloped ones, rich and poor in each country are fed the notion that the world is one united prosperous global village. This is utter falsehood!

In order to find legitimacy, national capital breeds national lackeys and accords them the title 'rich'. These recruited rich join the traditional looters and ravage the national resources for the few. They stand idle when the lowest stratum of our society goes hungry, sick, unemployed and uneducated. These people become the appendages of a neo-colonialist agenda masquerading as liberals. South Africa has become a leading figure in consolidating the mask of neo-colonialism.

These are the times we live in and the solution out is outright revolution. A revolutionary party must emerge and negate the bogus agenda and ideas being spread the world over.

2. FORMATION OF THE PAC

The PAC was formed on 06 April 1959 in a direct challenge to white settlers who landed on our shores on 06 April 1652. This was an explicit declaration of intent to take war to these agents of imperialism.

It became necessary to form a revolutionary organization under the liberatory ideology of pan Africanism. PAC committed to the liberation of the politically oppressed, economically exploited and socially degraded African masses following the dismal failure of the African National Congress to provide leadership and political direction to the masses.

The party sought to be the voice of the voiceless, leader of the leaderless and a vehicle for the liberation of the suffering African masses after the ANC abandoned the ranks of the liberation movement by disowning the 1949 Nation Building revolutionary programme and embracing the liberal Freedom Charter. Since then to date, the track record of the ANC is bloated with efforts to preserve white settler privileges while shunning the liberation demands of the poor African masses.

Formation of the PAC opened a new era in the struggle for liberation. An era of challenge, defiance, Armed Struggle and international mobilization of progressive forces against the evil of settler colonialism.

This revolutionary determination and commitment set the PAC on the path for decisive mobilization of the African masses for the overthrow of settler colonialism and a creation of a democratic government of Africans for Africans by Africans in a socialist state, with the ultimate objective to end exploitation of man by man.

The role of the PAC going forward must derive and evolve from its uncompromising historic tasks.

3. DIAGNOSIS OF THE PAC

Despite the fact that it has a revolutionary message and boasts an unassailable political track record the party has failed to make any significant break-through in the present dispensation.

The following factors are identified as responsible for the inability of the party to make any significant headway:

- Party members are not homogeneous on the ideological position of the PAC. This may be attributable to the fact that the party has no party school to enthuse its political ideology to its members;
- At the time of its banning in 1960, the party had no established culture on how it goes about doing its business. This lack of culture makes the management of Party dynamics difficult;
- The party was ill-prepared to canvass its agenda post 1990. This led to a tactical split that turned a strategic colossus, with one section continuing the armed struggle whilst the leadership advocated 'talks'. The damage of this in-clarity continues to this very day in terms of how the public judge the party;
- The party's inability to deal with elections and deployment at all levels;
- The party's inability to define its role in parliament and other legislative

chambers;

- The party's inability to deal with and use the mass media;
- The party's leadership paralysis in exile and on Robben Island continues to this very day;
- Disunity and ill-discipline at all levels;
- The lack of a deployment strategy in waging the Anti-pass campaign which resulted in Sharpeville Massacres robbed the party of all of its leaders who were incarcerated, leaving the people leaderless at home and abroad; and
- The inability of the party to mobilize human and financial resources;

4. THE IDEOLOGICAL POSITION

Ideology is the most fundamental basis for the founding, survival, maintenance and progression of our revolutionary party and the masses. Members are also recruited based on the ideology and its practical application to problems of the time. In our view there can be no party nor revolution without an ideology. And without cadres rooted in ideology and equipped with the skill to expound it, there can be no mass based organization.

A party whose members have no ideological rooting shall waiver, crumble, and ultimately founder into extinction or reaction. If a party sinks into a reactionary organization due to the deviation by political reactionaries it will serve the interests of the enemies of the working people and poor masses. A party must at all times be clear in its ideology and all-round prepared to refine it along the changing societal conditions.

Hereunder is our analysis of the current ideological standing in the party:

Generally speaking there seems to be a very serious lack of ideological clarity amongst party members. The rank and file membership does not even have a basic understanding of the PAC's ideological tenets of Pan Africanism. They follow and support the party on a basis other than ideological. They emotionalize their support and 'love' of the PAC. They do not as yet understand its application and relevance to the people's problems. This makes them a very dangerous and

unsustainable support base in the long term. Mostly, their reasons for joining and supporting the PAC are personal. This means as and when personal circumstances arise they can leave the party and pursue those personal ends elsewhere.

Members who are ideologically un-clarified are further unhelpful in that they may hijack the party to suit their own political and non-political ends away from the founding principle of the party. It is most worrying that this ideological in clarity and / or wavering seem to manifest itself even amongst some senior leaders of the party. Perhaps this provides an explanation for the in clarity in the grass-root structures of the party.

Party members must be reminded that without continuous ideological debate and cleansing the party remains susceptible to hijack by even the 'senior' leaders of our party. Therefore it is of over-arching significance for the party to be clear of its ideological stand. In this way the rank and file will be on guard and the senior leadership shall uphold the ideology and teach it amongst the masses.

To neglect the ideological work is to neglect all the programmes of the party and the party itself. Nothing in the organization brings so much cohesion and movement as the ideology does. The ideology ties the leadership together, the leadership to the members, the party and the masses. It is thus compulsory for each of our member to be endowed with the ideological clarity on Pan Africanism and its fundamental tenets of African nationalism, socialism and continental unity.

There is an argument that to build a strong organization you need only raise people's bread and butter issues; to this we say: opportunistic gutter! This is nothing else but reducing a party into a group of seasonal, non-political, short term bourgeoisie persons. This also takes away the party's vanguard role in the struggle. The party must study the conditions and explain its analysis to the masses, although this may not immediately be seen as bread and butter. The party is a teacher who is patient and educative of society, changing with society, and changing traditional beliefs and stereotypes of society. Even when the party raises the so-called bread and butter issues, it must do so within the context of

our ideology. Every issue must stand the test of our ideology, strategy and tactics otherwise it is a dilution of our party and that does not deserve our involvement.

5. THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Within the ideological framework of pan Africanism, a question ought to be asked whether we should be pursuing a nationalist or class struggle.

On one hand a nationalist struggle is aimed at disposing a foreign force that had invaded the nationality of a given territory that then go to war to liberate themselves. The aim of this struggle is to place the affairs of fatherland in the hands of owner nation. This is correctly a quest for national self determination. In terms of content, a nationalist struggle has little to do with economic matters rather more with taking over the political echelons. It ought to be emphasized that by its nature the nationalist struggle obscures classes and 'unite' all sections of society against a common foreign intruder. By its very nature, a nationalist struggle is temporal and merely a tactic to vanquish a foreign invader.

On the other hand, class struggle brings to the fore all class antagonisms embedded in the structures of society. Unlike the nationalist phase of the struggle, class struggle exposes and unmask the class contradictions rooted in and brought about by economic relations the determinant factor of which is ownership of the means of production. In class struggle all the basis of a revolution are laid bare.

Post 1994 an important question ought to be asked as to what phase of the struggle are we or ought to pursue: national democratic revolution (national liberation struggle) or class struggle?

What is apparent is that the government structures of a foreign intruder have been dismantled. It is also an accepted fact that the right to self determination has been realized – we have a democratically elected African dominated government at all levels. The question as to whether we actually do exercise this

right correctly is a different matter altogether. A simple fact is that an African led government wields the power to structure or restructure any subordinate structure of governance, the economic structures and all other structures of society. The African led government controls the judiciary, the executive as well as the legislative arm of government. Albeit within the trajectory of global discourse, the government is in a position to determine the plight of the people economically and otherwise for better or for worse.

Some of the things that the South African phase of NDR has not been able to do is to uplift an African, restore the dispossessed land to an African, and demand payment of reparations to the African for centuries of plunder and exploitation. Despite the fact that we have an African in charge of government, the structures of the socio-economic relations remains unreflective of the majority of the African people. An African remains on the margins of the economic heartbeat, dispossessed, culturally inferior, and possess no means of production.

Instead of the hard fought goals of freedom and common prosperity, the country enters a sub-phase in terms of which African liberals are picked up by capital and overnight made 'rich extracts' from amongst the masses of our people. And it is indeed true that these liberals are almost always plugged off from amongst members of the ruling party. These African 'rich' extracts have become able defenders of the capitalist class. To capital these have become an important appendage in their quest for survival and search for more ground of plunder and ruin driven by violent lust for profit before people.

These African appendages run errands throughout the country, and at times internationally, canvassing a false idea that their overnight 'wealth' is a result of hard-work and that it will trickle down to the masses of our people. They are at work coining a ploy called a 'patriotic bourgeoisie'. No bourgeoisie can be driven by patriotism as opposed to profit unless class suicide has been openly and practically committed.

A very important argument of this African appendage is that people should not expect much because the country is still on the national democratic revolution

phase. It is obvious that for them in order to obscure their class inclinations, this phase is permanent. Contrary to the agenda of capital and its African appendage, we contend that South Africa should robustly enter the phase of class struggle. In fact the masses are already in this phase, all they need is a similarly inclined party to lead their battles to victory. We contend that the national democratic revolution has fulfilled its brief and has reached a dead-end. Any nationalist struggle aims to deliver a political kingdom, and the delivery of the economic kingdom is a domain of class struggle.

There is nothing that cannot be achieved through class struggle. The African masses cannot continue to toil under the falsehood of a nation that promotes parasites who eat from the collective efforts of the masses. The party must adopt class struggle as its dominant form of struggle to uproot the falsehood, deceit and mass economic deprivation besetting the poor and the working class.

6. THE RELEVANCE OF PAN AFRICANISM

The unity of African people across colonially imposed borders is a fundamental objective of Pan Africanism and the only condition for development, poverty eradication and economic prosperity. In Africa successive governments post-colonial Africa have not advanced this objective. They merely sought to appease their own self aggrandisement agendas in service of neo-colonialism. The African masses have also not been mobilized sufficiently to demand African unity from these neo-colonial clients' governments. This is a challenge that we as Pan Africanists should take up immediately, whilst championing class struggle as the dominant form hereof.

As a result, this failure to break colonial boundaries drawn at the 1884-86 imperial Berlin Conference has led to more grinding poverty, under development, incessant colonial proxy wars, extreme plunder and exploitation of Africa's natural and human resources. These boundaries are more than geographical demarcations. As a matter of fact, more than being geographic boundaries, they amount to social, cultural, political, and economic boundaries.

While imperialism is giving crumbs to the states elite and the national bourgeoisie, they exploit and extract more profit under this neo-colonial era than during direct colonial or in some cases settler colonial rule. The current nation states are the best explicit manifestation of the 'divide and rule' strategy of the enemy which we must undermine by uniting under a Socialist African state. We must make the point that the only way to political freedom, independence, economic and social prosperity can only be found when there is a Socialist African state.

The nation states set-up opens space for manipulation, marginalisation, blackmailing and exploitation of African states giving imperialism a wide scope to thrive in. This set up also makes it difficult for Africans in the Diaspora to develop a common sense of loyalty and allegiance to Africa when it is so divided and in constant proxy conflicts with itself over imperialist interests in most cases. The imperialist world would not be able to isolate any African state or play one African state against the other because we shall only have one government.

A Socialist African state will open way for freedom of movement which will lead to more social integration and undermine divisive regional, tribal and ethnic tendencies. And there shall be no illegal immigrants or foreigners. We shall all be Africans and citizens of one state.

There shall be free trade from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar and the goods we produce shall circulate amongst ourselves. We will control and work our land and beneficiate all mineral resources for the benefits of all of us. We will have a strong bargaining voice against any state or block of states wishing to trade or invest with our state and in all international trade, monetary and economic forums.

Under a Socialist African government there will be common trade, foreign, defence and security, economic, monetary and fiscal policy among others although provinces will also have their own region/province specific policies in certain matters which fall under exclusive jurisdiction and competence of the

regions/provinces and in some instances concurrent jurisdiction and competence of both the central government and the regions/provinces.

African masses especially its youth must be conscientised and mobilized to demand the realisation of formal unity and demand the establishment of a Socialist African state underpinned by class struggle!

7. MATTER OF ORGANIZATION

In order to adequately answer the people 's cry for change and revolution, the party must transform itself into a formidable unit equipped to carry out the daunting tasks of a struggle. Strong structures must be set up to enable the party to move in unity of purpose and cohesively.

There are a number of matters that the party ought to do in order to prosecute the revolution successfully:

- In respect of ideological work of the party, the organization should put in place a party school. It must be a constitutional imperative that all party members elected to leadership must within three months of office attend an intense lecture session. As for members, this should be limited to once annually;
- The party should define objective requirements and criteria for the election of party members into positions of leadership;
- The party should appoint a Chief Executive Officer who will manage the operational day to day affairs of the party accountable to the Secretary General. The incumbent will amongst other things be responsible for setting up all committees of governance, enforcement of the Delegations of Authority, drawing budgets and managing performance of staff members;
- The party ought to consciously establish a robust research unit. This unit will be a feed on all party policy positions. It will report and be accountable to the office of the Secretary General;

- The party must adopt a comprehensive media and stakeholder management strategy. This will help solidify relations with various stakeholders;
- The party must set up a very strong intelligence cadreship. This will help identify and uproot agents' provocateurs. It is sacrosanct to have a functional unit of this nature which should be adequately resourced;
- Without further ado, the party should set up a workers federation. This will be a solid platform to mobilize workers against the scourge of exploitation and capitalism. In preparation for government, the party must immediately open up talks with existing trade-unions to establish this formation;
- The party should formulate an Alliance and United Fronts framework as basis for working with other political parties for the principal purpose of building hegemony of the party in order to advance the revolutionary demands of the people;
- The party must establish a single youth movement to mobilize young people in schools, institutions of higher learning and throughout the communities;
- The Party must establish a viable Treasury department to focus on resources mobilization and investment to support party activities and programmes in the execution of its tasks;
- The party must establish a newsletter to highlight party work, programmes and activities which newsletter should be distributed, on a monthly basis, to party structures, workers, students, the unemployed and communities at large; and
- The Party must establish an Archive to record and preserve the party's documents.

8. MOBILIZATION

We proceed from the premise that organizational work is key to the survival, success and victory for any revolutionary party.

Our assertion is that for a revolutionary party to do proper organizational work it must identify key sectors in society and move them in unison for the final take-

over of power. Once these have been identified revolutionaries must then define each section, and on account of each's peculiar circumstances develop a programme. Failure by our revolutionary party to perform this task will result in it operating piece-meal and disjunctively but most significantly its programs will remain unsustainable political efforts and therefore worthless.

The PAC must play its role, which among others is to organize society by studying her problems. It is a negation of our revolutionary mandate to always scavenge on the masses' spontaneous action without guiding and checking their actions. In fact by studying the material conditions of our people, The PAC must prepare and guide the masses' revolts. Only in this way will our campaigns be politically sustainable and shall we build the most advanced, credible, mass based organization.

We identify the most crucial sectors of our community requiring our immediate organizational intervention as follows:

8.1 Students

There is a compelling need for the party to correctly understand the nature and character of the student movement and students in general. Students are politically at a learning phase, generally speaking. And given the fragility of 'learners' sometimes they misunderstand what they learn, sometimes become too idealistic, impatient and therefore commits a lot of mistakes, most of which are innocent and ignorant. Without a correct grasp of the student movement, the Party shall not develop a correct approach in dealing with students within and outside its ranks

Some students owing to their energy to take part in the revolutionary activities of the Party, now and again violate the party protocol and discipline. The party must sift the genuine from the non-genuine. It will still carry the responsibility to patiently turn the non-genuine into genuine revolutionaries. This is the educative role that a revolutionary party like the PAC must play.

In summary, the PAC will have to do more organizational work interwoven with ideological work amongst the students.

Students, given the enlightened heterogeneous social exposure are an important force in preparation for a mass uprising. This is one sector which, if given intensive attention effortlessly understands a revolutionary message and offer itself for participation. Beside, it is from this youthful sector that the party can be assured of future support and provision of leadership.

One other advantage is that students being geographically confined make organizational work sustainable. We must note that while students can play a huge political role in reawakening society and sparking a revolution, without guidance their struggle will always be short-lived and lack class conscious political objectives of society at large. Students' struggles must be brought in touch with the broader community struggles to give them revolutionary content and context.

In order to carry out this task it will be imperative to set up the student component of the youth movement in all the schools, institutions of higher learning and ultimately take power through SRC's. In this way our party will have a platform from which to prosecute workers/ mass revolution.

8.2 Workers

The workers, constantly confronted with direct exploitation by their employers are the most ready and revolutionary force in society because of their day-to-day degradation. A worker better understands the need for organized effort and action. Workers understand the need to heighten their collective bargaining power in order to protect and advance their interests. From a revolutionary point of view the working environment while putting workers under economic and social hardship it also prepares them for a revolt.

To be able to organize the workers properly, the party needs to understand the character and the complexion of a worker. A worker must be found, made to find

himself, guided and led into political action. More often workers are engaged in economic struggles usually detached from the broader societal political ends. This must become our point of intervention. While approving of their economic struggles we must give the workers movement a political complexion and character for the heaviest blow on capitalism and its national lackeys constituted as governments.

First of all the PAC must negotiate above board with the trade unions for a political marriage under its leadership. Concurrent with this the party must deploy identifiable comrades to work within the trade unions and to take over the leadership of the workers movement. It will do this revolutionary party good to take stock of its comrades who are already in the workers movements and give them a programme to fulfill.

As for farm workers, it would be important to deploy eyes who will operate amongst them and study their problems. Given the fragility and literacy level of these workers an uprising must be done with caution. It will be better to propagate on their problems until they have attained political consciousness to fight the capitalist employer, starting of course with the economic demands ultimately into political ends identical with the people and their party.

8.3 The Unemployed

The struggle to take over the reigns of power must be waged multi-frontal. The plight of the unemployed masses is a direct call on the PAC to offer direction. However, like all other sectors, the PAC must understand the character and orientation of the unemployed masses. Because of the deplorable socio-economic standing they have revolutionary class lineages.

The unemployed are not in themselves on their own class conscious. They do not as yet understand the development of human history, why they fail as they do and who their real enemies are. What they need more is to be employed by the capitalist employer. Therefore for them, their liberators are the employers 'who will make their daily life sustainable.'

The economic relations constitute the unemployed masses into a bunch blind ready to defend the capitalist structure and makes them ignorant to the need for organized action against the class of the capitalist employer. To a revolutionary this does not mean the unemployed are reactionary, rather it means that we need maximized political arousal amongst this sector of our society. The other difficulty in dealing with this strata is their disorganized and detached nature. They are scattered on a large scale and have no platform on which to share their daily torment and spark a battle.

However it remains obligatory for a revolutionary party to raise their plight, organize them and educate them for a mass class-conscious revolutionary action. The following steps are proposed:

The PAC must organize and guide the unemployed organization. This will serve as a common platform by the unemployed masses to express their difficulties and way forward, guided by our revolutionary party. The formation of PAC branches must go alongside with the formation of these organizations.

We must establish the Campaigns committee; Students committee, Unemployed Committee and the Workers Committee working under the office of the National Organizer.

9. CAMPAIGNS

The business of politics is politics. It is an irrefutable imperative that campaigns have both a high moral turning and organizational effect on party members and the public. Campaigns are a test of a revolutionary's boardroom planning and level of maturity and also provide a mirror by which revolutionaries assess their impact in communities.

It is therefore of overarching importance that PAC adopt campaigns as its very lifeline, strategy and tactic of mass mobilization. Party members must truly appreciate the fact that the PAC is not a social club neither is it an organ of

administration. Politics is a nucleus whose very life is dependent on campaigns. Campaigns indicate visible footsteps of a Party's irrevocable movement to power-seizure.

We all must appreciate and be alive to the fact that our very life as a political Party is and must be geared towards power-seizure to place the Party in a position to fulfill its historic tasks and execute the revolutionary demands of the people. Accordingly the Party must, from time to time, identify achievable campaigns whose nature and character is mobilizational and beneficial to Party members and the public alike.

Any revolution anywhere the world over never begins as revolution. All revolutions become revolutions having begun as spark uprisings. These spark uprisings cannot and must not be spontaneous, they have to be organized, disciplined and planned uprisings. Only in this way do uprisings become revolutions. Without a correct process, uprisings simply become uprisings which leave the masses resentful and full of mistrust because sheer uprisings have no results. In fact such uprisings just awaken the enemy to more strength whilst a revolution deposes the enemy and put in place a new revolutionary regime.

Therefore to start the process of revolution which indeed is a process, we must identify and concisely define the immediate issues with mobilization potential. Mobilization potential means, bluntly put, issues that concern the community but have had no leader to stage confrontation with the system. These are matters that are dear to the masses, for which the masses are prepared or would be prepared to surrender their life and limb.

All previous generations have followed this process which yielded historic revolutionary movements. For instance the PAC on formation identified pass laws against which a life and limb struggle was fought.

Today the challenge is on us to identify mobilizational issues which we must use to spark a revolution. It is our view that in the context of our country the following issues are rich with mass mobilization potential: *HIV/AIDS Scourge; Delivery of*

Basic Services; Landownership; Unemployment; Working Conditions; BEE; Education; and Damned Professions.

Each of these sparks are briefly expounded below.

9.1 HIV/AIDS Scourge

It is fact that HIV/AIDS has become the biggest life threat facing human-kind today. It is also fact that the scourge finds easy prey amongst the poor, the populous of which are in Africa, and mainly the working class poor. Millions and millions of rands have been spent on advocacy issues surrounding the disease. Very limited resources have been spent on actual treatment of the ill and actual research to find cure or vaccine. This is obscene. It is our take that for a capitalist adventurer, the scourge has created fertile ground for wealth, particularly the pharmaceutical industry. Those who do advocacy around the scourge rake in millions and millions of rands. The budget fraction in respect of this illness is cause for mass action.

The party must lead on this subject and accordingly the following must be undertaken:

- Adopt a campaign to have every citizen obtain the “*I Know My HIV Status*” certificate. This certificate will be compulsory when doing all sorts of transactions such as banks, employment, and health centre’s without which one should be barred from transacting. The certificate need not state a person’s status, it is sufficient that an individual produces proof that s/he knows hers/his status. The benefits hereof are two fold, namely, to break the stigma around the scourge and to help individuals know their status so that they would have a choice of living differently. And it is indeed our contention that once people know their status, they would conduct themselves differently and live better and longer lives. This will also help the government to know and budget plan for the full extent of the pandemic. The IKMS Campaign is a must;

- The party must immediately carry out a campaign to eradicate all discriminatory barriers visited on people living with HIV and AIDS. The exclusion of people living with the scourge from participating in life insurance policy benefits is a fallacy. Our position is that everybody above 500 CD4 count should participate in the industry. This is so because the scourge is about immune system. Indeed there are people who are HIV negative whose CD4 count is lower than HIV positive persons. The global exclusion is absurd and a total ridicule in science;
- Lastly we must wage campaigns along with NGO's to challenge all structures of government to provide safe and adequate treatment and best resources to deal with the scourge in all its forms, from prevention to treatment. The huge amounts of money go unspent by government and that which disappears to corrupt activities should be used to drastically turn the picture of all people affected by the scourge. We must insist on building top of the range HIV/AIDS specific centers' in every community which must be fully resourced to deliver on the demands. This must be an immediate and fierce campaign with the government.

9.2 Delivery of Basic Services

Government is charged with the delivery of services to the people such as water and sanitation, electricity, housing etc. The delivery gets paid for by revenue generated from amongst the masses of our people through levies and taxes.

The current situation is that service delivery in various communities is at its lowest ebb. This is a result of a number of factors. One of them is the corruption cycle besetting municipalities as well as the appointment of unqualified and incapable managers by the ruling party structures.

It is at this level that in order to attain power, the party must inflict the biggest and most hurting crack on government. Communities must be mobilized and organized to demand and depose various municipalities. At this level, South Africa must turn into a blazing zone, resulting from a tussle with the local

structures of government. In order to depose this liberal rightist establishment we must first break it at local government level because this is where the people are.

As we lead the marches, we must demand an end to municipalities. These have become bulwarks against service delivery swallowing huge amounts in personnel costs and very little in delivery terms. Local government does not and cannot presuppose creation of bureaucratic municipalities in their current form. Local government would be run from the provincial arm of government with efficient and smaller administration organizations in different communities.

9.3 Land Ownership

Despite the fact that a decade has passed since the first democratic elections in 1994, large hectares of land, commercial, agricultural and residential remain in the hands of the few White bourgeois class. This remains so in spite of the international acceptance that the land was usurped from the African majority. The current land reform policies of willing buyer willing seller have failed.

Here in South Africa, Africans are yearning for land. There have been sporadic land occupations across the country by Africans who wished to reclaim what is rightfully theirs, and lead an active economic life. The party must go to African communities and agitate them to reclaim their land. The masses must be shown the hopelessness of bureaucratic attempts to reclaim the land. The many policies and laws passed by government on this matter are meant to contain the hungry working class and poor. We must say, there can be no freedom without land. The restoration of the land to the state on behalf of the people is an inescapable imperative. The land must be repossessed any where, any time, any how, with or without the government. The party must establish land committees to lead communities on a political march to reclaim their land. These should be in every village and township.

9.4 Unemployment

The unemployment is at alarming levels. The qualified and unqualified are hopeless and languish in the streets. The ruling party continuously spread statistics of the employed and brags that they are creating employment. For convenience they do not inform us that for them employment category includes temporary labourer, a hawker, and sheer projections. The fact of the matter is that unemployment levels are rising. With unemployment levels rising, poverty beckons and crime rules. Even the young energetic workforce remains unemployed.

The party must lead the masses of the unemployed against government. These must be led to violent and decisive battles with the government. The so called economic growth cannot be for the benefit of the national lackeys and their principals, international bourgeoisie. Mass actions must be co-coordinated at local, provincial and national levels to uproot unemployment and all its agents. We must demand the right of every citizen to work.

9.5 Working conditions

For those that are employed, the party must defend them against capital oriented laws. The employment sector must be regulated to reflect the work contribution of our people.

9.6 Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)

The so-called BEE is being used to create a smokescreen for the masses. This BEE is a tool used by the bourgeoisie and the willing accomplices to lull the masses. This is not the transfer of wealth. It is the collaboration of the few with the system against the hungry and exploited. All the BEE deals must be reviewed i.e. their origin and who in fact they benefit. The party must demand that the transfer of wealth go to communities, not to the selected few.

9.7 Education

Humankind is agreed that there can be no nation without education and even more so economic activity. Against this notion, the education of our people and the access thereof is a non debatable imperative. We note with deep concern that access to education and better education has become dependent on one's resource capacity. Education is increasingly becoming inaccessible for the poor and the working class. In certain instances where the poor are able to access education it is in such appalling state that it virtually has no impact on the growth of the learner. Higher education has become costly leaving many students outside while others drop out as they fail to keep up with the market regulated school fees. It has become an exorbitant commodity. Needless to point out that the system itself breed greedy and individualistic graduates who are not prepared to work for the common good of their communities.

The state of education in the country is pathetic. Our education system still reflects the historical inequities amongst the people. The historically privileged class continues to benefit from the education sector to the utter exclusion of the many toiling masses. Politically there seems to be no will to address this racial but class legacy of the past. Partly responsible for this is the emergence of careerists and of the emerging middle class within the African community who find it easy to send their children into class dominant white schools.

Therefore, the position of these political careerists has become that of sympathizers as opposed to that of revolutionaries with a direct interest in pursuance of the struggle. Parent and child of the historically dispossessed class who manage to make their way into the class dominant white schools generally become defensive of it and dismissive of the masses' call for immediate and prioritization of their education. The summation of the afore-going is that the class division persists to this day and time in the education sector.

Take the following as the indicators of the problem: -

- **Private Schools**

The perpetuation of private schools by this 'democratic' government is simply the consolidation of class divisions, class superiority, and class subjugation. It amounts to government's acceptance that the wealth difference between one class and the other must persist. The fact of the matter is that the division of schools into private and public schools is a contradiction in terms. The concept of "private school" is just a misnomer. In a country all schools have to serve public and 'national' interests.

The funding of private schools by the government is to legitimize unwarranted and irrational institutions in our society. The government, nationalistic and narrow as it might be, has no basis to continue funding schools which are mostly inaccessible to the broader strata of our African community. Private schools serve what that which they cannot serve by being public schools? The preservation of the private school simply sends a message that people with resources will receive adequate education away from the masses.

The preservation of private schools is an abdication of regulatory and supervisory powers and duties by the government. A revolutionary party cannot but reject private schools as they are used to balkanize our society. All schools must be public-funded by public funds and accessible to the public at large on equal terms and similar standards. Only in this way can we build a truly just education system, productive of pupils with a common revolutionary culture, not ones with superiority mentality culture, the others with a neglected and inferior mentality culture.

▪ **Curriculum**

The school curriculum must be used as a way by which we seek to produce a class conscious citizen. To do this, we need school curricula that imbue our people with confidence to embrace their history and the impending challenges ahead.

Therefore, our school curricula must explain the history of African people before colonialism and imperialism. It must also propound on the history of colonialism

and imperialism. It is only by doing this that we can build strong citizens with a correct understanding of their nation and their common place in the national and class struggle.

It is needless to point out the need for technical skills in our education sector, which will be in keeping with the people's practical problems.

HIV-AIDS being such an enormous threat at this point in time requires us to ensure that our pupils understand its many-sidedness and how to manage and prevent it.

- **Management**

Provision of leadership and management in our schools, particularly 'African schools' is virtually absent. Absenteeism and general ill-discipline by pupils and teachers is appallingly rife. People assigned to manage those schools have no capacity to manage and provide quality leadership. Of course most of them do not have managerial skills. It is only imperative that every principal must undergo a management course so that he/she can enforce and appraise performance.

A revolutionary party like the PAC must interrogate the capacity of the national government leadership to bring the expected results in respect of quality and conducive teaching and learning and environment.

- **Higher Education**

The PAC must insist on the right to learn and of course champion the struggle for free education.

Apart from the argument supra, higher education is de-linked from community work even from its surrounding communities. In general our institutions do not seem to be playing any significant role in community building projects.

The PAC must curtail the practice of our institutions of higher learning being centers for producing elites and untouchables. By placating our institutions in the centers of our community struggles we shall instill our graduates and intellectuals with the revolutionary idea of being one with the masses. This of course also makes it much easier to forge links amongst students, graduates, workers, unemployed, peasants and the intellectuals.

In formal education, institutions of higher learning stand as the last lap in preparing students for scientific and unscientific roles in society. It is for this reason that we pay keen interest in the curriculum to which a study of African civilization and her different stages of development must be a compulsory course.

The party must decisively and openly demand the right to quality, egalitarian and free education for our people. This openly implies the abolition of private schools. All schools ought to serve public interests and will be equally funded as such. As for universities, there will be universities with several campuses, schools and disciplines. The students, parents, and workers must wage a populous campaign to dismantle the commercialization of education. Education shall be free and egalitarian.

9.8 Damned Professionals

First and foremost the party should zealously work for the immediate establishment of a workers federation.

Whilst all workers interests are critical, it is our view that the working conditions of teachers, nurses and the police are most appalling. This must change! These important workers cannot continue to be damned. The party must undertake a concerted effort to canvass their plight to the authorities and public alike. Mobilization, in this way is as critical as organization. Whilst highlighting their plight, it becomes critical to organize these damned professionals into a forum. It is apparent that the mobilization hereof may have to start damning and exposing the incapacity of the current structures or at the most undertake a mammoth task of winning over these structures.

10. GOVERNANCE

From a governance perspective the party must operate within democratic principles. All lower structures shall be subject to the authority and supervision of the higher structures. The minority whilst having the right to raise matters for discussion, shall subject itself to the will, vote and rule of the majority. Decisions of the party shall be by way of passing a resolution, whether by consensus or a vote. The party shall undertake an elective congress every five years in the manner prescribed by the constitution. Annually a national conference shall be held to receive reports and to review its operational plans and thus develop plans for the year ahead.

11. CONCLUSION

IOTA is a necessary account of the state of our revolutionary party, its strategy, tactics and programme of action in the unfolding fulfillment of the revolutionary mandate. PAC has a task to lead the class struggle. We are called upon to provide fearless leadership, vision and political direction for the impending execution of the struggle against capitalism and creation of a socialist order. This is the most precious tribute we can give to the living and late heroes and heroines of the liberation struggle. Their selfless contribution shall not be in vain!

THE END