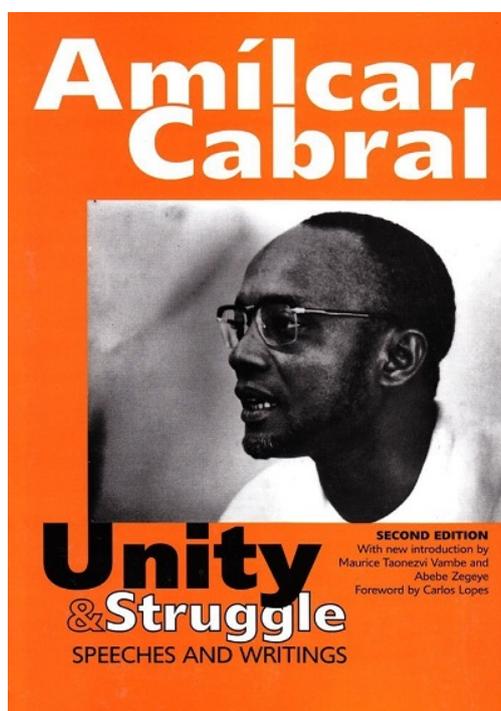


“Apply Party Principles in Practice”

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Amilcar Cabral, from *Unity and Struggle*, 2nd Edition, pages 296-300.

Apply Party Principles in Practice

In the current phase of our struggle and in order to strengthen our organisation in the face of the great responsibilities it has, it is not enough to put into operation all the leadership bodies of the party, it is not enough to do good political work and to operate effectively and victoriously on the military level. In order that the party should be constantly better and rise to the level of its responsibilities, it is essential to apply at all echelons of our life and our struggle the principles of organisation and work which the party adopted as basic norms for its action. A case in point is the of

criticism and *self-criticism* to solve internal questions and contradictions, the principle of *collective leadership* in *leadership* of party life, the principle of *democratic centralism* and *revolutionary democracy* in the decisions to be taken at all levels and in the practice of party watchwords.

1. Develop the spirit of *criticism* between militants and responsible workers. Give everyone at every level the opportunity to criticise, to give his opinions about the work and the behaviour or the action of others. Accept criticism, wherever it comes from, as a contribution to improving the work of the party, as a demonstration of active interest in the internal life of our organisation.

Always remember that criticism is not to *speak ill* nor engage in intrigues. Criticism is and should be the act of expression an open, candid opinion in front of those concerned, on the basis of facts and in the spirit of fairness, to assess the thought and action of others, with the aim of improving that thought and action. Criticism is to be constructive, to show proof of sincere interest in the work of others, for the improvement of that work.

Combat severely the *evil tongue*, the obsession with intrigues, the 'so-and-so says', unfair and unfounded criticism. To assess the thought and action of a comrade is not necessarily to speak ill of it. To speak highly, to praise, to encourage, to stimulate – this is also criticism. While we must always be watchful against conceit and personal pride, we must not stint praise to someone who deserves it. Praise with cheerfulness, with frankness, in front of others, all those whose thought and action properly serve the progress of the party. We must likewise apply fair criticism, denounce frankly, censure, condemn and demand the condemnation of all those who practise acts against the progress and interests of the party, fight face to face errors and faults, help others to improve their work. Derive a lesson from every mistake we make or which others make, in order to avoid making new mistakes, so that we do not fall into the follies into which others have already fallen. Criticising a comrade does not mean putting oneself against the comrade, making a *sacrifice* in which the comrade is the victim: it is to show him that we are all interested in his work, that we are all one and the same body, that his errors harm us all, and that we are watchful, as friends and comrades, to help him overcome his weaknesses and contribute increasingly in order that the party should be increasingly better.

Develop the principle of criticism at all party meetings, in all committees and within the armed forces. In the guerrilla force or in the army, after every operation against the enemy, we must assess the results of that action and the behaviour of every combatant. Derive all the lessons from the action in order to make new and better actions. In education, in production, in commercial activity, in care – in all branches of our life and struggle – we must be capable of criticising and accepting criticism.

But criticism (proof of the willingness of others to help us or of our willingness to help others) must be complemented by self-criticism (proof of our own willingness to help ourselves to improve our thoughts and our action).

Develop in all the militants, responsible workers and combatants the spirit of self-criticism: The ability of each person to make a specific analysis of his own work, to distinguish in it what is bad, to acknowledge his own errors and to discover the causes and the effects of these errors. To make self-criticism is not merely to say 'Yes, I recognise my fault, my error and I ask forgiveness', while remaining ready to commit new faults, new errors. It is not pretending to be repentant of the evil one has done, while remaining convinced deep down that it is the other who do not understand. Still less is making self-criticism to make a *ceremony* so as to go on later with a clear conscience and carry on committing errors. To criticise oneself is not to pay a *response* or an *indulgence* not to offer *penance*. Self-criticism is an act of frankness, courage, comradeship and awareness of our responsibilities, a proof of our will to accomplish properly, a demonstration of our determination to improve constantly and to make a better contribution to the progress of our party. Honest self-criticism does not necessarily demand absolution: it is a pledge that we make with our conscience not to commit further errors; it is to accept our responsibilities before others and to mobilise all our capabilities to do more and better. To criticise oneself is to recognise oneself within oneself in order to serve better.

2. Apply progressively at all levels of the party leadership the principle of collective leadership. Do everything possible in order that the leading bodies of the party may operate genuinely, not on the basis of one, two or three persons, but all of their members, men and women.

Collective leadership means leadership, and order or command made by a group of persons and not by one person alone or some persons in the group. To lead collectively, in a group, is to study questions jointly, to find their best solution, and to take decisions jointly, it is to benefit from experience and intelligence of each and all so as to lead, order and command better. In collective leadership, each person in the leadership must have his own clearly defined duties and is responsible for the carrying out of decisions taken by the group in regard to his duties. To lead collectively is to give to each leader the opportunity of thinking and acting, to demand that he takes the responsibilities within his competence, that he has initiative, that he demonstrates his creative capacity with determination and freedom, and that he correctly serves the teamwork, which is the product of the efforts and the contributions made by all. To lead collectively is to co-ordinate the thought and action of those who form the group, to derive the greatest return in the

accomplishment of the groups tasks, within the limits of their competence and in the framework of the activities of the organisation. But to lead collectively is not and cannot be, as some suppose, to give to all and everyone the right of uncontrolled views and initiatives, to create anarchy (lack of government), disorder, contradiction between leaders, empty arguments, a passion for meetings without results. Still less is it to give vent to incompetence, ignorance, intellectual foolhardiness, only so as to pretend that everyone gives orders. Although it is true that two heads are better than one, we must be able to distinguish between the heads, and each head must know exactly what it has to do. In the framework of the collective leadership, we must respect the opinion of more experienced comrades who for their part must help the others with less experience to learn and to improve their work. In the framework of the collective leadership there is always one or other comrade who has a higher standing as party leader and who for this reason has more individual responsibility, even if the responsibility for the group's tasks falls on all the members of the group. We must allow prestige to these comrades, help them to have constantly higher standing, but not allow them to monopolise (take over) the work and responsibility of the group. We must, on the other hand, struggle against the spirit of slackness, and disinterest, the fear of responsibilities, the tendency to agree with everything, to obey blindly without thinking.

Combat the spirit of the *'big man'*, the traditional chief, *boss* or *foreman* among responsible workers. But combat also the spirit of the *vassal*, *subject* in the chief's service, the *blue-eyed worker*, the *servant* or the houseboy between responsible workers and militants. In the framework of collective leadership, the higher bodies must demand from the more elevated that they provide specific tasks to accomplish, clear watchwords and take decisions on questions within their competence.

Combat the spirit of the group and of sects, closed circles, and obsession with secrecy among some persons, personal questions and the ambition to give orders.

Collective leadership must strengthen the leadership capability of the party and create specific circumstances to make full use of members of the party.

3. Develop, respect and ensure respects for the correct application of democratic centralism in the practice of decisions and the carrying out of party watchwords. Specifically limit the duties of each leadership body and the bodies at the base, thoroughly study each question or each new initiative, take objective decisions and give clear watchwords for every task and the practical achievement of party watchwords.

Democratic centralism means that the power to make decisions, to formulate watchwords, to define tasks – to lead – is concentrated in central bodies or entities, with clearly defined duties, but that these decisions, watchwords etc., must be arrived at democratically, on the basis of interests and opinion of representatives of the masses, on the basis of respect for the opinion and interests of the majority. It means that each decision concerning a new question must be taken after a full and free discussion within the bodies affected by it or from the base to the top, if the matter is one which affects the whole life of the party. After this discussion and in accordance with what emerges from it, the central bodies take a decision which must immediately be carried out at all levels concerned, and without further discussion.

Centralism because the power, the capability to decide and to lead, is concentrated in special bodies and no other body or individual can exercise this power.

Democratic because the exercise of power by these bodies does not depend merely on the will of those who give the orders, but is based on the interests and on the opinions expressed by the majority. In order constantly to improve the practice of democratic centralism we must pay attention to the aspirations and opinions of the mass of the people with regard to every important question of our life and our struggle. We must bring into operation all the bodies at the base of the party and allow constant prestige to the responsible workers and leaders who fulfil their duty. Democratic centralism is a school of discipline, of respect for the views of others, of democracy and the ability to put into practice the decisions taken.

4. Practise revolutionary democracy in all aspects of party life. Every responsible worker must bravely assume his responsibilities, must demand from others respect for his activity and must respect the activity of others. Do not hide anything from the mass of the people, do not lie, fight against lies, do not disguise the difficulties, errors and failures, do not believe in easy victories, nor in appearances.

Revolutionary democracy demands that we should combat opportunism, tolerance towards errors, unfounded excuses, friendships and comradeships on the basis of interests opposed to those on the party and the people, the obsession that one or other responsible worker is irreplaceable in his post, Practise and defend the truth and always the truth in front of militants, responsible workers, the people whatever the difficulties knowledge of the truth might cause. Revolutionary democracy demands that the militant should not be afraid of the responsible worker, that the responsible worker should have no dread of the militant, nor fear the mass of the people. It demands that the responsible worker live in the middle of the people, in front of the people and behind the people, that he work for the party serving the people.

In the framework of revolutionary democracy, power comes from the people, from the majority, and no one should be afraid of losing power. The leader must be the faithful interpreter of the will and the aspirations of the revolutionary majority and not the lord of power, the absolute master who uses the party and does not serve the party. In the framework of revolutionary democracy, we must avoid demagoguery, promises we cannot keep, exploitation of the people's feelings and the ambitions of opportunists. We must act in accordance with realities, to give everyone the possibility to progress, to verify through his own action and that of others that the party is the achievement of us all and that we all belong to the party, which is the instrument our people created for the winning of our freedom and for the construction of their progress. In the framework of revolutionary democracy and in the specific circumstances of our struggle, we must constantly increase the strength of the people, advance bravely for the conquest of power by the people, for the radical transformation (at the base) of the life of our people, for a stage in which the weapons and means of defence of our revolution will be entirely in the hands of the people. Do not be afraid of the people and persuade the people to take part in all the decisions which concern them – this is the basic condition of revolutionary democracy, which little by little we must achieve in accordance with the development of our struggle and our life.

Revolutionary democracy demands that there should be at the head of our party and our people the best descendants of our land. Step by step we have to purge the unworthy elements from our party, the opportunists, the demagogues (deceivers of the people), the dishonest, those who fail in their duty. So as to clear the way increasingly for those who understand and live in its entirety the life of our party, to those who really want to serve the party and the people, to those who carry out and increasingly want to carry out and better their duties as militants, responsible workers and revolutionaries. The correct application of the principles of criticism and self-criticism, of collective leadership, of democratic centralism and of revolutionary democracy is the most effective way for us to gain one to the most important victories, if not the most important, of our life and of our struggle, namely: *to act so that our Party belongs more and more to those who are able to make it constantly better; to make of our Party an effective instrument for the construction of freedom, peace, progress and happiness for our people in Guinea and Cape Verde.*

On Democratic Centralism

In practice, all constitutional systems of democracy rely on the periodical delegation of authority to the centre, and the reciprocal submission of the centre to the authority of the periphery, or mass. Centralisation and decentralisation co-exist. Each one is the condition for the existence of the other. There is no centralism without decentralism, and vice versa.

Democratic Centralism means no more or less than this.

Democratic Centralism is usually constructed in our constitutions from the starting point of the periodic National Congress, the National Conference, or in the case of the parliamentary democracy, the General Election. These are described as the highest, supreme or sovereign authority within such a democratic system.

The general electorate, or the delegated assembly, then confers upon an elected body (e.g. National Executive Committee, Central Committee or House of Parliament) the authority to act as the highest body until the next duly constituted Congress, Conference or General Election. Usually, the term is fixed, as for example, three, four or five years.

Democratic Centralism is therefore not different, or distinct from, what we know as democracy anywhere, including in the United States of America and Great Britain. This is true, even though the term “democratic centralism” as such is treated as foreign and “communist” in those countries.

No doubt because there is no real difference between democratic centralism and democracy in general, it turns out to be rather difficult to find a clear definition of “democratic centralism” in those exact terms. The ANC’s Constitution does not mention it, even though we know that the ANC does explicitly practice democratic centralism, and teaches it in its political schools. SADTU’s Constitution does not mention it. Nor does it appear in the SADTU Rules of Procedure for Meetings.

Works of reference attribute “democratic centralism” to Vladimir Lenin, but these works are not able to point to a clear statement differentiating “democratic centralism” from democracy in general, in Lenin’s words, or in anybody else’s words.

The best available, explicit statement of democratic centralism in principle appears to be that of the SACP in its Constitution, quoted in full below.

The SACP Constitution says that *“All decisions taken by higher structures are binding on all lower structures and individual members.”* Immediately thereafter, it says that *“All higher structures shall be accountable to lower structures and to the membership”*.

Democratic Centralism, when offered as a firm principle, does appear to have the kind of strictness that its adherents often seek. But in practice, as can be seen from the above, it is circular, and it is vulnerable to arguments such as those that happened in COSATU, where those not happy with the authority of the CEC were militating for a Special Congress. They are appealing to the same principle of Democratic Centralism, but at a different point in the same cycle.

Democratic Centralism turns out not to be strict, but instead quite arbitrary in the matter of “line”, as in “party line”, or in other words, “policy”. The National Congress or its equivalent must be permitted to debate from first principles, because it is the highest authority. Therefore the branches or other lower structures must, at least for a period of time prior to Congress, also be capable of addressing first principles and of criticising existing policy.

The dividing line between debate of new policy, and defence of existing policy, is never, and cannot ever be, a clear one.

In the end, the matter becomes a philosophical one - the same one that was addressed by Karl Marx in the second of the (1845) “Theses on Feuerbach”, thus:

*The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a **practical** question. Man must prove the truth... in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question.*

Authority is not found, in the last end, in one structure or another. It must be found in practice, as a subjective, willing act. Textual and procedural arguments are no more revolutionary than the courts of law, which is to say, such arguments are not revolutionary at all. To be revolutionary is to act. Constitutions do not act, but men and women do.

Alliance Constitutions

ANC:

10.1 The National Conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC.

COSATU:

5 .1 The Central Executive Committee ("CEC") manages the affairs of the Federation between meetings of the NC and CC

SADTU:

13.1.1 The National Congress shall be the supreme governing body of the Union and shall meet at least once every four years.

SACP:

BASIC ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES

6.1 The Party shall function according to the conventional principles of democratic centralism that Communist Parties have traditionally adhered to.

6.2 To secure the unity and cohesion of the SACP, members are obliged to defend the SACP and to carry out its decisions. All decisions taken by higher structures are binding on all lower structures and individual members. Members shall have the right to pursue their views internally in the lead up to conferences or congresses with powers under this constitution to determine or reverse SACP policies. No groupings with their own ideology, theory and discipline shall be permitted.

6.3 All higher structures shall be accountable to lower structures and to the membership in the formulation and implementation of policies and, for this purpose, shall wherever possible ensure regular and effective consultation with lower structures and the membership prior to the finalisation and implementation of major policies.

6.6 Members who are elected to positions at a higher level may not stand for election to positions at a lower level in the SACP. They may serve as ex officio members of immediate lower structures.

6.7 It shall be the duty of delegates to fairly and effectively convey to Congress and policy-making conferences the mandate of the constituency that elected them. However, delegates attending such Congresses and conferences shall not be rigidly bound by these mandates and may discuss and vote on the basis of debates at such Congresses and conferences.

8.1 The highest authority of the SACP shall be a National Congress which shall be called every 5 years.

Discipline is the mother of victory

(from a speech calling for organisational discipline)

In all the years of the struggle for national liberation, a struggle which still continues, we have upheld the following slogan: **“Discipline is the mother of victory”**

If we also used to say that “Victory Is Certain”, then it was only because we were sure that our discipline was strong. And it was strong. It had to be strong.

The requirement for organisational discipline has not gone away. It has to be strong. It is not optional.

There is no way to separate one part of our revolutionary theory and practice from another part. Our theory and our practice are woven into one indivisible revolutionary cloth.

There are no parts of our revolutionary theory and practice that are merely “nice to have”, or that can be left aside because some of us are feeling lazy.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in the Communist Manifesto of 1848, wrote that:

*“the first step in the revolution by the working class is... **to win the battle of democracy.**”*

South Africa is still fully engaged in a serious **National Democratic Revolution**. All of us are in this NDR, and the only way out of it for us, **is to win it.**

Defeat at this stage is unthinkable. But it is possible. Defeat is possible, if there is no discipline.

The operative word in National Democratic Revolution is “Democratic”.

Everything about the NDR leads to democracy, because democracy is the only way to form the national will. Democracy is the only way to unity. Without unity in action, we cannot win this, or any other battle.

“Democratic” is not just a word, or a decoration that we award ourselves. It is the heart of the matter. If we are not democratic, we are nothing.

Next, comrades, we have to grasp that **organisational discipline** and democracy are not possible without each other.

We debate our concerns in regional, provincial and national structures. The decisions we take here, at this national level, are for the leadership to carry out **without further discussion**, and for the membership to follow, **without further discussion**.

We know this process very well. We have been through it time after time, and we are now going through it again. It is all meaningless without discipline.

Everything depends upon organisational discipline. Without organisational discipline, there is no democracy. Taken together, we usually call this **democratic centralism**.

All of our constitutions contain this principle of democratic centralism, in one form of words, or another. They may not all call it “democratic centralism” but that is what it is, because all democracy requires democratic centralism. That is to say, democracy requires discussion, decision, and then discipline.

Democratic centralism means that the decisions taken by the membership are binding. That is democracy in a nutshell. That’s democratic centralism. It is compulsory.

Democracy is not a soft option. Democracy is not the opposite of dictatorship, comrades. Democracy is dictatorship. Democracy is the dictatorship of the masses. It is hard like steel. It must be so if it is to complete its tasks.

As usual, the South African Communist Party is very explicit about these matters. This is about simple principles of democracy, without which there is no democracy. Here is what the SACP Constitution has to say under its rule 6, on **Basic**

Organisational Principles:

“Members are obliged to defend the SACP and to carry out its decisions. All decisions taken by higher structures are binding on all lower structures and individual members.

“Members shall have the right to pursue their views internally in the lead up to conferences or congresses with powers under this constitution to determine or reverse SACP policies.

“No groupings with their own ideology, theory and discipline shall be permitted.

“All higher structures shall be accountable to lower structures and to the membership in the formulation and implementation of policies and, for this purpose, shall wherever possible ensure regular and effective consultation with lower structures”

What the SACP is saying here applies to SACP members. All of them. But what the SACP is saying about itself is no more or less than the basic and universal principle of democracy. This principle equally applies to all democracies.

We have enough time to get this right. So let us also consult Amilcar Cabral, from the book, “Unity and Struggle”, as follows:

“Democratic centralism means that each decision concerning a new question must be taken after a full and free discussion within the bodies affected by it or from the base to the top, if the matter is one which affects the whole life of the party.

*“After this discussion and in accordance with what emerges from it, the central bodies take a decision which must immediately be carried out at all levels concerned, and **without further discussion.***

“Democratic because the exercise of power by these bodies does not depend merely on the will of those who give the orders, but is based on the interests and on the opinions expressed by the majority.

“We must bring into operation all the bodies at the base of the party and allow constant prestige to the responsible workers and leaders who fulfil their duty.

*“Democratic centralism is a school of discipline, of respect for the views of others, of democracy and **the ability to put into practice the decisions taken.**”*

We cannot afford to be in any doubt at this stage of our National Democratic Revolution, as to what democracy is, and about what the obligations of our leading comrades are within that democracy.

Let us take one more quotation. This is not to repeat, but to look more closely at the opposite side of the matter, namely **factionalism.**

The following is from an article in the latest edition of “Umrabulo”, the theoretical journal of our liberation movement, the African National Congress. It is by Comrade Thando Ntlemeza, in an article called “In pursuit of unity and cohesion”.

Concerning factionalism, Cde Ntlemeza writes:

“Factionalism requires members to be more loyal to the factions than to the organisation.

“Hence leaders and members of factions are even prepared to act in a manner that threatens existence of the organisation they claim to cherish.

“Faction loyalists do not believe that revolution can be entrusted in the hands of the people who are not members of their factions.

“This means that factionalism produces members who regard themselves as ‘super revolutionaries’ who are ordained to influence the direction of the organisation, even if their approaches have a potential of pulling the organisation to the bottomless abyss of self-destruction.”

This is why the SACP Constitution says that “No groupings with their own ideology, theory and discipline shall be permitted.” We are a union, and it should not be a surprise to any of us, that this union demands unity.

We are not pre-empting the outcome of any disciplinary processes, if we say that this is the first principle around which such disciplinary processes will be decided, one way or the other.

Exercise of power does not depend merely on the will of those who give the orders, but is based on the interests and on the opinions expressed by the majority.

All decisions taken by higher structures are binding on all lower structures and individual members.

This is democracy. This is organisational discipline. This is what we insist upon.

~ * ~

The Cadres: Backbone of the Revolution

When it became clear that a new social class had definitely taken power in Cuba, the great limitations which the exercise of state power would encounter because of the existing conditions in the state became evident: the lack of cadres to cope with the enormous tasks which had to be carried out in the state apparatus, in political organisation, and on the entire economic front.

Immediately after the taking of power, administrative assignments were made "by rule of thumb"; there were no major problems - because as yet the old structure had not been shattered. The apparatus functioned in its old, way, but it had an organisation and sufficient co-ordination to maintain itself through inertia, disdaining the political changes which were the prelude to the change in the economic structure.

The 26th of July Movement, deeply impaired by the internal struggles between its right and left wings, was unable to dedicate itself to constructive tasks; and the Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist Party), because it had undergone fierce attacks, and because for years it was an illegal party, had not been able to develop intermediate cadres to cope with the newly arising responsibilities.

When the first state interventions took place in the economy, the task of finding cadres was not very complicated. It was possible to select them from among many people who had the minimum basis for assuming positions of leadership. But with the acceleration of the process which took place after the nationalisation of the North American enterprises and the large Cuban enterprises, a hunger for administrative technicians manifested itself. The political apparatus had to make an intense effort, while engaged in the tasks of building, to pay ideological attention to the masses who joined the revolution eager to learn.

We all performed our roles as well as we could, but it was not without pain and anxieties. Many errors were committed by the administrative section of the Executive; enormous mistakes were made by the new administrators of enterprises who had overwhelming responsibilities on their hands, and we committed great and costly errors in the political apparatus also, an apparatus which little by little began to fall into the hands of a contented and carefree bureaucracy, totally separated from the masses, which became recognised as a springboard for promotions and for bureaucratic posts of major or minor importance.

The main cause of our errors was our lack of a feeling for reality at a given moment; but the tool that we lacked, that which blunted our ability to perceive and which

was converting the party into a bureaucratic entity and was endangering administration and production, was the lack of developed cadres at the intermediate level. It became evident that the policy of finding cadres was synonymous with the policy of going to the masses, to establish contact anew with the masses, a contact which had been closely maintained by the revolution in the first stages of its existence. But it had to be established through a mechanism which would afford the most beneficial results, both in feeling the pulse of the masses and in the transmission of political orientation.

From this vantage point, we can ask ourselves what a cadre type is.

We should say that a cadre person is an individual who has achieved sufficient political development to be able to interpret the extensive directives emanating from the central power, make them his, and convey them as orientation to the masses, a person who at the same time also perceives the signs manifested by the masses of their own desires and their innermost motivations.

He is an individual of ideological and administrative discipline, who knows and practices democratic centralism and who knows how to evaluate the existing contradictions in this method and to use fully its many facets; who knows how to practice the principle of collective discussion and to make decisions on his own and take responsibility in production; whose loyalty is tested, and whose physical and moral courage has developed along with his ideological development in such a way that he is always willing to confront any conflict and to give his life for the good of the revolution. Also, he is an individual capable of self-analysis, which enables him to make the necessary decisions and to exercise creative initiative in such a manner that it won't conflict with discipline.

Therefore the cadre person is creative, a leader of high standing, a technician with a good political level, who by reasoning dialectically can advance his sector of production, or develop the masses from his position of political leadership.

This exemplary human being, apparently cloaked in difficult-to-achieve virtues, is nonetheless present among the people of Cuba, and we find him daily. The essential thing is to grasp all the opportunities that there are for developing him to the maximum, for educating him, for drawing from each personality the greatest usefulness and converting it into the greatest advantage for the nation.

The development of a cadre individual is achieved in performing everyday tasks; but the tasks must be undertaken in a systematic manner, in special schools where competent professors - examples in their turn to the student body - will encourage the most rapid ideological advancement.

In a regime that is beginning to build socialism, you could not imagine a cadre that does not have a high political development, but when we consider political

development we must not only take into account apprenticeship to Marxist theory; we must also demand responsibility of the individual for his acts, a discipline which restrains any passing weaknesses, and which will not conflict with a big dose of initiative; and constant preoccupation with all the problems of the revolution. In order to develop him, we must begin by establishing the principles of selectivity among the masses; it is there that we must find the budding personalities, tested by sacrifice or just beginning to demonstrate their stirrings, and assign them to special schools; or otherwise, give them greater responsibility so that they are tested in practical work.

In this way, we have been finding a multitude of new cadres who have developed during these years; but their development has not been an even one, since the young companeros have had to face the reality of revolutionary creation without the adequate orientation of a party. Some have succeeded fully, but there were others who could not completely make it and were left midway, or were simply lost in the bureaucratic labyrinth, or in the temptations that power brings.

To assure the triumph and the total consolidation of the revolution, we have to develop different types of cadres: the political cadre who will be the base of our mass organisations, and who will orient them through the action of the Partido Unido de la Revolucion Socialista (United Party of the Socialist Revolution; PURS). We are already beginning to establish these bases with the national and provincial Schools of Revolutionary Instruction and with studies and study groups at all levels. We also need military cadres; to achieve that, we can utilise the selection the war made among our young combatants, since there are still many living, who are without great theoretical knowledge but were tested under fire—tested under the most difficult conditions of the struggle, with a fully proven loyalty toward the revolutionary regime with whose birth and development they have been so intimately connected since the first guerrilla fights of the Sierra. We should also develop economic cadres who will dedicate themselves specifically to the difficult tasks of planning and the tasks of the organisation of the socialist state in these moments of creation.

It is necessary to urge the youth to follow one of the more important technical careers in an effort to give science that tone of ideological enthusiasm which will guarantee accelerated development. And, it is imperative to create an administrative team, which will know how to take advantage of the specific technical knowledge of others and to co-ordinate and guide the enterprises and other organisations of the state to bring them into step with the powerful rhythm of the revolution.

The common denominator for all is political clarity. This does not consist of unthinking support to the postulates of the revolution, but a reasoned support; it requires a great capacity for sacrifice and a capacity for dialectical analysis which will

enhance the making of continuous contributions on all levels to the rich theory and practice of the revolution. These companeros should be selected from the masses solely by application of the principle that the best will come to the fore and that the best should be given the greatest opportunities for development.

In all these situations, the function of the cadre, in spite of its being on different fronts, is the same. The cadre is the major part of the ideological motor which is the United Party of the Revolution. It is something that we could call the dynamic screw of this motor; a screw that in regard to the functional part will assure its correct functioning; dynamic to the extent that the cadre is not simply an upward or downward transmitter of slogans or demands, but a creator which will aid in the development of the masses and in the information of the leaders, serving as a point of contact with them. The cadre has the important mission of seeing to it that the great spirit of the revolution is not dissipated, that it will not become dormant nor let up its rhythm. It is a sensitive position; it transmits what comes from the masses and infuses in the masses the orientation of the party.

Therefore, the development of cadres is now a task which cannot be postponed. The development of the cadres has been undertaken with great eagerness by the revolutionary government with its programs of scholarships based on selective principles; with its programs of study for workers, offering various opportunities for technological development; with the development of the special technical schools; with the development of the secondary schools and the universities, opening new careers; with the development finally of our slogans of study, work and revolutionary vigilance for our entire country, fundamentally based on the Union of Young Communists from which all types of cadres should emerge, even the leading cadres in the future of the revolution.

Intimately tied to the concept of cadre is the capacity for sacrifice, for demonstrating through personal example the truths and watchwords of the revolution. The cadres, as political leaders, should gain the respect of the workers by their actions. It is absolutely imperative that they count on the respect and affection of their companeros, whom they should guide along the vanguard paths.

Overall, there are no better cadres than those elected by the masses in the assemblies that select the exemplary workers, those that will be brought into the PURS along with the old members of the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organisation) who pass the required selective tests. At the beginning they will constitute a small party, but with enormous influence among the workers; later it will grow when the advance of socialist consciousness begins converting the work and total devotion to the cause of the people into a necessity. With the intermediate leaders of this category, the difficult tasks that we have before us will be accomplished with fewer errors. After a period of confusion and poor methods, we have arrived at a just policy which will never be abandoned. With the ever-

renewing drive of the working class, nourishing from its inexhaustible fountain the ranks of the future United Party of the Socialist Revolution, and with the leadership of our Party, we fully undertake the task of the forming of cadres which will guarantee the swift development of our revolution. We must be successful in the effort.

From: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1962/09/misc/x01.htm>



African National Congress Constitution

As amended and adopted at the 53rd National Conference, Mangaung, 2012

Extracts

Rule 2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the ANC are:

2.1 To unite all the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression;

2.2 To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter and in pursuit of the National Democratic Revolution;

2.5 To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised;

2.6 To promote economic development for the benefit of all;

[And more]

Rule 3 **THE CHARACTER OF THE ANC**

3.1 The ANC is a non-racial and non-sexist and democratic liberation movement.

3.2 Its policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to the membership in terms of the procedures laid down in this Constitution.

3.3 The ANC also contests elections as a registered political party drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society.

3.4 The ANC shall, in its composition and functioning, be democratic, non-racial and non-sexist and combat any form of racial, tribalistic or ethnic exclusivism or chauvinism.

[And more]

Rule 4 **MEMBERSHIP**

4.17 On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person designated to administer such oaths:

"I, [...], solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the Organisation voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the Organisation, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the Organisation and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people, and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the Organisation and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism".

Rule 5 **RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS**

5.1 Rights:

5.1 A member shall be entitled to:

5.1.1 Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policies of the ANC;

5.1.2 Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities;

5.1.3 Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, policy programme or activity of the ANC within its structures;

5.1.4 Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC; and

5.1.5 Submit proposals or statements to the Branch, Province, Region or NEC, provided such proposals or statements are submitted through the appropriate structures.

5.2 Duties

5.2 A member of the ANC shall:

5.2.1 Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her Branch;

5.2.2 Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policies and programmes of the ANC;

5.2.3 Explain the aims, policies and programmes of the ANC to the people;

5.2.4 Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country;

5.2.5 Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policies, aims and programme of the ANC;

5.2.6 Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism;

5.2.7 Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally the decisions of the majority and decisions of higher bodies; and

5.2.8 Inform his or her Branch of movement of residence to any area outside his/her Branch and report to the Branch Committee Secretary on arriving at the new area.

5.3 All members shall ensure that they are registered as voters in the constituency in which they live.

5.4 ANC members who hold elective office in any sphere of governance at national, provincial or local level are required to be members of the appropriate caucus, to function within its rules and to abide by its decisions under the general provisions of this Constitution and the constitutional structures of the ANC.

From: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=10177>