

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWAZILAND

Freedom, Democracy and socialism

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FOUNDING STATEMENT

A major step forward in the history of Swaziland has been made with the establishment of the Communist Party of Swaziland (CPS).

This is a historic move that the CPS and its allies feel will contribute greatly to the struggle for freedom by the Swazi people against the monarchic autocracy of Mswati III and the rapacious capitalist system in the country.

The CPS has been formed by Swazi women and men who have witnessed a virtual war against the Swazi population, which is burdened by political and social oppression, as well as enforced mass poverty, the worst HIV-AIDS pandemic in the world and a horrifically low level of life-expectancy.

We aim to end this murderous degradation of our people, whose labour and capacity are being exploited by the monarchic autocracy and the capitalist system in order to enrich the ruling class.

Time is running out for the Mswati regime. It can no longer sustain its rapacious exploitation of Swaziland's economy and its people. Only a new order based on a fully democratic dispensation that involves all of the Swazi people as equal partners will be able to halt and reverse the ruin imposed on our country.

We join Swaziland's mass democratic movement for change, and pledge our full support to building that movement, led by PUDEMO and SWAYOCO, to bring about a National Democratic Revolution in Swaziland.

We believe, however, that Swaziland needs a Communist Party in these days of intensified protest against the regime in order to present a socialist alternative and perspective to the Swazi people. The CPS is a Marxist-Leninist party that struggles for socialism.

We do not want to see the monarchic autocracy reformed or dressed in democratic trappings to appease the liberal sensibilities of any interest group or the international community.

We seek a complete end to the autocracy and the establishment of a free, democratic multi-party system. We seek a revolutionary transformation to society that ends poverty, disease, the oppression of women, and the stifling of the youth.

We believe that such a revolution will enable the Swazi people to begin to build a socialist society, in which there is full equality and pervasive democracy.

The Swazi people face a deep crisis of survival. The CPS will campaign for

- The unbanning of all parties and organisations, and institution of an interim government drawn from all parties, organisations, churches and trade unions that will set about creating the conditions for free and fair democratic elections in Swaziland.
- The ending of the monarchic autocracy and the transfer of much of its wealth to the immediate tasks of fighting disease and the worst aspects of poverty (such as access to water and sanitation); the confiscation of all crown property and the declaration of Swaziland as a Republic
- The dismantling of the hated tinkhundla system
- The isolation of the Mswati regime by all countries of the international community and the suspension of foreign business activity until the autocracy is dismantled
- The rights of all workers to organise into trade unions, that are in turn empowered to join the political process individually and through their unions and federations

- Access to land by all who wish to work it under a controlled system of collective rights – in the short term to tackle the severe food scarcity that afflicts 40% of the population
- An emergency food security strategy, linked to the above demand
- The creation of radical processes to empower women in society, and to make women's health a top priority in health care
- The creation of local workers and peasants organisations to articulate the needs of the urban and rural poor
- The creation of an emergency economic, industrial and employment strategy to begin to find a way out of the crisis brought about by the Mswati autocracy and the ruling class.

These are our immediate demands to address the current situation. They are spelled out in more detail in the CPS's programme and strategy.

The CPS is a democratic, non-racist, non-sexist organisation that fights for the interests of the workers and the poor to bring about a just society – a socialist society – in Swaziland. The CPS is open to all Swazi's who agree with its principles and who adhere to its programme, constitution and are willing to take part in its work.

The presence of the CPS in Swazi society will provide a decisive impetus for realising the National Democratic Revolution, for ending the oppressive Mswati regime and for placing Swaziland on course to a better future.

WORKING CLASS POWER - FOR SOCIALISM

STRATEGIC PROGRAMME

1. Introduction

1.1. The Communist Party of Swaziland (CPS) is being formed at a stage when the development of capitalist society in Swaziland, which is characterised by certain obsolete feudal aspects merged with developed capitalism, is at a relatively late stage. It is a stage that is fraught with crises that are both inherent to capitalism's own trajectory at the specific national level and intimately bound up with the dynamics of the crisis and acceleration of capitalism and imperialism globally.

1.2. The CPS is entering the struggle at a point when there is more than ever a need for direction and leadership to set Swaziland on a course to socialism through a revolutionary transformation of society. This will put an end to the capitalist system and Swaziland's system of monarchic-autocratic governance (the latter imposed through the *tinkhundla* system) both of which exist in symbiosis, though the monarchic autocracy rests on a distorted and eccentric application of aspects of traditional rule to support a system of monarchic dictatorship (autocracy).

1.3. In national and regional contexts down the years capitalism has shown itself fully able to function in a variety of political settings – fascistic, oligarchic, liberal democratic. In Swaziland it has accommodated itself to and has been accommodated by the monarchic autocracy through the *tinkhundla* system.

1.4. The CPS provides a revolutionary analysis of Swazi society that goes beyond the contexts of seeking democratic improvement and the reform of the current system to make it more amenable to liberal capitalist/imperialist entities at home and internationally in order to better integrate with them and be accommodated by them. The CPS is a Marxist-Leninist party, which draws on the analyses and creative combining of theory and practice exemplified by the Marxist-Leninist tradition.

1.5. The CPS understands that freedom for the workers, peasants, poor, marginalised and oppressed in Swaziland is only possible by ending the capitalist system altogether and the monarchic autocracy

that is its special national feature in Swaziland. Only a socialist system will provide a democracy that is far-reaching enough to rid Swaziland of its massive developmental crises, its terrible poverty and human suffering and the deep exploitation by the bourgeoisie of Swaziland's working class, peasants, the rural and urban poor and the marginalised. Crosscutting these loci of oppression is the oppression of women in Swaziland, which must be fought on a variety of fronts.

1.6. More than ever, Swaziland needs a party of revolutionary socialists – of Communists – who are able to support and help boost the mass movement for democracy, for a national democratic revolution that will end the current system of governance and class oppression and begin the process of transformation towards a socialist society based on equality and an end to class oppression and divisions.

1.7. The people of Swaziland – both those in the country and under diaspora – face a massive challenge to bring about a national democratic revolution and to set the country on course towards a situation where the ruin imposed by capitalism and the monarchic autocracy is reversed. The monarchic autocracy and the capitalist system have jointly presided over a process of degradation of the majority of Swazi citizens. They are destroying the very basis for Swaziland's future – its people. They are responsible for destruction of so much life, hope and potential in Swaziland – a ruinous process carried out merely in order to line the pockets of the royal parasites, the governing elite and the capitalist class as a whole.

1.8. Poverty, disease, landlessness, and lack of access to education, health, nutrition and a decent quality of life are the default effects of the economic and political system pursued in Swaziland. They are the direct and inevitable consequence of monarchic rule and capitalist domination. They are not oblique or unforeseen side effects of this system but, given the long experience of human development under capitalism, can only be considered as the deliberate strategy and policy of the ruling class.

1.9. The brutal impoverishment of the majority of the Swazi people, and their pervasive oppression through disease, hunger, lack of opportunity and gender inequality serves to ensure their subjugation to the monarchic autocracy. This is backed up by cultural intimidation, brute force and the systematic repression of political opposition and civil society.

1.10. Important efforts backed or promoted to some extent by government or permitted through civil society to tackle some aspects of disease and hunger are in the final analysis doomed to becoming unsustainable as they coexist with an accelerating and flagrant waste of resources and finances – which government engineers – on supporting the ruling elite and the monarchy and, for example, on promoting pointless vanity construction projects of no use or benefit to the people.

1.11. Swaziland's course of human development under the current system is dysfunctional and disastrous. In every sphere of life crucial to human subsistence, survival and growth the prospects for any positive change under the ruling system are non-existent.

1.12. Capitalism and the monarchic autocracy are destroying the suffering majority of the Swazi people. They have effectively declared war on the people through imposed neglect and outright oppression by intentionally denying the people the chance to thrive and prosper by the fruits of their own labour and with full access to the resources of good health, full education and total access to the wealth of society to develop their potential.

1.13. For the CPS, only a national democratic revolution that leads the way to socialism can reverse this terrible reality and begin to repair the colossal damage done to the people. Only socialism will be able to put that damage and harm behind us once and for all.

1.14. We need to take stock of the extent and nature of the crisis of human development imposed on the majority of the Swazi people. The nature of the offense committed against them by the current system must be analysed and assessed as fully as possible from a

communist perspective. This stock-taking is the backbone of the strategy-building work of the Communist Party of Swaziland.

1.15. We need at this stage in the struggle for a national democratic revolution to be fully aware of the problems that face our people – the workers, peasants and the poor and marginalised. We need to share this information as widely as possible to assist the knowledge and awareness of the popular front that will advance the national democratic revolution, and to advance the strategic planning and work of the Communist Party. We also need continually to update our information on the state of the Swazi people and sponsor and promote further research so that we know their situation as thoroughly as possible.

1.16. In part, such information is needed for a definite practical application. We need to be aware of the integrated policies and programmes that will be needed under a democratic dispensation to end and reverse the ruin imposed by the current system and regime. Swaziland is a small enough country with a small enough population to make such mapping possible at deep enough levels to provide a clear view of the situation facing the population.

1.17. In each case such analysis aims to answer the following central questions: “What is the situation of the people? How is their exploitation realised? In this context, what are the strategies and tactics of the oppressors – the ruling class and its compradors in Swaziland and abroad? What is the role of the Communist Party in mobilising against this? What strategies will we formulate and pursue based on this information?”

1.18. We need to posit post-capitalist strategies, based on such information, that are realistic and informed. The actual material situation of the people, their quality of life and life perspectives are what concern us. The point of the revolutionary change we champion for Swaziland is rooted in uplifting the situation of the oppressed in all respects. Only socialist democracy can find the solutions needed to end class and gender oppression in Swazi society.

1.19. Swazi communists must be fully aware, through clear Marxist analysis, of the specific nature of the impact of the years of oppression the Swazi people have suffered and what that oppression means in concrete terms today.

1.20. In this we must, as in other areas of our work, intertwine theory and practice in creative and dynamic ways, drawing on Marxist-Leninist analyses and applying them to the problems the people of Swaziland now face and in order to formulate our own strategies and tactics.

1.21. In a broader and deeper perspective, as the communist investigation into the state of the people proceeds, and particularly as it matures under the conditions of national democratic transition, and this continual investigation will be increasingly carried out by the people themselves, in their communities, through the Communist Party's local structures and by their activists.

1.22. As the democratic revolution takes hold, this Marxist assessment and analysis of the state of the people will increasingly examine how the process of liberation is involving and benefiting the workers, peasants and the poor and marginalised – and with the crucial cross-cutting concerns of ending the oppression of women. More broadly still, the point is to create dynamics of real socialist democratic action, learning and knowledge building that are self-reflective and that involve people as subjects and architects of their own revolutionary transformation.

1.23. Thus the culture of political analysis will be interlinked with the people as the subjects of that analysis, and as the subjects of social transformation, and – crucially – with their own voice concerning their situation and needs. This is necessary for a number of reasons, not least of which is to learn from the mixed experiences over the decades of communist and workers parties around the world in developing socialist democracy and – also crucially – inner-party and inner-movement democracy. This dynamic is crucial to the success of our strategic and tactical work.

1.24. The Communist Party of Swaziland does not isolate its national strategic objectives and concerns from the broader regional, continental and global struggle against capitalism, sub-regional imperialism and imperialism worldwide. Our analysis of the state of our people, of the workers and the poor and our strategies emanating from it interacts greatly with the concerns of other struggles for socialism, particularly that taking place in our immediate neighbouring countries. The situations facing the oppressed of the region are closely interrelated, and much of the change needed to end that oppression must take place in concert and through systematic and practical solidarity. We look at our international work and our internationalism in more detail later in this strategic programme.

2. The oppressed majority

The population

2.1. Swaziland's population is subject to different estimates, sometimes based on extrapolations that draw on projections of the growth rate of the population. Such extrapolations are misleading as they assume steady annual population increases with no regard to the situation in different parts of the country or among different sections of the population. Statistics produced nationally and by international bodies do not offer a class analysis of the figures amassed. For instance, increases in population are not broken down into whether they take place predominantly among middle-class or working class and poor sections of the population. We can, however, get some idea of the state of degradation suffered by the majority of people in Swaziland from available population statistics.

2.2. In 2003, the United Nations estimated that the population of Swaziland was 1,077,000. The 2007 census carried out in Swaziland put the *de jure* population at 953,824, which is 123,476 fewer people. Other figures collated by the CIA and the World Bank give a higher population figure (1,354,051 people in 2010, according to the CIA) that has risen due to a steady increase in the birth rate of on average 1.5%. But it seems that in reality the population is under more pressure, given the increases in the mortality rate to roughly 20 per

1,000 people. The point is reinforced when we take into account that the *de facto* population level given by the census in 2007 was 912,229, while the census for 1997 recorded a *de facto* population level of 929,718 people in Swaziland. There is therefore some indication that the population is shrinking.

Table 1: Total resident population (*de jure*) by region according to sex, Swaziland 2007 Census

Sex	Region				
	Hhohho	Manzini	Shiselweni	Lubombo	Total
Male	128,170	141,075	95,705	95,548	460,498
Female	135,591	152,185	106,981	98,269	493,026
Total	263,761	293,260	202,686	193,817	953,524

Table 2: Total resident population (*de jure*) by rural and urban areas according to sex, Swaziland 2007 Census

Sex	Area		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Male	358,327	102,171	460,498
Female	388,738	104,288	493,026
Total	747,065	206,459	953,524

2.3. There are also many thousands of Swazi nationals and people of Swazi origin living in South Africa and in other nearby countries. We do not know enough about their situation or demographic make up. Among them are many exiles, comprising PUDEMO and SWAYOCO members and supporters, communists and other opponents of the Mswati regime.

Poverty

2.4. About 77% of the population (based on the above census data) live in rural areas. 76% of the rural population live in poverty. Poverty in urban areas is estimated at about 49%. Altogether about 70% of the total population live in poverty. 40% of households have always suffered food insecurity – which means simply that they have never had enough to eat. Overall, about 48% of the population do not get enough food to eat – they are undernourished. But only about a

quarter of the population receive food aid. Poverty figures by region record that in **Shiselweni** some 76% of household live below the poverty line, in **Lubombo** the figure is 73%, in **Hhohho** 70% and 61% in **Manzini**.

2.5. The royal family and the bourgeoisie live in extreme affluence, extracting their wealth from the labour of the working class and peasants and land workers, as well as from the land itself and its resources. Some 56% of the wealth of Swaziland is held by the richest 20% of the population. The poorest 20% of the population, on the other hand, own less than 4.3% of wealth. Swaziland's Gini Coefficient is put at 0.51, a measure of deep inequality by international comparisons.

2.6. Swaziland's designation by the World Bank as a middle-income country is meaningless for the poor majority – over 70% - of the population. It is a middle-income country for the middle classes, and a high-income country for the freeloading royal elite. Swaziland's GDP growth rates, though they have slowed, are also meaningless as far as the great majority of the people are concerned. The working class and the oppressed experience zero growth and zero wealth, and yet their plight is made progressively worse by the crisis of the capitalist system and the unsustainable and wasteful excesses of the monarch and the royal elite.

Tackling poverty

2.7. The crisis of poverty in Swaziland intersects with all areas of society and the economy. It also has a dynamic and dialectical relationship with the crises that both give rise to it and which are in turn created and exacerbated by it. The process of a national democratic revolution must address this holistically as well as within sectored perspectives (such as industrial development, agriculture and land use, health and education), and where poverty has special ramifications, as with the status of women and the situation of the young.

2.8. The CPS aims to tackle poverty through short, medium and long-term integrated measures and planning. Part of the immediate crisis –

such as HIV-AIDS treatment, food insecurity and malnutrition, and some of the worst problems of lack of access to basic water, sanitation and adequate housing – can be alleviated using immediate wealth redistribution/reallocation through the expropriation of wealth squandered on the royal elite and the rich. For example, the monarch earns an estimated E40 million a month. This needs to be immediately diverted to target crisis areas where people are suffering the worst poverty. Other forms of expropriation also need to be examined to see what resources are available for redistribution.

2.9. The CPS knows, however, that wealth redistribution is not enough to further the material needs of a national democratic revolution and the building of socialism. At best it can redress some of the harm being done to the poor majority. The most important resource of Swaziland is its people. The chief way to begin to solve the problems that face our people is through the creation of a production economy that is geared to meeting the needs of the people and of generating the wealth necessary to build a decent quality of life for all. This entails constructing the basics of job creation, skills development, vocational education through integrated education and employment strategies. These are the basics of the wealth creation that will develop a decent quality of life for our people. The CPS aims for the complete eradication of poverty in Swaziland.

2.10. The crisis of poverty and social dysfunction in Swaziland is such that we must address the social issues of education, health, housing, and access to water and sanitation as primary strategic issues and not as secondary policy concerns. They must receive prominent attention in the design of the political work of the CPS as the focus of the work of the CPS's Strategic Commissions.

Health and nutrition

2.11. Swaziland has the highest HIV-AIDS rate in the world (26% of the overall population; nearly 45% among men and women aged between 30-34) and one of the lowest levels of life expectancy (31.3 years in 2004, according to UNDP Swaziland in 2007). This represents the greatest threat to the existence of the population and

the chances of Swaziland having anything like a sustainable future. Tackling the HIV crisis is of paramount importance for the CPS, and doing so is in turn a vital element of the class struggle against the system of the monarchic autocracy, precisely because it is that system that has wilfully allowed the country to be so badly afflicted by HIV-AIDS and which by hoarding and misusing wealth and resources is a barrier to proper spending on treatment. .

2.12. HIV-AIDS is closely linked to poverty. Of the different social, geographic/demographic and cultural factors bound up with the HIV-AIDS pandemic, it is those factors related to poverty that stand out: the poor nutrition and food insecurity of many Swazis, the proliferation of the disease in areas of high unemployment, where there is high mobility between rural and urban areas and cross-border, where there is the most intense gender inequality, low condom use and HIV-AIDS awareness. HIV prevalence also linked to the spread of TB, including its multi-drug resistant variety, and the combination of the two diseases compounds the health crisis in Swaziland.

2.13. Poor health and the incidence and spread of other diseases are also tied directly to poverty, and because of this the creation of a viable and well-functioning health system is central to eradicating poverty in Swaziland. We must place a special emphasis here on the rights of children to good health and health care, as much of the disease burden in Swaziland, other than HIV, affects them. They are also vulnerable to disease and malnutrition when orphaned by HIV-AIDS.

2.14. The HIV-AIDS crisis intersects with, and exacerbates, other areas of depravation in society, being both a trigger of poverty and a result of it. As UNDP Swaziland (2007) states:

The social systems that have provided safety nets to poor households are weakening under the weight of HIV and AIDS. They are unable to provide the same level of protection to weak people in the community, as exemplified by the emergence of street children and child-headed households in the 1990s. The prevalence rate is higher among women, and while they disproportionately shoulder the negative

consequences of the pandemic as primary caregivers, HIV and AIDS are entrenching existing gender and other social inequalities. (…) If poverty in Swaziland cannot be fought effectively without dealing with the pandemic, the high HIV and AIDS prevalence rates will not decrease either if the huge inequalities and high incidence of poverty prevail.

2.15. Swaziland's burden of HIV-AIDS and other diseases is exacerbated by its poor public health infrastructure and lack of investment in – and neglect of – health care. With about 122 nurses and doctors to each 100,000 people the country falls well below the ratio recommended by the World Health Organisation of 250 health professionals per 100,000 people.

2.16. Our country's terrible infant (under 5 years) mortality rate (about 156 per 1,000 births) is, in addition to the impact if HIV, mainly due to diarrhea, malnutrition and infectious diseases due to dirty water, lack of sanitation and lack of hygiene.

2.17. The CPS views the overhaul of Swaziland's decimated health system and the improvement in the health – and possibilities of health – of the people as a revolutionary demand and priority. This is a key area of class struggle as it challenges the diversion of resources by the monarchic class and bourgeoisie away from the needs of the people. Building a new health system that is free, universal and of high quality is a major challenge for the revolutionary transformation of Swazi society. We will need to draw on international solidarity to assist with this, and will need to target priorities within an integrated plan for health that will secure the resources for disease treatment and prevention and improved health care that reaches the entire population.

2.18. The health of the people cannot be improved or maintained without urgent action to redress the chronically poor state of nutrition in Swaziland. As we have mentioned above, the numbers of people receiving food aid are not a true reflection of the state of the food crisis. Access to food, nutrition and a balanced diet are integral to improving health care provision. Food aid is not the answer, even if it

were to be available to all who need it. The only answer is to meet the nutritional needs of the poor and oppressed through a fully integrated food an agricultural policy, which would also interrelate with other closely associated sectors, such as health, housing and amenities, education, and land use.

Water, sanitation, housing

2.19. These components of the quality of life are closely integrated with the health of the people and, with it, are key elements of their quality of life. Despite lengthy government wish-lists of measures that should be taken to improve the situation in these areas, they have not been considered realistically, but merely as a window dressing to give the impression that the Swazi state functions normally. The poor suffer terribly from being deprived of the basic amenities of water, sanitation and housing. The links between these aspects of depravation are clear from this table:

Selected social variable	Incidence of poverty (%)
Has piped water inside home	24,0
Has unsafe water sources	71,0
Use bush for sanitation	78,0
Has flush toilet	23,0
Relies on wood or charcoal as source of energy	71,3
Relies on electricity as source of energy	27,2
Lives in house with grass thatched roof	78,9
Lives in house with tiled roof	18,5

Source: Central Statistical Office: Swaziland Household Expenditure Survey 2000 - 2001

2.19. Large segments of the population, particularly in the rural areas and peri-urban areas, lack decent access to water, sanitation and housing. Some 67% of people in rural areas depend on rivers, small dams and open wells as the main source of water. Water sources are often shared with livestock. This is one reason for the high levels of infectious water-borne diseases, and for the high level of child mortality. The government has no coherent water policy and no conception of an interrelated water, sanitation and housing strategy. Its policy is one of neglect and of ignoring the plight of the people.

2.20. To redress this crisis, which impacts on the health of the affected population, the interrelated problems of water, sanitation and housing must be considered in unison and as part of the reconstruction development planning needed for the country. The CPS believes that this can only be achieved within a revolutionary process that secures the wealth and resources of the country for the needs of the people. This has to be started through integrated policy priorities under the new democratic dispensation that we are striving for together with the rest of the progressive mass movement.

2.21. As we note above, only a certain amount can be achieved by expropriating the exploiters and oppressors of the poor; we will also need to generate the resources and wealth needed to tackle the crises described here. However, we will do something that has never been done in our country under its long history of oppression: we will invest in our people, in our majority population – the working class and the poor. There is much that can be done to turn the situation around and to create the building blocks of socialist society.

Education

2.22. As with all other areas of society that involve or concern the working class and the poor, the government deliberately neglects the state education system. It does nothing to tackle the high drop-out rates among learners, or to eradicate the obstacles that prevent children from attending school (especially in rural areas). It does nothing to tackle the massive illiteracy rate, especially among women in rural areas, or to take adult education seriously. The autocracy's

wilful denial of knowledge, skills development and learning to the vast majority of the people is deliberately aimed at keeping the population ignorant and therefore uninvolved in matters of society. As with poverty, lack of and insufficient education is a deliberate policy. It is a policy of the disempowerment of the people so as to maintain the hegemony of the ruling class.

2.23. The CPS believes that education and training are (like health and a decent standard of welfare and wellbeing) rights and not privileges. We will do away with all school fees and invest heavily in our primary, secondary and tertiary system. As with the other areas of social construction and renewal we outline here, education requires a concerted strategic policy framework that interlinks with other key areas where we face crises, such as health and the infrastructure for basic amenities. The sooner we start to invest in developing the education of our people, the sooner we will start to have more skilled and capable members of society able to lift it from the morass of oppression.

3. Women and youth

Women

3.1. Women outnumber men in Swaziland by roughly 30,000. They are also the primary caregivers in society, and the mainstays of families and, therefore, of communities. Women are generally severely socially and economically disempowered in Swazi society. They are wholly subordinate to men under the strongly patriarchal system maintained and pursued by the autocracy. Women are disproportionately affected by the HIV pandemic. About 40% of women attending antenatal clinics are HIV positive. This is a 10-fold increase since the early 1990s. Women also face extreme levels of gender violence, including rape, which is not properly prosecuted by the justice system. Two thirds of Swazi women face abuse.

3.2. The severe poverty and degradation enforced in Swaziland that we describe in the sections above impacts on women the worst. Women are also discriminated against by being denied access to the wealth and resources of society, such as land. They come off worse in

all areas of the deep crisis that afflicts society in general: employment, health, education, disease, and lack of access to amenities. Every facet of the crisis in Swaziland has a far-reaching gender dimension, where the oppression of women is a conspicuous feature.

3.3. As with many other areas of society, the monarchic autocracy and its government pay lip service to improving the situation of women. It posits goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals, which have an important bearing on gender, but in practice does nothing to change the realities of women in practice. Swaziland's signing of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women is sheer hypocrisy. It is another instance of the country paying lip service to the liberal democratic stipulations of the international community in order to appear on a par with it. The same goes for the commitment of Swaziland's Constitution to women's equality.

3.4. Patriarchy in Swaziland is promoted through the deliberate misapplication of culture by enhancing its repressive aspects, in particular its anti-women characteristics. The emancipation of women in Swaziland is the prerequisite for the emancipation of the rest of the working class and oppressed population. Only by eliminating patriarchy and systematic abuse of women will we be able to achieve freedom. Patriarchy is abuse.

3.5. Women are crucial and equal participants in the struggle for democracy and socialism in Swaziland. They are crucial to every aspect of the work of the CPS. The CPS places the struggle for the empowerment and emancipation of women at the forefront of all aspects of the freedom struggle. The CPS commits itself to advancing the cause of women in all areas of its work – particularly through its educational work, information and campaigning work – in the mass movement for democratic change, and in Swazi society as a whole.

The young

3.6. 50% of the population are under the age of 16. The depravation imposed on the majority of the population particularly affects young people. It is their future that is being ruined by the Mswati autocracy.

The young are more susceptible to suffering from the long-term effects of oppression precisely because it affects their lives when they are at their most vulnerable – when they are still growing and developing. The construction of democracy, freedom and socialism in a liberated Swaziland must therefore take special care that young people are prioritised in all aspects of strategy and policy. The CPS will make work with the youth a priority and will eventually seek to create a youth league.

4. Land, industry production and development

4.1. We have looked at the ways the oppression of the working class, the poor and the marginalised in Swaziland are most evident and the CPS's position on them. We have highlighted the plight of the working people and the poor because of the severity of the situation they face. The key to the solution to this situation and the primary means of ending the exploitation of the working class, peasants and land workers and other oppressed sections of the population is through the socialisation and people's ownership of the productive wealth of society from land and industry.

4.2. These are the main areas of society where the exploitation of the working class, the poor and land workers is generated, and which sets the conditions for the other areas of exploitation and oppression outlined above. The CPS believes that only by putting the means of production and distribution into public ownership will it be possible to create the integrated planning and policy enactment needed to meet the needs of the people.

Agriculture and land

4.3. About 75% of Swaziland's land area is designated Swazi Nation Land and is "held in trust" by the monarch. This land is administered by some 200 local chiefs. The monarch expropriates livestock and produce from the land, while most of it is used for subsistence agriculture, and in some cases cash crops. Agriculture accounts for only about 14% of annual GDP, though agricultural processing of sugar cane, timber and fruit canning employs about 30% of the

workforce. Only about 10% of the country is arable land. This, plus grazing areas, have been depleted by erosion.

4.4. It is clear though that the land could provide the means to sound food security if the land was to be put under a socialist system of ownership, control, planning and use. The National Land Policy and the National Food Security Policy for Swaziland are not serious attempts by the autocracy to tackle the crises afflicting the majority of the people. They merely list vague objectives while keeping intact the monstrous system of land and food expropriation on the one hand and hopeless neglect and lack of land development on the other. The regime's National Development Strategy talks of "diversification away from agriculture into industry and services". On the contrary, the CPS will champion a diversification *into* agriculture, so that agricultural potential can be developed, land reclaimed and safeguarded, and skills and know-how nurtured and applied.

4.5. Solving the land question is integral to solving the food crisis. The CPS believes that only through an integrated land and agricultural policy that is geared to food security, employment, production and the sustainable development and restoration of the land will it be possible to make the land serve the people. Land ownership will be put wholly in the hands of the people with respect to Swazi Nation Land and privately-held land and cooperatives will be developed that will manage the land. This will have to be preceded and accompanied by comprehensive agricultural skills development to ensure that land use develops positively and productively. All privately held land and royal land will be devoted to the agricultural needs of the people and the state. This will be done in such a way that there is no loss of capacity or competence in how productive land is managed.

Industry and manufacturing

4.6. The capitalist crisis globally, and the end the to subsidies on sugar exported from Swaziland to the European Union and the pressures of decreased capitalist profit-making have all impacted on Swaziland's industrial manufacturing base. The regime has no conception of how to respond to the crisis, which in various respects

at national level is of its own making. Swaziland has no coherent or viable strategy for its industrial development.

4.7. The CPS believes that a priority must be given in the conditions of democracy and freedom that must eradicate the autocracy and its rotten system to creating a comprehensive industrial and employment policy. This must be tied to uplifting Swaziland's productive capacity within a system of ownership that is in the hands of those who are the producers. The overall needs of society must be met by our productive capacity, and those needs must be identified clearly and with a view to the positive and sustainable development of the country and our people.

4.8. Swaziland is home to a variety of mainly private sector manufacturing industries, including textiles, food and beverage processing, wood products (timber, pulp and paper), food and animal feed production, and metal and engineering. Many of these are foreign owned subsidiaries, and there are in addition a number of foreign owned businesses operating in the country. The CPS considers that much of this capitalist enterprise operates in Swaziland to exploit its cheap labour for profit. We also recognise the importance of employment for the Swazi people and aim to pursue a policy of job creation to boost overall employment and thereby improve the material conditions for improving the quality of life.

4.9. Our aim is for industry and manufacturing to be socialised - put under social control and owned and run by those that work these sectors. The transition to these conditions must be made in planned stages. In the short term, and under conditions of democratic development and the reconstruction of society following the overthrow of the monarchic autocracy we would seek improved conditions for all workers employed in industry and manufacturing, the elimination of all part-ownership or cash payments to the monarch by enterprises, and a wholly different setting for the operation of enterprises.

4.10. The redevelopment of industry and manufacturing and the effort to orient it towards the needs of the country and to finding new trading partnerships, particularly among progressive countries, will be worker-

driven processes in which the unions and union federations are the principle players. Operating under conditions of democracy and with a full input into developing industrial and employment policy, the trade unions will be able to expand and develop and take a central part of designing the economic policy of the country as opposed to their restricted and repressed character under the autocracy.

Development and environment

4.11. Swaziland is a developing country with severe threats to its potential developmental course due to the decimation of the population at the hands of the autocracy or due to the systemic neglect of the people created by the autocracy. The productive potential of the country – its land, resources for industry, and human capacity – must be put onto a developmental footing. This is the primary goal of the national democratic revolution.

4.12. It is a process that will be carried further ahead by a socialist system. The developmental state is a conceptual framework and a practical reality for ensuring that poverty, disease, illiteracy and ignorance, malnutrition, unemployment, and the oppression of women are tackled head-on and systematically ended. At the same time, the CPS envisages the development of the country and its people in ways that meet the material and spiritual needs of the population and creates the conditions for people to be skilled, employed, healthy and free - and above all to enjoy a good quality of life free from oppression and fear.

4.13. The whole process of transforming Swaziland from a country of oppression and misery into one of freedom and equal development depends massively on the sustainability of the natural environment locally, regionally and – more fundamentally – globally. The destruction of the world's biodiversity, the ruinous effects wreaked on the climate and the lack of sustainability of the preconditions for life itself are the fundamental backdrop against which our revolution in one small part of the world is taking place. All our developmental work must be within environmentally sustainable criteria, and joined up with regional and international efforts to end the destruction of the

environment and the impacts that has on climate, biodiversity and people's rights to clean air, water and land and the use of the natural resources they contain. If this context of our struggle is ignored or abrogated, our struggle for freedom and a good future for our people will ultimately fail.

5. The national democratic revolution and socialism

5.1. These qualities and aspirations can be fulfilled by building a socialist society that puts an end to all forms of exploitation and tyranny, and which overturns the capitalist system. In this the involvement of the people in a new democratic dispensation is a first and crucial step. Under socialism democracy will have a chance of flourishing more fully: there can be no socialism without democracy and no true and pervasive democracy without socialism.

5.2. The CPS views the national democratic revolution as a crucial step on the way towards building a socialist society. The overturn of the monarchic autocracy and its repressive system must be replaced by a dispensation in which basic democracy building has a chance to flourish. This democracy building must include the elimination of the oppression and suffering that we have outlined. We do not, however, want to see Swaziland left with a system of liberal democratic capitalism, even though the democratic components of that system would be an improvement on the current situation.

5.3. The CPS considers the national democratic revolution to be a transitional stage on the way to a fair and equal society where the productive and creative potential of the people and solving their key needs are fully realized. This is a socialist society. Such a society cannot be imposed from the top down or brought into being by simply announcing it. It has to be the outcome of the common endeavour of the people as a whole, and the working class and peasants and land workers in particular. Grassroots empowerment, the development of democratic communities and the full integration of local and national policy planning on key strategic criteria that aim to create the changes needed that we describe above are part of a revolutionary process.

The national democratic revolution is a stage in the development of that process.

5.4. The CPS believes that a democratic revolution can only be brought about by the greatest possible unity among the widest possible front of progressive forces. We commit ourselves to building that front, to building PUDEMO and SWAYOCO as key elements of the broad democratic front. We do not seek to turn these organisations into parts of the Communist Party, but see our role to be in line with the long tradition in many countries and internationally of communists working among broad progressive forces against an oppressive common enemy.

5.5. Our aim is to do all in our power to strengthen the hand of Swaziland's democratic front to overthrow the monarchic autocracy and achieve national liberation. It may be that other forces that make up this front see this as an end in itself. The CPS however sees it as a crucial stage in the transition of society to a deeper process of democracy, freedom and human development.

5.6. The ultimate aim of the CPS is to bring about the conditions for the eventual transition from socialism into communism, which we believe will be the fullest expression of this deeper process of human development.

6. The Communist Party of Swaziland

6.1. In our view only a disciplined party committed to achieving socialism, which operates on the basis of democratic centralism, and which is made up of a strong, structured organisational presence at grassroots level can bring about the strategic changes outlined above. The CPS aims to provide a leadership – vanguard – role for the working class, the poor and oppressed in Swaziland. It believes that such a role can only be acquired through hard work, commitment and solidarity with the people. It cannot claim or bring about this role by proclamation.

6.2. The CPS must develop and build itself as a reliable and trusted entity by engaging in, pioneering and spearheading mass campaigns

that tackle the crises that afflict our society. It must aim for the mass mobilisation of the working people and the poor, but also of all sections of society that are willing to join the struggle for freedom, to bring about a democratic revolution that ends the current regime and the system that supports it. The building of the CPS takes place within the conditions of this struggle, and of the longer-term struggle to build socialism.

6.3. The CPS will recruit among all members of society, but primarily among those sections – the working class and oppressed – whose interests it aims to further. It will operate within the conditions that prevail in the country and will mobilise outside the country, particularly among Swazi people in diaspora. Given that the CPS has to operate under conditions where all parties are banned in Swaziland, it will have to devise means whereby its democratic character and the rights and duties of its members are ensured, and whereby its work will be as effective – and as devastating for the regime and the ruling class – as possible.

7. Internationalism

7.1. At the same time, and with respect to the immediate tasks of achieving a democratic revolution in Swaziland, the CPS stresses that Swaziland cannot achieve its liberation on its own. It is not an island and does not exist in a vacuum. The problems and crises of the southern African region are strongly interrelated, and the processes requiring national democratic revolutionary change mirror one another. We share common histories of colonialist oppression and of imperialist manipulation and control. The CPS will work for more integrated and common efforts to bring about revolutionary change in our region. We cannot afford to act as if we are separate national entities, as the nation states of Europe at one time acted. The prospect of a revolutionary transition to socialism in just one country is a dubious one for our region, despite the socialist gains in certain national contexts that have been achieved in other regions, such as by Socialist Cuba in the Caribbean region.

7.2. Our relations with South Africa and with progressive and revolutionary forces in that country, especially the South African Communist Party, are immensely important to our struggle and to the future orientation of our society. Our democratic revolution depends in many respects on the solidarity we receive from South Africa, in particularly in eliminating the sub-imperialist effects of South African capitalism, which in part helps sustain the oppressive system in Swaziland. The role of South Africa and its heroic progressive movements in helping isolate the Mswati regime and in assisting Swaziland's pro-democracy front needs to be strengthened and put on a higher level of active solidarity. This is a primary aim of the work of the CPS with our comrades in South Africa.

7.3. The CPS will also create working relations with revolutionary and progressive movements in other parts of the near region – the SADC states, as a matter of priority. It will also create relations with communist and workers parties globally and engage in all solidarity work, campaigns and initiatives. In this it is guided particularly by the work of the annual international conferences of communist and workers parties. It will also engage with and follow the broad left processes taking place internationally and in a number of regional contexts. The CPS will as far as possible be an active participant in all concerted efforts taking place in the world to bring about socialism.

Working Class Power - for Socialism

CONSTITUTION

1. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the Communist Party of Swaziland (CPS)

2. SYMBOL AND FLAG

The official logo of the CPS shall be a gold hammer and sickle with a star. The star shall be at the upper edge of the hummer and shall be black in two thin colour layers. The outer layer shall be gold and the inner layer red. The letters CPS shall appear in between the lower part of the hammer and sickle and shall be black. The flag shall have the logo on the top left corner.

3. AIMS

3.1 The CPS strives to be the vanguard of the working class and the poor in Swaziland whose interests it promotes in the struggle for a national democratic revolution and to achieve socialism as a necessary stage on the road to communism.

3.2 The CPS shall pursue this by means of educating, organizing and mobilizing the working class and its allies in support of our Party and its aim to bring about the national democratic revolution that will take Swaziland to socialism.

3.3 The CPS shall strive to win acceptance as a vanguard through democratic centralism, in mass struggle for the interests of the working class and the poor, and in ideological contest with other political parties and formations in Swaziland.

3.4 The ultimate aim of the CPS is the building of a communist society in which all forms of exploitation of man by man will have ended and in which all the products of human endeavour will be distributed according to need. The attainment of such a society will require an interim socialist formation in which reward will be measured by contribution.

3.5 At all stages the CPS commit itself to a social order that will respect completely the cultural emancipation of all sections of our society and the democratic rights of the individual and the collective. The CPS will recognise the right to independence of all social organisations and political parties that function within the ambit of a new democratic Constitution that must be created for Swaziland under a national democratic government.

4. GUIDING PRINCIPLES

In leading the working class towards national and social emancipation, the CPS is guided by the principles of Marxist-Leninist whose universal validity has been proven by historical experience. The foundations of these principles were laid by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Lenin and enriched by other great revolutionaries. In applying the general principles of Marxist-Leninist principles, the CPS is, in the first place, concerned with their indigenous elaboration and application to the concrete realities of our own developing situation. More particularly, the CPS will work to:

4.1 End the system of feudal-autocratic and capitalist exploitation in Swaziland and to establish a socialist society based on the common ownership of, participation in, and control by the producers of the key means of production.

4.2 Organise, educate and lead the working class in the struggle for socialism and the more immediate objectives of defending and deepening the national democratic revolution and of achieving national and social emancipation. By participating in this revolution, the CPS aims to eradicate patriarchal relations, weaken and ultimately destroy the economic and political power of the ruling class through struggle for working class hegemony over society, in particular the private ownership and control of the economy and the achievement of one United States of people's power.

4.3 Organise, educate and lead women within the working class, the peasants, land workers and poor and rural communities in pursuit of the aims of the CPS; and to raise the consciousness of the working class and its allies around the integral and oppressive nature of gender relations within Swaziland's system of feudal-autocracy and capitalism.

4.4 Play a key role in strengthening the revolutionary alliance of all classes and strata whose interests are served by the immediate aims of the national democratic revolution.

4.5 Spread the widest possible understanding of our basic ideology and its application to Swaziland's conditions, particularly among the working class.

4.6 Combat racism and xenophobia, tribalism, sex discrimination, regionalism, Chauvinism and all forms of narrow nationalism.

4.7 Encourage an ongoing national and international dialogue with all organisations committed to peace, transformation of gender relations, non-racialism, democracy and the preservation of our environment.

4.8 Promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the workers of African continent and the world.

4.9 Promote the aims and objectives of the communist international and its organs.

5. MEMBERSHIP

5.1 Every Swazi national over the age of 18 who accepts the goals, policies and programme of the CPS, undertakes to carry out its decisions and to be active in a CPS structure, pays whatever dues are decided on, and serves a year as an interim member shall be eligible for membership.

5.2 The recruiting of members shall be primarily through political organisational work as conditions allow under the autocracy, but eventually through the branch structures, under the supervision of Regional Executive Committees for Swaziland's four regions or as delimited.

5.3 A person applying to join the CPS shall be a provisional member of the party for a period of evaluation by the party that is no longer in duration than 1 year. During this time the party educational, working contribution and political maturity and development of the member will be assessed.

5.4 The Central Committee of the CPS will provide guidance on membership. As the party develops this guidance will be handed over to the Regional Executive Committees of the party.

5.5 A person who does not qualify for citizenship or permanent residence in Swaziland may be accepted as an associate member if his/her application is accepted by the Central Committee. An associate member shall have full constitutional rights and obligations but may not stand for election as a member of the executive at any level of the CPS.

5.6 Any applicant refused admission to membership by a branch including an interim member having served a year in the branch shall have the right to appeal against such a decision to the Central Committee, or the Regional Executive Committee in which his/her branch is located.

5.7 All members shall renew their membership on an annual basis in order to remain members of the CPS, and shall remain active in the work of the CPS.

5.8 All new members of the CPS shall undergo induction training and education under the directive of the body nominated for this purpose by the Central Committee.

5.9 Every member has a duty to:

5.9.1 Regularly participate in the activities of the CPS and faithfully implement the policies, decisions and directives of the party.

5.9.2 Study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise his/her level of understanding.

5.9.3 Read, engage with and popularise CPS publications and online communications.

5.9.4 Serve the masses, strengthen ties with them, learn from them, convey their aspirations to the CPS and work in mass organisations within the framework of CPS policies and programmes.

5.9.5 Place the interests of the workers and the poor above personal interests

5.9.6 Practice criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work within the CPS and the broad progressive movement.

5.9.7 Cultivate comradely relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the CPS.

5.9.8 Act in a manner that is frank, honest and truthful to the CPS and does not betray the confidence of the Party.

5.9.9 Safeguard the unity and solidarity of the CPS and vigorously defend the interests of the workers and the poor against their opponents.

5.9.10 Act in the interests of and help develop workers internationalism.

5.9.11 Act, in his or her personal conduct, in a manner which will bring credit to the CPS and serve as a standard bearer of the highest communist ethic and morality.

5.9.12 Observe the CPS Constitution and Party discipline.

5.10 All CPS members who earn above a certain amount, as determined by the CC, shall pay a levy to be determined by the CC from time to time.

5.11 Every person who joins the CPS must pledge as follows:

"I accept the aims and objectives of the CPS and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out the decisions of the Party.

I shall strive to live up to the ideals and moral principles of Communism and shall selflessly serve the workers and the poor and the country, always placing the interests of the Party and the workers and the poor above personal interests."

5.12 A member in good standing is one who is paid-up and fulfils the basic requirements set out in this section. The number of years a member has been in good standing does not include the 1 year served as interim member, where applicable.

5.13 The subscriptions shall be decided by Congress.

6. BASIC ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLES

6.1 To secure the unity and cohesion of the CPS, members are obliged to defend the CPS 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 CPS policies. No groupings with their own disciples shall be permitted.

6.2 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.

6.3 Save as provided for in this constitution, all elected office bearers of the CPS and all structures with the power to formulate and direct CPS policies at any level shall be elected by secret ballot unless a minimum of 75% of the delegates decide otherwise.

6.4 Members active in fraternal organisations or in any sector of the mass movement have a duty to set an example of loyalty, hard work and zeal in the performance of their duties and shall be bound by the discipline and decisions of such organisations and movement. They shall not create or participate in CPS caucuses within such organisations and movements designed to influence either elections or policies. The advocacy of CPS policy on any question relating to the internal affairs of any such organisations or movements shall be by open public statements or at joint meetings between representatives of the CPS and such organisations or movements.

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

6.6 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.

6.7 Employees of the CPS may not serve as elected members of constitutional structures at the same level at which they are employed, but they may serve in an advisory capacity. They may serve on and be elected to CPS structures at lower levels. If an employee of the CPS is elected to a position in the CPS as an office bearer at the same level, he/she must relinquish his/her original position as an employee of the CPS within a month of being elected.

6.8 All structures of the CPS shall encourage the practice of constructive criticism and self-criticism in party structures.

6.9 In all work and at every level, party structures and members shall ensure that the struggle against patriarchy and for the transformation of gender relations is given due importance, including by the creation of appropriate structures empowered to perform this task. At least one third of all executives of the CPS from branch level to the Central Committee shall be women.

7. NATIONAL CONGRESS AND PARTY CONFERENCE

7.1 The highest authority of the CPS shall be a National Congress which shall be called every 2 years until such a time as the Party and its structures are developed enough. The CC will convene a Party Conference each year involving all members who are able to attend in order to assess the development and work of the Party and recommend decisions to the CC. The CC may also convene an emergency Party Conference if necessary.

7.2 The National Congress shall be constituted by elected delegates from the membership and directly elected and co-opted CC members. All CPS regions shall be represented in proportion to their membership in branches. The CC shall prior to each National Congress determine the total number of elected delegates and shall allocate a quota to each region in proportion to its membership as organized in branches. The Regions shall then allocate a quota of delegates from its Executive Committees

and for each branch in proportion to its membership ensuring that each branch has a minimum of one representative.

7.3 The National Congress shall discuss the reports of the CC, receive and discuss an audited financial statement and the report of the Treasurer, examine and decide the policies of the CPS, and shall be the only forum to elect the leading officers of the CPS – the General Secretary, Deputy General Secretary, Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Treasurer General, National Organiser, International Organiser and Women's Organiser of the CPS.

7.4 Unless otherwise decided by the National Congress, its plenary proceedings shall be in open session. Unless otherwise provided for in this constitution, all decisions of the National Congress shall be by a simple majority through a show of hands.

7.5. The annual Party Conference will provide a discussion platform for all members to assess the state of the CPS and the conditions in which it operates. It is a non-decision-making forum, but will make non-binding proposals to the CC that the CC will consider at its first meeting following the Party Conference. The Party Conference will hear reports from the leading party structures (Regions, Political Bureau, CC, as well as from the Party's national office bearers.

8. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC)

8.1 Unless otherwise provided for in this constitution, the Central Committee (CC) shall have the power to direct the work of the CPS, to determine all questions of policy, and to issue binding instructions and directives to all levels of the CPS, save that any departure from major policy decisions of the National Congress demanded by changing conditions shall only be made after full consultation with the membership. The CC shall consist of the leading officers of the Party plus 10 other members elected at the National Congress. The CC can appoint Party members to carry

out special duties to facilitate the work of the CC and to report to the CC. The CC will ensure that it has a balanced gender composition.

8.2 Meet at least every 2 months in plenary session. Any major draft political reports to be considered by the plenary session shall be timeously circulated to the membership for comments and criticisms.

8.3 Decide who will be the full-time members of the CC.

8.4 Ensure that all elected office bearers, CC members, Regional committees, other party structures and members carry out their duties effectively.

8.5 Control and supervise all national CPS media and set up the necessary structures for their effective functioning.

8.6 Stimulate and provide a flow of education in Marxist- Leninist theory and its application to our conditions for all CPS members, and promote cadre policy development.

8.7 Inform and guide the membership on current political developments and also provide regular information on CPS organisational activities.

8.8 Represent the CPS nationally in its relations with other political parties and organisations.

8.9 Manage and control all CPS property and funds.

8.10 Have the right by a two-thirds majority (excluding the comrade affected) to remove or suspend any of its members from serving on the CC for any serious misconduct detrimental to the CPS. Any such actions shall be reported to the membership.

8.11 Appoint from among its members the heads of departments.

8.12 All CC members shall be obliged to attend all CC meetings or tender written apologies. Elected CC members shall be obliged to work within a Department of the CPS as deployed by the CC. Failure to participate in the work of the Department shall be reported to the CC.

8.13. The CC will prepare the organisation of the annual Party Conference and review the proposals and matters discussed at the Party Conference.

8.14. The CC will appoint and oversee the work of the Commissions of the CPS, which are set up to look at specific concerns: e.g. Workers, Women, Peasants, Youth and Students.

9. POLITICAL BUREAU (PB)

9.1 The CC shall meet immediately after the Congress and shall appoint a Political Bureau.

9.2 The PB shall conduct the current work of the CPS and shall exercise all the powers and functions of the CC between meetings of the CC, except those powers and functions which this constitution specifically reserves for plenary sessions of the CC.

9.3 The PB shall meet at least once a month. It shall establish whatever administrative structures it deems necessary to facilitate the carrying out of its decisions between meetings of the PB.

9.4 The CC shall constantly assess and evaluate the work of the PB, and where necessary, shall recall members of the PB.

9.5 Any member of the CC may, by invitation of the PB, attend any of its meetings.

9.6 The PB shall have the right by a two-thirds majority decision (excluding the comrade affected) to suspend any comrade from

the PB for any serious misconduct detrimental to the CPS. Such a decision shall be enforced until the next plenary session of the CC which shall either confirm or reverse the PB decision.

10. DUTIES OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the leading National Office Bearer of the CPS and a full-time official under conditions of service determined by the CC. The General Secretary shall be an ex officio member of all party structures and shall:

10.1 Keep (or cause to be kept) the minutes of all CC and PB meetings and such other books, records and archives as may be required.

10.2 Attend to the correspondence of the CC and PB.

10.3 Maintain regular personal and written contact with all the regions and keep the membership informed of the work of the CC and PB.

10.4 Ensure that members of the CC are kept informed of the work of the PB in between meetings of the CC.

10.5 Draw up (or cause to be drawn up) all reports and documents as may be decided upon by the CC or PB.

10.6 The Deputy General Secretary shall, as directed by the CC, deputise for the General Secretary in respect of all the functions set out above.

11. DUTIES OF THE CHAIRPERSON

The Chairperson shall rank after the General Secretary as a national office bearer of the CPS and shall be an ex officio member of all party structures. The National Chairperson shall:

11.1 Preside at all meetings of the CC and PB in conformity with the constitution and other rules and procedures adopted by these bodies.

11.2 Have a deliberative vote only.

11.3 The Deputy National Chairperson shall, as directed by the CC, deputise for the National Chairperson in respect of all the functions set out above.

12. DUTIES OF THE TREASURER

12. The National Treasurer shall:

12.1 Under the direction of the CC and PB take all necessary measures to ensure that the CPS is provided with sufficient means to carry out its political and organisational tasks.

12.2 Dispose of such funds as the CC authorises by general or specific mandate.

12.3 Be responsible for the safe-keeping and administration of all property and monies of the CPS.

12.4 Keep such books and accounts as will clearly record and reflect the financial position of the CPS and submit statements of income and expenditure to the CC and PB at intervals to be determined by the CC and PB.

12.5 Under the direction of the CC present audited financial statements and written financial reports to the Congress.

12.6 Be the convenor of a Finance Committee appointed by the CC.

13. OTHER OFFICE HOLDERS

Other Officer Holders who are on the CC shall have their duties defined by the CC in within the area of activity designated by their title. They shall report to the CC, and to the Party Conference and National Congress of the Party.

14. SUB-NATIONAL STRUCTURES

14.1 The CPS shall have 4 Regional structures whose boundaries shall coincide with the boundaries of the 4 Regions of the country.

14.2. In each regions, there shall be the following structures:

14.2.1 Regional Executive Committees.

14.2.2 District Councils and District Executive Committees (DECs).

14.2.3. Branches and Branch Executive Committees

15. REGIONAL CONGRESS

Subject to the other provisions of this Constitution, the Regional Congress shall be the highest structure of the CPS in each Region. The Regional Congress shall:

15.1 Be held every two years alternating with National Congresses.

15.2 Be attended by elected branch delegates in proportion to their paid-up branch membership, ensuring that each branch has a minimum of one delegate. All members of the Regional Executive Committee and at least one member of each District Executive Committee shall be delegates.

15.3 Receive and consider reports from the Regional Executive Committee and, subject to the other provisions of the constitution, make whatever decisions it considers necessary to advance CPS organisation and policies in its region.

15.4 Elect the office bearers of the Regional Executive Committee: Regional Secretary plus Deputy, Regional Chairperson plus Deputy, Regional Treasurer plus Deputy and up to 10 ordinary members of the Regional Executive Committee.

15.5 Only a person who has been in the CPS as a member in good standing for more than 4 years shall be eligible for election to an REC.

16. THE REGIONAL COUNCIL

Between Regional Congresses, the Regional Council shall be the highest decision-making body in the regions. It shall:

16.1 Consist of all members of the REC, the chairpersons and secretaries of each DEC, and delegates representing each branch in proportion to its membership, ensuring a minimum of one delegate from each branch.

16.2 Meet at least once every 2 months.

17. DISTRICT CONGRESS

The REC may form a District consisting of not less than 5 branches. After consulting with the RECs, the CC shall draw up a policy framework to determine the boundaries of districts. This policy framework shall take into account the boundaries and size of municipalities.

Subject to the provisions of this constitution, the District Congress shall be the highest structure of the CPS in each district. The District Congress shall:

17.1 Be held at least once every 2 years.

17.2 Be attended by delegates elected by all branches in proportion to their membership with a minimum of one delegate per branch. All members of the District Executive Committee (DEC) shall be delegates to the District Congress.

17.3 Receive and consider reports from the DEC and, subject to the provisions of the constitution, take all decisions to implement the policies and programmes of the CPS in the district.

17.4 Elect the District Secretary, Chairperson, Treasurer, Deputy Secretary, Deputy Chairperson and a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 7 District Executive members. Only a person who has been in the CPS for more than 3 years as a member in good standing shall be eligible for election to the DEC.

18. THE DISTRICT COUNCIL

Between District Congresses, the District Council shall be the highest decision-making body in the District. It shall consist of all members of the DEC and delegates in proportion to their branch membership with a minimum of one delegate per branch. The DEC shall, subject to any directives that may be provided by the CC and REC, decide on the number of voting delegates at the District Council to which the YCL in the District shall be entitled. The District Council shall:

18.1 Meet at least once every three months.

18.2 Have the power to fill vacancies on the DEC provided they do not exceed 50% of its members.

19. DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (DEC)

The District Executive Committee (DEC) shall carry out the decisions of the District Congress and District Council. The DEC shall:

19.1 Meet at least once a month.

19.2 Supervise the collection of subscriptions.

19.3 Submit reports to the REC, the District Congress and District Council on the state of organisation and the finances of the District.

19.4 In consultation with the REC, appoint a District organiser and staff where possible.

19.5 Organise, establish and service branches.

19.6 In co-ordination with the District Council,

19.6.1 Elaborate strategic, tactical and organisational tasks;

19.6.2 Ensure full participation of CPS branches in CPS activities and in the national democratic and socialist struggles;

19.6.3 Initiate, co-ordinate and support campaigns at

local level; 19.6.4 Spearhead and support programmes

for socialist education; and

19.6.5 Develop working class leadership on the ground.

20. BRANCHES

The basic structure of the CPS is the branch, to be formed at a residential area or workplace and every member shall be obliged to belong to a branch. After consultation with the RECs, the CC shall draw up a policy framework for the determination of the boundaries of branches. This policy framework shall take into account the ward and voting district boundaries within a municipality. The branch shall:

20.1 Consist of a minimum of 5 members.

20.2 Ensure that its members are given every opportunity to exercise their basic democratic right to discuss and formulate policies.

20.3 Ensure that it acts as a basic unit of activity for members by:

20.3.1 Elaborating strategic, tactical and organisational tasks for the branch;

20.3.2 Fully participating in the national democratic and socialist struggles;

20.3.3 Initiating and co-ordinating campaigns;

20.3.4 Conducting programmes on socialist education; and

20.3.5 Developing working class leadership on the ground.

20.4 Assist members to fulfil their duties as defined in clause 5.9 above and interim members to meet the requirements for membership set out in 5.3 above.

20.5 Meet at least twice a month.

20.6 Elect a BEC at an annual branch meeting consisting of a Secretary, Chairperson, Treasurer, Deputy Secretary and Deputy Chairperson and not more than 5 additional committee members. Only a person who has been a member in good standing for more than 2 years shall be eligible for election to the BEC, except in the case of a totally new branch, in which case those who have been conferred membership by the DEC or REC, having served a year as interim members, may stand for election to the BEC. The BEC shall submit regular reports to the DEC.

20.7 Where a vacancy arises among the office bearers of the branch, the next Branch General meeting shall elect an interim office bearer, who will serve for the remainder of the period until the next AGM.

20.8 Only send a voting delegate/s to a CPS Congress, Conference, or Council at National, Regional or District levels, if that branch has been in existence and functioning for at least 6 months.

21. DISCIPLINE

21.1

(a) A member who is found guilty of a breach of any provision of this constitution or any other conduct detrimental to the CPS shall be subject to discipline by the CPS.

(b) The CC may adopt a list of offences in terms of which a member may be charged for a breach of CPS discipline.

21.2

(a) Disciplinary proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violation or offence took place, namely the branch, district, region or national.

(b) A BEC, DEC or REC shall where necessary establish a disciplinary committee to hear disciplinary cases.

(c) The CC shall appoint:

(i) A Standing Disciplinary Committee of not less than 2 and not more than 5 persons to hear disciplinary cases.

(ii) A National Appeals Committee whose composition shall include members of the CPS who are not members of the CC to hear appeals.

(d) The CC may direct that the disciplinary proceedings should be heard at a higher level than where the alleged violation took place.

21.3

(a) Any person facing disciplinary proceedings shall receive at least one week written notice of any hearing, as well as the basic allegations and charges against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence.

(b) The disciplinary proceedings shall be completed within 90 days of the member receiving the notice of hearing.

(c) No member shall be judged or disciplined without a proper hearing.

(d) The CC shall draw up rules of procedure to be followed during a hearing process.

21.4 Refusal to participate in a disciplinary hearing or to accept the authority of the relevant CPS structure to impose disciplinary action shall constitute a serious offence, requiring immediate suspension for a period of at least 30 days. At the end of this period, the disciplinary hearing shall be restarted, and should the member repeat such a refusal, the member shall be expelled from the CPS by the CC.

21.5 The case against a member facing disciplinary action shall proceed even if that member resigns or refuses to appear before the Standing Disciplinary Committee.

21.6

(a) Penalties for violations in terms of subsection 1 shall include a reprimand, payment of compensation, the performance of useful tasks, suspension or expulsion.

(b) The penalties imposed by a branch or district disciplinary committee shall be immediately reported to the REC for approval before they come into effect.

(c) The REC shall have the power to suspend members or impose lesser forms of punishment, which shall come into effect without prior approval of the CC, but such measures shall be immediately reported to the CC, which has the power to amend or reverse them.

(d) Expulsion shall be imposed only by the CC acting either on its own initiative or after receiving a fully documented recommendation from a REC.

(e) A suspended member shall not be allowed to attend meetings of any CPS structure during the period of suspension except by special invitation.

21.7

(a) Any person found guilty in a disciplinary proceeding shall have the right to appeal to the National Appeals Committee. All appeals shall be submitted through the Regional Council concerned or in the case of a matter heard by the Standing Disciplinary Committee, through the CC, within 30 days of the person being notified of the decision. The Regional Council or CC shall forward the appeal together with all other relevant documentation to the National Appeals Committee.

(b) The lodging of an appeal shall not postpone the operation of the penalty.

(c) Any member of the CPS whose appeal has been rejected by the National Appeals Committee shall have the right to appeal against such a decision in writing to the next Congress. The written appeal shall be submitted to the

PB within 3 months of the date the member is informed of the National Appeals Committee's decision.

22. REALIZING AND AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

22.1. This Constitution envisages the development of the CPS in line with the structures of the Party described above. The Party will create the Regional and sub-regional structures in ways that are viable and feasible in terms of the capacity of the CPS. The CC and Polit Bureau will regularly assess the organisational strength and capacity of the Party and decide on how the structural growth of the Party can best be organised and developed.

22.2. This constitution can be amended by a majority vote at National Congresses.

22.3 All proposed amendments to the constitution shall be submitted in writing to the CC not less than 2 months prior to a National Congress.

CPS FINANCE POLICY

PREAMBLE

The office of the treasurer of the Communist Party of Swaziland (CPS) shall be the financial machinery of the party; and shall service and facilitate all activities and operations of the party including all the commissions and other sub- structures that shall be born of the party in present and in the future.

For the National Democratic Revolution of Swaziland (NDRS) to advance to its potential heights and finally deliver to the people of Swaziland the aspired freedom and true democracy, the party must have strong and sustainable finance machinery that shall be capable of mobilizing funds for its programs and campaigns.

FINANCIAL YEAR

The financial year end of CPS shall be the month of December.

Both treasurer and the financial committee prepare quarterly financial reports for preparation, first to the central committee (CC) then to conference by treasurer.

AUDITING

The financial status of the party shall be subjected to professional auditing by an organization that shall be elected by the central committee at the end of each financial year.

The professional auditor shall issue an audited statement to the CC through the treasurer for discussion.

Each committee that cannot be trusted with the finances of the party shall properly keep and/ submit all necessary information to the treasurer for purpose of accounting during auditing as and when need arise.

THE DUTIES OF THE TREASURER

The treasurer is responsible for the management of finances and assets as well as fundraising for the party.

It is also responsible for the establishment of the finance committee at national level, which committee is responsible for all activities and operations of the party.

Shall be the convener of FINCOM which committee shall be responsible for all finance activities and operations of the party.

Also develops an abridged Balance sheet reflecting the total assets of the entire party, including all commissions and any sub- structure thereof.

Shall be responsible for drafting and presenting to the CC and relevant structures the budget of the party, which must cover the needs of the party and commissions.

Shall be responsible for facilitating the day to day activities and/ operations of the office of the treasurer, decentralize its authority so that the commissions may have power to implement the treasurer's office finance program me and to fully account to the finance committee.

BANK ACCOUNT

The party shall operate only one bank account under the stipulated signatories.

The treasurer through the finance committee/ CC shall make sure that the party has a Bank Account in any internationally recognized Banking institution in the republic of South Africa (till victory for security).

All cash and subscriptions must be banked or deposited to the national account by treasurers from commissions.

Each deposit slip shall show the cash receipt details.

Bank reconciliation shall be done monthly, reviewed when the need rises

FINANCE COMMITTEE (FINCOM)

The composition of finance committee shall be the treasurer (AND 4 MEMBERS).

The FINCOM shall be responsible for the implementation of the party's finance programme at national level.

Commissions shall be responsible for implementing the party's finance progammes within the dictates of the finance programme at national level.

The FINCOM shall be responsible for monitoring of the financial activities of lower structures of the party and to make sure that the finance programme is fully implemented both at national level and lower levels of the party.

It is its responsible that all structures of the party is having a requisition form.

The FINICOM shall be responsible to release money for emergency as fast as possible.

ACCOUNTABILITY

The treasurer shall be the head and convener of the FINCOM and shall account to the CC.

The CC shall account to the conference through the report of the treasurer.

The treasurer shall monitor all finance activities and operations at all levels of the party and report to the CC.

Any member who has been given a financial task must report to the national treasurer

Communication:

In all matters dealing with FINANCES; the FINCOM shall communicate directly with lower structures through the treasures of the commissions/ sub-structures.

The treasurer shall communicate with the Cc and shall present the financial report to conference.

Transactions:

The party requesting for funds from the CC shall o so in writing address such a request to the attention details.

A request for funding shall be submitted to the CC at least four weeks before the date of the activity, to allow the CC enough time to go through the request and to process it and to give response.

Upon receipt for funding the Treasurer shall present the request to the FINCOM and then to the CC, which shall take a collective decision and respond in writing to the structure requesting for financial assistance for its programme.

For any monies requested and approved, the treasurer shall complete a requisition form that shall be signed by the General Secretary and the Treasurer and attached to the budget for a specific activity.

For all our gatherings, all members are to pay a registration fee in which the CC will be responsible for it and that it will be charged per inflation.

All members who are monthly earning shall be encouraged to pay a levy of 2%.

Signatories:

For any transaction to be authentic, the National Chair the General Secretary and the Treasurer shall be the officers to authorize that transaction.

No transaction shall be processed without the signatories of each of the office bearers mentioned above.

Fundraising:

The Treasurer shall be responsible for drafting and presenting to the CC a fundraising strategy, to facilitate this process, the FINCOM shall establish fundraising committee (FRACOM).

The FINCOM shall nominate a Fundraising Chief Representative for FRACOM who shall be the convener of the FRACOM.

FRACOM shall identify viable project for fundraising for the party.

All party members who are in gainful employment shall be encouraged to pay a specific levy outside subscriptions (contributions) as a strategy to raise funds for the party.

The Treasurer shall from time to time organize a fundraising workshop to draw a yearly fundraising plan/ strategy which shall be revised as and when need arise.

Duties of the Fundraising Chief Representative:

The Fundraising Chief Representative shall be responsible for the implementation of the fundraising strategy and account to the FINCOM through the Treasurer.

Code of Conduct:

All members of the party must pay the monthly subscriptions.

All members shall be expected to strictly observe and follow the finance poll[icy of the party.

All members shall bring receipts, invoices and statements when he/she has been involved in the finances of the party.

Members attending the party's conferences must be at good standing.

Immediate disciplinary actions shall be taken against any/ all members who shall violet the interests of the party while executing his/her duties (persuading/fundraising for personal interests under the name of the organization).

Transitional PROGRAMME

MSWATI'S GOVERNMENT MUST BE DISBANDED NOW!

INTERIM GOVERNMENT PUT IN PLACE

The tinkhundla system is morally bankrupt and economically parasitic system that represents an existential threat to the Swazi people. It is futile to allow the Mswati regime to continue in any shape or form, as it brings our people nothing but misery, insecurity and degradation.

The terrible cost to all disempowered sections of society, particularly the working class and the poor has been exacerbated by the self-induced fiscal crisis of the regime. Hunger, disease (HIV, TB and diseases related to malnutrition and poor living conditions), violent death and suicides have all escalated. Mswati's tinkhundla autocratic government is the cause of the crisis.

The Communist Party of Swaziland calls on all progressive forces in Swaziland and in exile to support and carry forward the demands for:

- The **immediate dissolution of the government**, suspension of the legislature and the appointment of an interim government.

a. The interim government will be composed of representatives of all political parties, trade unions and civil society forces, and the church to be nominated at a **Conference for a Democratic Swaziland**. We will request the government of South Africa to mediate in this process.

b. Institutions and structures that are part of the tinkhundla system will not be part of the Interim Government though traditional leaders will be able to submit their suggestions to the Conference for a Democratic Swaziland.

c. The Interim Government must take emergency measures in

securing all state assets inside and outside the country and to create an **Emergency National Economic Plan** to address the immediate needs of the people.

d. The dissolution of the government will mean the **immediate end to the king's powers** over the executive, judicial and security matters of the country.

e. The Interim Government will establish the modalities for a new democratic dispensation and the drafting of a fully democratic **Constitution for the Republic of Swaziland**.

1. This process will be **preceded** by the **unbanning of all political parties and organizations**, release of all political prisoners and the annulment of all court cases against political leaders and activists.

2. All **exiles must be allowed to unconditionally return** to the country and all political persecution must come to an end.

3. The **police, army and all security forces** must cease to operate as instruments of the monarchy and tinkhundla and be incorporated as of the democratic Interim Government.

4. Countries and international institutions must pledge to **stop their support of the tinkhundla regime**, wait for the establishment of the Interim Government and contribute in all required ways for the process of the reorganization of the country towards the new democratic life and support to the new dispensation.

The CPS believes that these steps are the only practical way forward for our people in the coming months. We call on all areas of the pro-democracy movement to come out in support of them.

The CPS will work with the workers and the frontline forces led by PUDEMO to ensure all possible means to carry forward these

demands. We call on the youth and students in particular to use the great enthusiasm and energy they have mobilized among the young in recent months to help realize these demands for swift change.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST GO NOW! TINKHUNDLA MUST BE DISMANTLED!
FORWARD TO A DEMOCRATIC INTERIM GOVERNMENT!


CPS