

TRIBUTE TO A SILENT  
REVOLUTIONARY HERO



March 2016

Voice of the South African Communist Party

# Unsebenzi

**BROADEN & STRENGTHEN  
THE FINANCIAL SECTOR  
CAMPAIGN!**



YCL NATIONAL SECRETARY MLULEKI DLELANGA LOOKS  
BEHIND THE **#FEESMUSTFALL** STUDENT PROTESTS

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

# Tackle state capture and corruption! Forward with financial sector campaign!

*The SACP's CC issued this statement following its meeting, 26-28 February*

**T**here was extensive discussion of the CC's political report, which focused on the current challenges facing our country and our movement. Over the past five years, the SACP has consistently warned that the multi-faceted global capitalist crisis, with its destructive impact on jobs, human security and environmental sustainability, is far from over. This global capitalist crisis has impacted upon the already problematic structure and vulnerabilities of South Africa's political economy.

In this context the key task of the present is to ensure a unified South African response that defends our democratic transformational mandate and our national sovereignty against both internal and external destabilising forces. In particular, as the SACP we call for calm heads to prevail within government and across our movement. The reckless role of shadowy forces to subvert sensitive, strategic public institutions for entirely unpatriotic ends, while our economy stands on the brink, must be immediately halted.

For the SACP, monopoly capital with its ties to imperialism remains the major strategic adversary in the struggle for national democratic transformation. However, it is impossible to address monopoly capital's massive and on-going expropriation of our national resources through the super-exploitation of workers, through tax-base erosion, capital flight, transfer pricing and much more, if sensitive and stra-

tegic public institutions like the capacity within the South African Revenue Service to deal effectively with high-income individuals and corporations are attacked and undermined for entirely parasitic ends. While our liberation movement should certainly be vigilant about the role of external forces, and while we should learn lessons from imperialist projection of "soft power" in many parts of the world to undermine national sovereignty, through so-called "Colour Revolutions" and the like, we should always remember that the entry-point for this destabilisation is inevitably corruption, parasitism and bureaucratic complacency.

### **New neo-liberal offensive**

Against the background of insufficient collective leadership and consultation resulting in the December shuffling and re-shuffling of finance ministers, and in the further context of a threat of a junk status downgrading, the door has been opened for a renewed neo-liberal offensive, calling for aggressive shock therapy austerity measures, whole-sale privatisation, and the rolling back of hard-won

labour gains.

This is the context in which the CC expressed its support for the broad direction of the budget delivered in Parliament on Wednesday by Cde Pravin Gordhan. Tabled in an exceptionally difficult situation, the budget succeeded in providing for tax changes that are mildly redistributive, an increase on VAT was avoided and, while lower income earners were provided relief from fiscal drag, higher earners received no such relief. The budget wisely confirmed a postponement of proposed reforms to worker provident funds in the face of widespread trade union and worker concerns. The question of safeguarding retirement funds must be discussed within the broader context of a more comprehensive social security policy and social wage interventions.

While there was a reduction in real spending, the budget correctly committed to sustaining our state-led infrastructure-building programme, active industrial programme interventions, and support for small and medium productive enterprises. The SACP further supports, in principle, the review of public entities and particularly a consolidation of multiple, often poorly managed, development finance institutions, notably those in provinces. While the proposal to consider co-financing of state-owned companies should not be rejected out of hand, great caution needs to be exercised to ensure that this does not become the entry-point through which the private profit mo-

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**The entry-point for destabilisation (of the SA state) is inevitably corruption, parasitism and bureaucratic complacency**

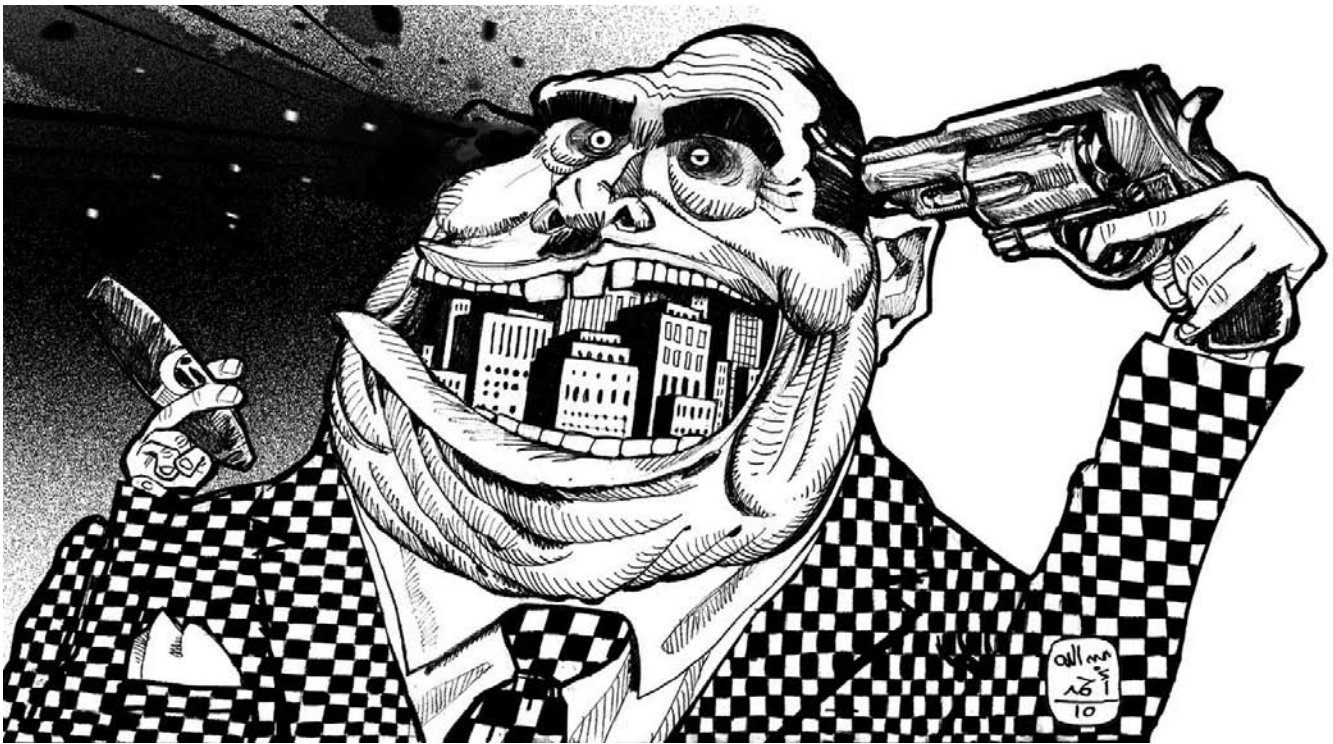


Illustration: Monopoly capital by Abdallah Ahmed

tive overwhelms the developmental, public interest mandate that should be the bedrock of our state owned companies.

In addressing public sector spending, while there is a reduction in real spending, the budget's main emphasis correctly focused not on slashing economic and social programmes, but rather on wasteful and corrupt expenditure, and on tightening supply chain processes to guard against parasitism and corporate capture, through, amongst other things, strengthening the Chief Procurement Office.

#### Student protests

University students and campus workers have the right to protest to articulate their concerns and grievances. The SACP supports in particular legitimate students' and workers' struggles both in principle and practice. However, students and workers have a duty to articulate their concerns peacefully in a manner that respects the rights of others.

The past week's disruptions at the University of Free State, the University of Pretoria, North West University and the University of Cape Town, and elsewhere, clearly indicate that there are minority, fringe elements seeking to destabilise our institutions. They have no interest in actually achieving their demands; they are simply intent on disruption, shifting from one demand to another. These mi-

nority elements seek to impose their political agenda on the overwhelming majority through intimidation and violence. They seek to exploit every problem to hijack legitimate student and worker concerns. It is notable that the issues are often not common across campuses; the one common factor is a tiny minority of the same fringe forces.

University managements need to take decisive action against elements bent on turning higher education campuses into sites of violence and vandalism. We cannot tolerate the destruction of property and threats to lives and we call on the South African Police Services to protect the lives of students, staff and workers. Criminal actions must have consequences.

The struggle against racism, including shortsighted anti-white chauvinism, must be intensified. The transformation of the racist and colonial legacy of universities is a critical task, but when this degenerates into anti-white chauvinism it simply helps to organize

right-wing white racism. In this context, SACP cadres on campuses, the YCLSA and Progressive Youth Alliance, and Nehawu have particular responsibilities to play a leadership role in isolating fringe elements, in condemning violence and anarchy, and in consolidating a determined struggle for the democratic transformation of higher learning.

As part of strengthening and deepening the Financial Sector Campaign, the Central Committee invited the Minister of Justice, Cde Michael Masutha, and comrades from Housing Class Action working under Cde iLungelo Lethu, the Human Rights Foundation, and progressive lawyers active in anti-eviction struggles to the the CC session on the financial sector. South Africa is the global leader in home evictions, with evictions now running at around 20 000 to 30 000 households a year. South Africa's repossession laws are among the most backward in the world, allowing for all manner of abuses.

Abuses are frequent in the processing of court eviction orders and in the auctioning of repossessed homes, with those affected often left in the dark. The international practice for auctioning of repossessed homes typically forbids initial sales at less than 95% of the market value. In South Africa, repossessed homes are frequently sold off at less than 20% of their value. We

**The struggle against  
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are even aware of cases of repossessed homes being sold off at R10. Corrupt estate agents and property developers with the connivance of officials are leading these practices. Criminal syndicates, often linked to drug trafficking, are behind the barbaric evictions of flat dwellers in central Johannesburg and elsewhere, with the Prevention of Illegal Evictions Act simply ignored by authorities.

### Financial Sector Campaign

The SACP will be actively taking up these concerns in the course of the Financial Sector Campaign towards the Nedlac-convened Financial Sector Summit in the second quarter of this year. We have also agreed with Cosatu to ensure that we intensify campaigning around the many other financial sector issues that are causing unbearable stress on a wide array of South Africans – the unsustainable household debt crisis, the abuse of garnishee orders, the abuse of social grant recipients, and mashonisas small and big.

The SACP CC took note of the Constitutional Court ruling in the IEC matter. The SACP fully supports all attempts to ensure free and fair elections. But if the ruling is that voter lists must have regular residential addresses, then it will result in the disenfranchisement of hundreds of thousands if not millions



**We call on the ANC leadership to deal decisively with abuses of election candidate nomination so we ensure an overwhelming ANC-led Alliance electoral victory**

of South Africans living in informal settlements and rural villages, including some members of our own CC. Other ways need to be found to guard against electoral abuses.

### Revitalise Alliance leadership

We believe that these challenges require the effective revitalisation of the modus operandi of national Alliance leadership structures, and the ability to act together on the ground in addressing factionalism. In some cases, ANC provincial structures have simply blocked national Alliance decisions to hold joint interventions to stabilise areas of conflict.

The CC reaffirmed its support for our Alliance partner, the ANC in the forthcoming local government elections. However, on the ground, in many localities the SACP will not be able to support ANC candidates imposed on communities in flagrant disregard of the ANC's clear rules against branch-membership gate-keeping, against slate politics, against the use of money to pervert candidate selection. We call on the ANC leadership to deal decisively with these abuses so that we ensure an overwhelming ANC-led Alliance electoral victory.

The SACP expresses its deep sympathies with the families and fellow-workers of the three-trapped workers at the Lily Mine in Mpumalanga. ●

# Umsebenzi

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SACP-COSATU BILATERAL

# Close ranks through mass campaigns

*SACP and Cosatu leaders decide to boost joint mass campaigning by the two working class Alliance formations. They issued this statement after a bilateral meeting last month*



Cosatu members protesting changes to the taxation and pension payout system

**O**n 20 February the SACP and Cosatu senior leaderships, led by SACP general secretary Cde Blade Nzimande and Cosatu president Cde Sidumo Dlamini, held a bilateral meeting, where they shared perspectives on the current national and international situation. Everywhere, monopoly capital seeks to make its own crisis the crisis of the working class, the urban and rural poor, and a wide array of middle strata. In South

**Monopoly capital seeks to make its crisis the crisis of the working class, the urban and rural poor ...**

Africa, the offensive against the organised working class persists as capital and its ideologues seek to respond to falling profits and sluggish growth by dismantling the hard won rights of the trade union movement.

The bilateral also identified the emergence of a parasitic bourgeoisie, which seeks to entrench itself within key sectors of the state, particularly within strategic state-owned enterprises, as an imminent threat to our democracy, our

broader movement, and to the ability of our democratic state to drive forward an inclusive and sustainable growth path. The two formations committed themselves to exposing and fearlessly dealing with those associated with state capture through parasitism in public sector formations and indeed within any of our own movement structures.

The SACP and Cosatu delegations agreed that the situation requires the two formations to close ranks, and intensify joint political, ideological and mass campaigning. In the current circumstances, the two working class formations within the ANC-led Alliance have clear-cut responsibilities.

The bilateral agreed to take to their respective decision-making structures (the SACP's Central Committee and Cosatu's Central Executive Committee) a proposal to campaign for the transformation of the financial sector and to link this to the struggle for a comprehensive social security system.

More than 10-million credit-active South Africans have impaired records, being three months and more in arrears. Unsecured credit in South Africa grew from R40-billion in 2008 to R172-billion in 2014. Much of this credit is for immediate consumption. An estimated 40% of loans from micro-lenders is used to buy food. Some 65% of consumers of non-mortgage loans earn less than R8 000 a month. With mass retrenchments in the mining sector and rising food prices, the household debt crisis will deepen. This is a crisis that is hitting the unemployed, under-employed and casualised workers, unionised workers,



Cde Solly Mapaila hands over a memorandum of demands following SACP-led Financial Sector Campaign march in Port Elizabeth in 2015



families supporting students, and large swathes of the “new black middle class” whose middle-class status is typically often achieved through unsustainable indebtedness.

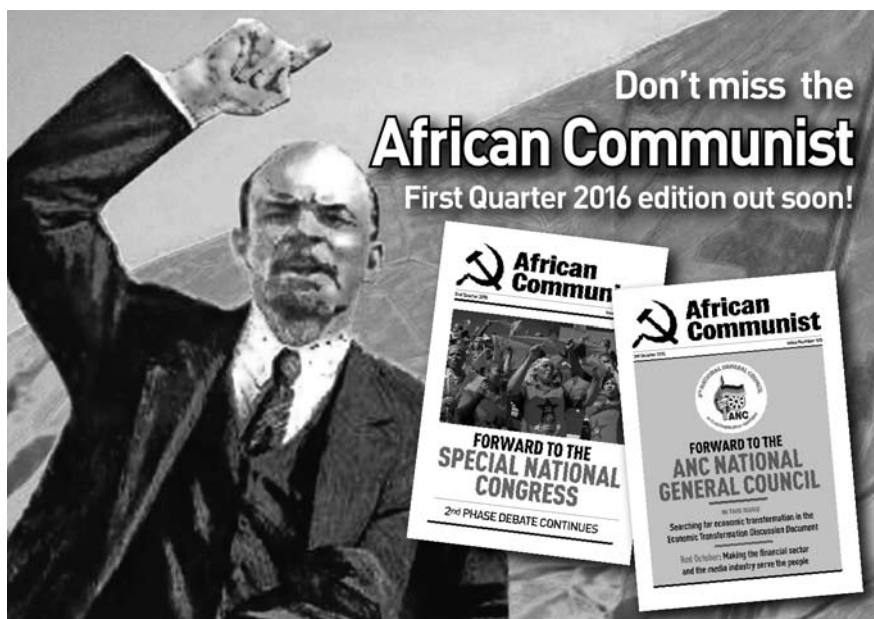
This situation is a symptom of a dysfunctional financial sector and of the failure to provide affordable housing and accommodation, public transport and public health-care. The situation

is further aggravated by the predatory behaviour of capital with the collusion of corrupt elements in the courts and police. There is widespread abuse of garnishee orders, for instance, and of housing evictions.

The struggle for a transformed, people-friendly financial sector and the review of the appropriate approach to provident fund reform are both inextricably linked to the need for a comprehensive social security system that responds to the reality of our situation. Mass unemployment is not a temporary phenomenon, and worker retirement funds and different social grants are typically not only used by individual recipients but are needed to support whole extended households.

The bilateral reaffirmed that both the SACP and Cosatu will actively support the ANC in the forthcoming local government elections. It is critical that both the neo-liberal centre-right DA and the dangerous, demagogic EFF are roundly defeated. But in expressing our support for the ANC, our two formations warned that we will not be able to support candidates thrust upon local communities through perverted, undemocratic processes that are in flagrant defiance of the ANC's own clear nominations procedures. We call on the ANC national leadership to ensure that where they have occurred these perverted practices are reversed.

The bilateral noted the Constitutional Court hearing earlier this month into the powers of the public protector, and expressed full support for the Constitutional Court.



#FEESMUSTFALL

# Behind the student protests

*Mluleki Dlelenga assesses the philosophy of education and the competing ideologies in our institutions of higher learning*



Students marching to the Union Buildings during the 2015 #feesmustfall protests

*It is not systematic education which somehow moulds society, but, on the contrary, society which according to its particular structure, shapes education in relation to the ends and interests of those who control the power in that society*

– Paulo Freire



From a class perspective, youth, students and the intelligentsia remain social strata: they are not a class – they are located outside production relations in a class-divided society.

Classes are large groups of people differing from each other in a historically determined social production, by their relations to means of production, by the organisation of labour and by how they share the wealth they produce.

There was once a primitive communal society, a classless society, followed by a slave society, which was a class society. From slave society to feudal society – also a class society – and on to the current stage is a capitalist society, this is a class society where contradictions and the gaps between the haves and have nots are widening day by day.

In understanding the evolution of so-

ciety we must understand that social production is a basis from which we move. The materialistic conception of history says the production of material goods for the satisfaction of human wants is a basis of society.

These strata are not monolithic, but reflect the social structure of our society. In that process, some individuals, groups and institutions claim class neutrality. But we know that there is no class neutrality in a class struggle. Lenin taught us that “to expect class neutrality in a class-divided society is as foolish as to expect the capitalist to reduce profits to increase wages”. The people, groups or institutions



UCT students sit-in on the Cape Town campus during the 2015 protests

who claim to be class neutral are Chapter 9 institutions, the judiciary, church and many individuals. How can they be class neutral? Historically they are a product of class struggles.

Gradually, with the development of property relations, classes were formed. As a result, the state is formed with its role to mediate class contradictions. Engels said that the “state is the product of society at a certain stage of development, it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of order and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state”.

Marx said that “the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of order, which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the con-

flict between classes”.

The state has coercive and non-coercive institutions. Coercive institutions include the police and army. Non-coercive institutions include education.

### Location of our education system

There is nothing free in a capitalist mode of production. Our education system is responding to the needs and aspirations of the ruling class. It does not respond to the needs and aspirations of the exploited class. The core of any education system is the curriculum. The content of the curriculum is informed by the needs of the ruling class. The basis of any curriculum reflects social class interests.

Any society, irrespective of class antagonisms, has an economic system, communication system, rationality system, morality system, aesthetic system and a values and norms system. A school from

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**The main aim of education is to inculcate the values and norms of the propertied class**

Grade A to tertiary level reflects class interests of property owners.

### Who controls entry & exit in education?

When zooming-in on who controls the entry and exit in education, we have to look closely at the administration – human resource departments at universities and colleges and so on. As communists, we don’t dream, we are scientific, the reality is that our human resources departments at universities and colleges are managed by white people and those white people reflect the interests of the ruling class. Let me stress I am not being racist: the YCL and SACP have always fought for non-racialism.

The main aim of education is to inculcate the values and norms of the propertied class. Unfortunately the South African curriculum depends too much on memorising. If a student doesn’t memorise enough, he or she won’t pass. No certificate. No matter how brilliant the student, he or she won’t be employed. The ruling class comes up with the rationalisation that universities are producing unemployable graduates, and use that to justify their failing system. Our education system is devoid of innovation and creativity. The entry and exit of our education system is



Students during the 2015 protests - still a case of two nations

controlled by the ruling class.

#### Access to higher education

Before 1994, the system of education was based on colonialism and apartheid. It was a racist system that oppressed black people for almost 350 years. One of the areas of oppression and discrimination was in education. Black children, African, Indian and coloured children were given an inferior education compared to that of their white counterparts in schools that were separated by race.

Our education at higher level is still a case of two nations. On the one hand, we have world-class universities and further education institutions with the best accommodation, sporting facilities, academic support, libraries and lecturers. These institutions are mainly populated by historically advantaged youth due to the high cost of access to them.

On the other hand, you have institutions that have lower standard than many in the Third World, with decaying infrastructure, lack of accommodation, sporting and academic facilities. These are what students from working class backgrounds can access.

We believe there is a neo-liberal attack on higher education. In keeping with the

progressive impoverishment of politics and public life since the emergence of a particular strand of neo-liberalism, universities are increasingly being transformed into a training ground for corporate interests, hence retreating from their roles as public spaces in which young people are trained to become the critical citizens and democratic agents necessary to nourish a socially responsible future.

There are arguments, voiced especially by working class students and other progressive forces, for a policy of progressive taxation. This means that the private sector and people earning high salaries will be taxed more to fund free education.

There is also the question of “institutional autonomy”, which universities insist on. This is always a bone of contention between students and the university management. The argument over institutional autonomy is that universities be-

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**Strapped for money,  
many universities are  
now modelled after the  
business world**

have like private kingdoms run by senates and councils on the basis of profit-maximisation, not like public entities in the interests of working class students.

We must continue to locate everything in its proper context, and resist any temptation to overlook ideological considerations and material conditions. The struggle for free education is part and parcel of a class struggle over what kind of society has to be built. It is the struggle over the nature of knowledge production, notwithstanding the immediate concerns over fee free education. Any resolution of this one way or other, is going to advantage one class over the others.

Strapped for money and increasingly defined in the language of corporate culture, many universities are now modelled after the business world and seem less interested in higher learning than in becoming licenced storefronts for brand-name corporations, modelling their research programmes to suit capitalist corporate interests.

As this occurs, the notion of ‘people’s education for people’s power’ gets lost in the maze of neo-liberal profit-frenzy programmes. As higher education increasingly becomes a privilege, not a right, many working class youth find it finan-



UJ students on the march during the #feesmustfall protests

cially impossible to enter universities, and those manage to enter drop out as a result of the constant increases in fees.

Those students who have the resources to stay in university are feeling the pressure of the job market and rush to take courses in business and the biosciences, while the humanities lose students and gets downsized. Not surprisingly, students are now referred to as “customers” and professors behave like “academic entrepreneurs”.

The attack on higher education is felt by the working class youth, pressured by the need to go through the system and acquire a ticket into to the labour market on one hand, and the emotional and psychological trauma they experience in the process of education, on the other.

Access to education and success must be ensured, the transformation of the curriculum to bring about working class education for working class youth must be fearlessly fought for.

**Why our education is expensive**

There are three strategic factors in the education system: lecturer, content, and student. They are all funded by internal and external capitalist class interests, and the education system is mediated through this.

There are a number of contributing factors that makes our educations expensive. Firstly, lecturers or institutions

order the content from the Western bourgeoisie capitals. Hence books reflect capitalist thinking. Secondly, research machinery and instruments of labour – laboratories and other infrastructure – are also ordered overseas; we don’t manufacture them. Thirdly, professors are highly educated intellectuals: they could, but don’t produce our own home-based knowledge content.

**Why call for free education?**

The basis of free education is the education clause on Freedom Charter - that doors of learning and of culture shall be opened! We must address from a class perspective the question of free education under capitalist production relations. As the young reds we call for a free, compulsory and quality education. But let’s analyse it in conditions of privately owned property under capitalism. For instance, there is no equality between a son or daughter of Manyawuza and a son and daughter of Oppenheimer, and there can

be no equality in an unequal situation. Therefore, free education must first focus on Manyawuza’s son or daughter, and capitalists and the private sector must contribute on making this possible.

The call for free education is a long standing resolution of the YCLSA through campaigns such as the “Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign”, and the “Free, Compulsory and Quality Education”. We call for an education system that is socialist oriented and ultimately a socialist education system.

**The way forward**

Ours is a struggle for socialism. The call for free education is a noble call, as relevant as ever before as a strategic goal. But because we are in capitalist production relations we have to be tactical: give time and wait for the outcomes of the Presidential Commission on free higher education and training. The institution and government must implement the outcomes and students’ demands as agreed by government.

We want free, compulsory and quality education for the workers and the poor. Education is political. It prepares each new generation to take its place within the polity and society. ●

*Cde Mluleki Dlelanga is the National Secretary of the YCLSA*

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**We want free, compulsory  
and quality education  
for the workers  
and the poor**

IN MEMORIAM

# Remembering Cde. Indres Naidoo

*Reneva Fourie recalls the life of selfless and determined struggle by a silent hero, and the acknowledgement by speakers at his funeral in January of his contribution*



**F**unerals in the Movement have a nostalgic tone, particularly the funerals of stalwarts from our political struggle days. They provide a platform for comrades to reconnect, to share past experiences and to reflect on current developments.

The funeral of Cde Indres Naidoo, in Johannesburg on 10 January 2016, was one such occasion. Old and new comrades across race, class, creed and gender, representative of all four pillars of our struggle gathered, along with Cde Naidoo's close friends and relatives, to pay homage to a silent hero at a Special Provincial Official Funeral. Also in attendance were representatives of President Zuma, Minister Jeff Radebe, former Presidents Thabo Mbeki and Kgalema Motlanthe and senior leadership of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and Sanco.

The four pillars of the struggle for national liberation, as led by the ANC, were the mass struggle, the international struggle, the armed struggle and the underground. Comrade Naidoo was an embodiment of them all. He could be nothing other than a life-long revolutionary as politics surrounded him since his birth in Doornfontein on 26 August 1936. His grandfather was a contemporary of Mahatma Gandhi. His father, Naran, was strongly aligned to Cde Yusuf Dadoo and the Indian Congresses. His mother, Amma, was also an activist, who participated in the 1946 and 1952 defiance campaigns and the 9 August 1956 march to the Union Buildings to protest against the extension of the pass laws to women.

That Cde Naidoo would develop a strong aversion to injustice of any form was certain. His consciousness of the root of oppression was demonstrated by the fact that he aligned himself with the Communist Party at a very young age. At the tender age of 10, he had already become a member of the Communist Party's Young Pioneers. He also understood the important link between communication, ideology and consciousness and around the same age, started selling progressive newspapers



**Cde Indres Naidoo in his 20s**

such as *The Guardian*, *Liberation*, *Fighting Talk* and the *Passive Resister*. During the 1952 Defiance Campaign he assisted by distributing leaflets.

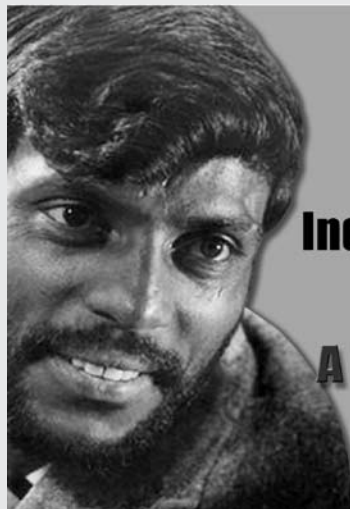
His determination, courage and passion for justice resulted in him being elected to the executives of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and the South African Peace Council. In 1960, Cde Naidoo joined the SACP,

which was underground, and in 1962, soon after its formation he was recruited into Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). He was severely tortured after being caught on 17 April 1963 trying to bomb the signal relay-box at the Riverlea railway station. After being convicted under the Sabotage Act, he formed part of the first batch of MK recruits to serve on Robben Island.

In 1973 he was released – after a decade of incarceration – and immediately placed under house arrest. Due to increased repression, he was forced into exile in 1977 and from his base in Mozambique he set up channels to transport literature and arms to comrades in South Africa. In 1987, attacks by the apartheid regime on the ANC in Mozambique compelled him to leave, together with comrades such as Cde Jacob Zuma. The ANC then deployed Cde Naidoo to serve as its deputy chief representative in the German Democratic Republic, where he served until his return to South Africa in 1991, after the unbanning of the ANC and SACP.

Typical of Cde Naidoo, he started working at the SACP HQ soon after returning. In addition to all his responsibilities in the Party, one of his main tasks was the distribution of *The African Communist*, *Umsebenzi* and other publications. When the ANC won the 1994 general election with a landslide, Cde Naidoo represented Gauteng as a Senator in National Parliament, a position which saw him to his retirement in 1999. He remained in Cape Town until he passed away on 3 January 2016 at 2 Military Hospital.

His passing and funeral evoked a longing for cherished values of the Movement, which remain desirable even today. Among these values are selflessness and determination. As efforts to advance the national democratic revolution experience severe challenges, it is imperative that cadres of our Movement remain



**Indrasena "Indres" Naidoo**  
1936 - 2016

**A Lifelong revolutionary  
Freedom fighter  
Communist to the end**

Raise the scarlet standard high: the SACP banner at Cde Indres' memorial

selfless and resistant to the allure of crass materialism, and continue to focus on the objectives of the revolution undeterred. His passing also evoked nostalgia around unity in the Alliance. Every SACP member has to be active in the ANC. And the ANC has to value the contribution of communists to its debates and programmes. As the Alliance's experiences show, the significance of unity in the Alliance and why this unity is fundamental for maintaining national cohesion and accelerating socio-economic development and transformation in our country, should not be forgotten. The one common thread in all the speeches made at the funeral was that we should emulate the qualities of Cde Naidoo. Should we heed the call, we will undoubtedly strengthen the pride in our Movement.

The speakers at the funeral included SACP General Secretary, Cde Blade Nzimande, Minister in the Presidency Cde Jeff Radebe, former MK Commander and head of the South African National Defence Force Cde Sphiwe Nyanda. Cde Nzimande said: "The need to record our history of struggle grows more urgent as comrades like Indres and Reggie Vandeyar, whom we laid to rest last year September, leave our shores." ●

*Cde Fourie is a Central Committee member and Head of the Secretariat at the SACP Head Office*

## Untimely death of former SACP spokesperson

**T**he SACP is shocked by the sad news of the untimely death of Cde Kaizer Mohau, the Party's former spokesperson. The SACP expresses its message of solidarity and sincere condolences to the family of Cde Kaizer for their loss.

Cde Kaizer was found dead at his home in North West Province on 18 February 2016 after he was not seen for two days. It is important that a police investigation into his disappearance and death reveal what happened to Cde Kaizer and to enable his family to find closure.

Cde Kaizer was born on 21 March 1972 in Ikageng, Potchefstroom.

Cde Kaizer is remembered for his dedicated work in the media department of the SACP. He was among the first Party members after 1994 to be sent to Cuba to study. He is also remembered for his previous role as the spokesperson of the Friends of Jacob Zuma Campaign. He was working as the ANC sub-regional organiser when he died. He leaves behind three children, three sisters and a brother. ●

MPULANGA AUGMENTED PEC

# Provincial SACP calls for CC to act ahead of local elections

*No Alliance meetings since 2012 makes it difficult to support the ANC in upcoming local government polls, warns PEC report*

The SACP Augmented Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) met at Steve Tshwete municipality, Ephraim Mogale District, 20 January 2016.

Present were deployed leaders from the Central Committee (CC), the PEC, district officials, the YCLSA, Cosatu, Sanco, as well as the Communist Party of Swaziland and the Swaziland Solidarity Network.

## Organisational growth

The SACP in Mpumalanga Province continues to grow.

The Augmented PEC, however, emphasised that the recruitment programme should not compromise qualitative growth. The meeting thus adopted a political education programme that commits the SACP to monthly political schools.

The YCLSA's Bua Thursdays programme, memorial lectures, cadres' and socialist forums and the upcoming provincial winter political school will also complement this political education programme.

## Campaigns

Since the beginning of the year, the SACP has held successful campaigns: the Joe Slovo Commemoration Campaign including memorial lectures, the Know Your Neighbourhood Campaign and the Back to School Campaign.

The SACP will be intensifying the Financial Sector Campaign, targeting reckless lending and exorbitant repayment interest rates by institutions such as the Mpumalanga Economic Growth Agency. More focus will be placed on the four banking oligopolies that dominate the banking sector in our country – Absa,



**Mpumalanga Provincial Secretary Bonakele Majuba**

Standard Bank, First National Bank and Nedbank – as well as insurance companies and micro-lenders, who are ravaging our people with high banking fees, insurance premiums, with claims often turned down, and unscrupulous lending practices.

The campaign will also target Mpumalanga's overpriced tollgates.

## Meeting the National Police Commissioner

The SACP held meetings with the National Police Commissioner regarding the political killings in Mpumalanga. The Commissioner promised to investigate the cases and give regular feedback. Since that meeting we have seen the

reinstatement of the case on the killing of SACP leader Cde Bomber Ntshangase.

We have also noted with concern that while the SACP was picketing against political killings outside the court during the trial against the alleged killers, a group of young people wearing ANC T-shirts held what seemed like a well-planned counter-picket with posters reading "Hands off DD Mabuza". This is extremely disconcerting and does more harm than good to the person of Cde DD.

As far as the SACP is concerned, Cde DD Mabuza is not an accused in the murder of Cde Bomber Ntshangase. The use of his name to counter the SACP's campaign for justice against political killings raises a lot of questions and leaves much to be desired. There is no reason in principle why Cde DD must not nip this the behaviour in the bud.

We call on the police to investigate those who participated in that picket and who is behind the political killings in the province.

## Anti-corruption campaign

The SACP committed itself to strengthening the anti-corruption campaign to fight lumpen and parasitic tenderpreneurs. The SACP in Mpumalanga Province believes that the struggle against corruption is a just struggle.

## Police brutality

The Augmented PEC noted with concern the increased police brutality since the appointment of the new Provincial Commissioner of Police, General Bethuel Zuma. We call for an urgent investigation

into allegations that the police are using live ammunition to deal with peaceful community protests, particularly in Kanyamazane, Pienaar and the surrounding townships. The investigation must be wide-ranging and cover the brutality against peaceful workers' protests at the Steve Tshwete municipality.

The SACP condemns apartheid-era style violent suppression of genuine community demands. We believe that these latest acts of police brutality undermine all the efforts of the democratic movement to turn the police from being seen as the enemy of the people to being a police service in defence of the people.

We call upon the police not to allow themselves to be used to further selfish the political interests of people who want to cling on to power even when they are being overwhelmingly rejected by our people. We call on the police to defy any illegal instruction to kill our people.

### Local government elections

The meeting noted that there were many challenges that were making it difficult for the SACP to support the ANC in the forthcoming local government elections. These include:

- Exclusion of all the Alliance partners from its elections structures and processes in the entire province;
- Suspension of communists from the ANC;
- Imposition of candidates on communities;
- Blatant bussing of voters from other wards in Nkomazi;
- Disbandment of ANC branches and removal of councillors and their replacement with members of the opposition at Dipaleseng;
- Candidates imposed in Kanyamazane were responsible for the violent attacks of the SACP during the Joe Slovo and Jimmy Mohlala memorial lecture; and
- Declaration by the newly elected provincial secretary of the ANC that he will not work with the SACP in Harold Molobela District because he prefers to work with the former District Secretary than with the new leadership in that district.

The meeting, however, reaffirmed the resolutions of the Special National Congress of the SACP held last July to support the ANC during the local government elections on condition that the candidates are democratically elected

with all due processes and requirements fulfilled, and have been endorsed by their respective communities. The SACP will not support imposed councillor candidates!

### May Day rally

The meeting endorsed the decision by Cosatu to hold its May Day rallies in areas where the ANC lost more votes during the 2014 general elections.

### State of the Alliance

The meeting noted:

- That there has not been any Alliance meeting in Mpumalanga Province since 2012;
- That, unlike the rest of the country, the 2007 Polokwane revolution in Mpumalanga province was hijacked and captured by lumpen tenderpreneurs, and there was never any Reconfigured Alliance but a consolidation of the lumpen tenderpreneurs and corporate capture of the ANC;
- The provincial chairperson of the

the CC to implement the Special National Congress resolution on the CC Committee on State Power and Electoral Options concerning Alliance intervention in provinces and regions where Alliance relations have deteriorated.

The SACP in Mpumalanga province will engage the CC to ensure the urgent release of the reports of the ANC Integrity Committee and Veterans investigations into the Kanyamazane invasion of an SACP meeting, at least before the elections.

### Jobs bloodbath and Lily Mine disaster

The meeting characterised the continued jobs bloodbath in Mpumalanga as an attack on the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and Cosatu in particular and the working class in general, as these will inevitably lead to the weakening of the labour movement, increase in inequality, unemployment and poverty.

The retrenchment of 800 workers at Optimum mine, the notification of intention to close Arnot mine with the loss of 1 700 jobs, the planned closure of Highveld Steel leading with the loss of 2 000 jobs, and the expulsion of workers at Umbhamba will cause a social crisis for the families of the affected workers. The meeting called for an urgent intervention by government to prevent the loss of so many jobs.

The SACP believes that the Lily Mine management put profit ahead of people's rights by focusing on low-cost rescue mechanisms, which led to the collapse of the mine, thus prolonging the rescue mission by two more weeks.

The SACP calls for a thorough investigation into the tragedy.

### International solidarity

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to work with the liberation movements in Swaziland and to campaign for the unbanning of all political organisations in Swaziland, the release of political prisoners, including the South African citizen, Cde Amos Mbedze, serving 85 years in Mswati's prison cells.

The SACP will be participating in all campaigns in solidarity with the struggle for democracy in Swaziland. The meeting called on the South African government to investigate the allegations of criminal activities from the Swaziland embassy in South Africa. ●



**Rescue workers take a break during ongoing attempts to reach three trapped workers at Lily Mine – a rescue mission prolonged by management's profits-before-people attitude**

ANC has, since his election in 2008, failed to honour all invitations to the activities of the SACP;

- The rise of intolerance based on different views and the increase in anti-communist and totalitarian tendencies in the ANC in the province;
- The ANC, as the leading component of the Alliance, is highly factionalised and divided on its own to lead the Alliance;
- The factional conduct by some of the ANC NEC deployees to Mpumalanga; and
- The failure of the ANC Veterans and Integrity Committee to release the report on the Kanyamazane violent attacks on 25 January 2015 at the SACP memorial lecture on Joe Slovo and Jimmy Mohlala.

The SACP in the province will engage

SACP-CPC BILATERAL

# South African and Chinese Communists meet

*Communists from South Africa and China met last month to exchange assessments on developments in their own countries, and of the impact of the ongoing global economic crisis, writes Alex Mashilo*



Communists from South Africa and China met last month to exchange assessments on developments in their own countries, and of the impact on them of the ongoing global economic crisis, writes Alex Mashilo

Delegates from the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) met in Johannesburg on 19 January.

The SACP delegation was led by the Second Deputy General Secretary Cde Solly Mapaila. It included Head of the Secretariat and Central Committee member Cde Reneva Fourie, and comrades from the Party's departments of International Affairs, Policy and Research, and Communication, Information and Media.

The CPC delegation was led by Deputy Minister, Professor Gu Hailiang and included comrades from the Party's International Department: Wei Qiang, Director General, Fifth Bureau; Wang Nan, director of the Fifth Bureau; Xu Sujiang, First Secretary of the Fourth Bureau; and interpreter Zhang Xiaojun.

Cde Gu Hailiang presented China's 13th five-year plan of economic and social development with two major goals that must be achieved by the centenaries of the founding of the CPC in 2021 and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 2049: firstly, finish building a moderately prosperous Chinese society and, secondly, transforming Chinese society into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious.

Cde Gu presented the Party's programme on the realisation of the two



**SACP delegation leader Solly Mapaila receives a commemoration scroll from CPC delegation leader Professor Gu Hailiang**

goals with immediate focus being on the first goal. The parties shared their perspectives on the global context characterised by the ongoing economic crisis that erupted in 2008, and its impact on both China and South Africa.

Growth in the Chinese economy is adjusting to a new normal, according to the CPC. But unlike those who are advocating a single-minded focus on growth, the CPC takes into consideration many factors in its programme of building a moderately prosperous society and advancing socialist construction under the specific conditions. China still outpaces almost all countries in rates of growth.

China has become the world's second largest economy after the United States. It built a strong production base with diversified manufacturing and massive exports leading to the country climbing to the position of the world's biggest trading country in a significant number of products. Nevertheless, leading countries of the triad economies of the United States, Western Europe and Japan still captured more value from production in global value chains, including an important number of those involving China.

In view of the importance of high value-added production processes, from conception (including research and development, design and innovation) to the labour process and to their impact and implications for development, the CPC is pursuing a strategy of economic upgrading. This includes altering the content and quality of growth to deepen diversification, move up the global value chains, and deal with the problems of both international and national inequalities and environmental degradation caused by the way production is conducted.

Cde Mapaila briefed the CPC delegation about developments in South Africa and the challenges posed by the ongoing capitalist world system crisis.

Unlike the CPC, which is China's governing Party, the SACP is not South Africa's governing Party, although, the Party's leaders and cadres participate in government as part of the ANC-led Alliance. Effectively, the ANC is South Africa's governing Party. But this is under fundamental conditions transmitted from the era of colonial and apartheid oppression of the black majority who were forced into the deep end of capitalist exploitation.

The net effect of this situation is that with capital's economic power not only intact but also strengthening (in some

instances through the co-option of some black faces as intermediate and subordinate partners), South Africa is economically dominated both by the domestic white capitalist class and by imperialist capital, which has achieved increased penetration following the 1994 breakthrough. These two sections of capital remain strategically opposed to the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

In addition, some of the black faces who have been co-opted in the existing, that is the untransformed, structures of ownership and control, have veered away from the NDR. To the extent that these strata comprise those who were resolute revolutionaries before, most if not all of them have lost their revolutionary content along with their combativeness.

These are increasingly replaced by a reformism characterised by arguments for surface-level changes that do not lead to the negation of the fundamental problem of the prevailing mode of social production that was transmitted from the past. Their arguments are cast, increasingly since 1994, in a neoliberal mould. Their new class interests are hardwired in, and dependent on, the success of their senior partners. But they are also reliant on de-racialisation as one of the necessary conditions of our project of national transformation.

Competition for accommodation in the new strata of the capitalist class has intensified. For some, this class position is mediated by a parasitic relationship with the state, as a market for goods and services procured from the private sector. This is used to forge black economic empowerment relationships with sections of established capital. For others, it is mediated broadly without such parasitism by black economic empowerment – which has, after its inception since 1994, been dominated by a focus on share ownership, but which is still reliant on state regulation. All of these have created new political contradictions that both the ANC as the governing party and the Alliance must find ways to deal with in the best interests of the success of the NDR.

**SA is dominated  
by the domestic  
white capitalist class  
and by imperialist  
capital**

Internationally, the ongoing crisis of capitalism as the world system is impacting negatively on South Africa. The country has not transformed the basic structure of its production. It is still significantly reliant on the import of finished products and on the export of raw materials, with mining resources playing an important role. When their prices decline, as they currently are, the country is negatively affected. Although some resources (notably gold) are rallying, the general decline in resource prices have triggered major challenges, such as major job losses.

It is in the context of the need to transform the basic economic structure of South Africa and the crisis nature of the international situation that the Tripartite Alliance adopted a perspective to move the NDR to the second radical phase. Cde Mapaila explained the content and strategic tasks of this phase of the NDR.

In summary, the second, more radical phase of the NDR must ensure a radical economic transformation of South Africa and on this basis deepen the overall process of social transformation towards the realisation of the goals of the Freedom Charter. According to the SACP theory of struggle, this will lay the indispensable basis for the advance to socialism.

Cde Mapaila also presented the SACP 12th National Congress five-year political programme, *The South African Road to Socialism*, to the CPC delegation. While remaining in force, it has entered a period of review as the Party is preparing for its 14th National Congress scheduled to take place in July 2017.

The Party's Commission on state power is expected to present its final report to the Congress, including an evaluation of the efficacy of the current ANC-led Alliance electoral strategy and, in this context, a discussion on the way forward. The Congress will streamline the perspective of placing the second radical phase of the NDR in the Party's 14th National Congress political programme. The Party's 14th National Congress political programme is expected to elaborate on the goals to be achieved by the centenary of the SACP in 2021. In 2022 it will be due for review by the 15th National Congress. The 14th National Congress in 2017 is also expected to finalise the SACP's perspectives on the review of Party's organisation and related constitutional amendments. ●

*Cde Mashilo is the SACP Spokesperson*

CHRISTMAS IN HAVANA

# SACP cements ties with Cuba

*Chris Mathlako outlines the intensive and information-packed visit by an SACP delegation to Cuba, hosted by the ruling CPC*



A 17-person SACP delegation led by 2nd Deputy General Secretary Cde Solly Mapaila, visited Cuba from the 15 to 23 December last year to strengthen existing fraternal ties with the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC).

The focus of the visit was developments across the world, among others the electoral defeat of the progressive left forces in Latin America and the unfolding re-establishment of relations between the United States and Cuba. These developments have far-reaching implications for the processes of socialist construction and require ongoing scrutiny.

The SACP delegation included CC members and provincial secretaries. The delegation was also joined for part of the visit by SACP General Secretary, Cde Blade Nzimande and Deputy Chairperson Cde Thulas Nxesi.

The CPC prepared an interesting and intensive programme for the duration of our stay in Cuba, involving exchanges and visits to key sites of socio-economic and political significance, such as the port development in Mariel, south of Havana. This 'special economic zone' project epitomises the process of updating the socialist model in Cuba, which followed a process of thorough discussion by some eight million of the 11-million-strong population. This nationwide discussion culminated in an overwhelming endorsement at the First National Conference to complement the Economic and Social Policy Guidelines adopted at the 6th Congress of the CPC, held in April 2012.

In explaining the significance of the Mariel project, also piloted as a foreign



**Reunited: SACP 2nd deputy General Secretary Solly Mapaila, Fernando González Llort, SACP General Secretary Blade Nzimande, Ramón Labañino Salazar and Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez**

**The process of updating Cuba's socialist model involved nearly 8-million of Cuba's 11-million people in discussions**

investment and capital attraction zone, our Cuban counterparts stressed that the 6th Congress, the highest decision-making body of the CPC, focused on 'updating' Cuba's socialist-orientated economic model. They said that the First National Conference was tasked with improving the Party's methods and work style concerning its internal functioning and relationship with other revolutionary organisations, and with Cuban society overall. This meant soliciting the widest possible endorsement for the process and involving all sectors of Cuban society. This,



The SACP delegation, led by Solly Mapaila, lay a wreath at the bust of the late ANC President, OR Tambo in Havana's Park of Africa

they pointed out, demonstrated the confidence the CPC held in the people and their centrality in the process of socialist construction. Luis Sexto, a Cuban journalist captured this aptly: "Cuba, rigid for many years, shakes off the starch that immobilised it to change what is obsolete... without compromising the solidity of the revolution's power". It was important for our delegation to get to grips with the underlying rationale of the process underway in order to comprehensively understand the directives of the 6th Congress as further elaborated by the First National Conference.

There are extensive debates regarding the efficacy of what is underway in Cuba, and the SACP delegation had the privilege to explore these and other important topics of contemporary relevance for the struggle for socialist construction, including the processes underway in Latin America and elsewhere. A critical look at what is called 'updating

of the Cuban economic model' and the 'perfecting' of the Cuban political system from the point of view of the objectives of the revolution focuses attention on the need to deepen popular participatory and socially representative democracy, strengthen popular and grassroots control over state management, address the causes of the deterioration of moral and civic values, and increase the participation of the mass media in counteracting negative effects. This bears important lessons for progressives everywhere.

And then? Cuba, is a space in con-

**Cuba shakes off the starch ...  
to change what is obsolete  
without compromising the  
solidity of the revolution's  
power - Luis Sexto**

stant change – the effects of the 6th Congress resolutions! Whereas a few years ago, the per capita consumption of mobile phones was very low in comparison to countries in the same bracket as Cuba, both the use and availability of internet have increased dramatically and the effects are evident in many ways throughout the country.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and Cuba. To honour this milestone, the programme in Cuba included paying homage to the former President of the ANC, Cde OR Tambo, whose bust was erected in the public space aptly called the Park of Africa. We were joined at this event by almost all former Cuban Ambassadors to South Africa – including the first Ambassador, Cde Angel Dalmau Fernandez, who gave a powerful eulogy to Cde Tambo and dealt with his ties with the Cuban revolution. This relationship, he said, ultimately set



**Above: SACP delegation meeting Cuban trade union officials**



**Left: Cuban scientists brief SACP delegates on biotechnology advances in Cuba - among them a major breakthrough in the treatment of diabetes**

the pace for the establishment of the diplomatic ties between the two countries in the immediate aftermath of the election of Cde Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa.

Other events included audiences with Cuban stalwart and current Speaker of the National Assembly of Peoples Power, Cde Juan Esteban Lazo Hernandez. Cde Lazo, a veteran of the Cuban revolution and former vice-president of the Council of State, made some important observations about the developments in Latin America, particularly the recent electoral defeats in Argentina and Venezuela. He said that Venezuela now needed inter-

national solidarity of the planned counter-revolutionary agenda sponsored by imperialism. While US imperialism was opening up to thawing relations with Cuba, it was getting increasingly involved in undermining the Bolivarian project in Venezuela through myriad ways, including openly funding opposition parties and therefore meddling in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. Cde Lazo also appreciated the youthfulness of the SACP delegation and said this held great hopes for the struggle for socialism in SA. He said: "... consciousness is maintained through institutionalising political and ideological education" and that "history was key in nation-building."

Senior leaders of the SACP also met with President Raul Castro, further entrenching relations between the two communist parties. ●

**Cde Matlhako is SACP Politburo Member responsible for International Relations**

## 'We need to do more towards free, compulsory education'

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the Department of Education, and they are responding.

"The Jobs for Youth coalition is also a major focus. The convening of the Summit and the signing of the Accord are good outcomes. But now we have to push for implementation.

"We want to be more effective in the tertiary education student struggles. We need to do more in our campaign for free, compulsory, quality education. We also have Operation Khula focusing on intensifying youth mobilization for socialism through recruitment and political education"

What about relations with the ANC Youth League?

"Yes, there are problems. But we can overcome them. We are working on that. The youth in our country have many issues that the YCLSA and Youth League can work on together. That will help to deal with the problems between our two youth formations."

So what is he reading at the moment?

"I sleep with a book next to me. I read about socialism. I like reading the speeches of Castro, Mao and Che. I'm reading at the moment *The Cuba Reader – the Making of a Revolutionary Society*, which has the speeches of Fidel, Camillo and Che. You can learn a lot from Cuba. Among other books on my list are Chomsky's *On Palestine, OR Tambo Speaks*, and *The Life and Times of Chris Hani*. I also like reading poems."

Cde Dlelanga expressed concern about "the way young people embrace materialism, consumerism. Their main concern is individualism and selfishness. They don't care about others and don't love others. We have to change that culture. Caring for others is a very important part of socialism."

So is socialism the future? What about the collapse of the Soviet Union and other existing examples of socialism?

"Although socialism collapsed in Russia, it's not dead. It can be revived. Each country will have a different path towards socialism. Capitalism has failed. It's in crisis. What's good about capitalism? There has to be an alternative that benefits the working class and poor. And that's socialism." ●

## INTERVIEW

# Mluleki Dlelanga: hugely motivated

*Umsebenzi Editor Yunus Carrim speaks to YCLSA National Secretary Mluleki Dlelanga on his life, his family, the youth in South Africa and socialism*

**T**here's a certain intensity, almost a frenetic quality, to the rapid flow of words from Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) National Secretary Cde Mluleki Dlelanga.

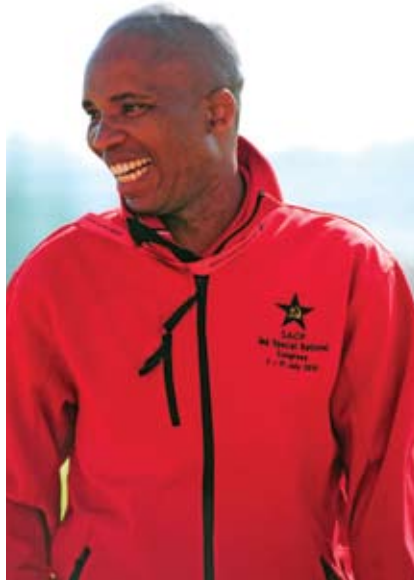
"I'm a communist first and last," he says: "Nothing else about me matters."

He comes across as, well ... over-serious. Does he laugh enough? "Yes, yes!" he laughs – with a certain intensity....

At age 13 he was drawn to the SACP. "In 1992 I attended a rally at Flagstaff addressed by Cde Chris Hani. I was so impressed! And then I also liked history in school, especially about the Russian Revolution and South African history, especially the period from Union in 1910 to the Republic in 1961. I also was interested to understand the collapse of the Soviet Union. I began to get a better understanding of the cruelty of apartheid as well of capitalism as a system. I became clear that we must oppose every form of injustice and discrimination and that there shouldn't be rich and poor. We must all be equal. That's right, that's the way the whole world should be."

He joined the YCLSA at its revival in 2003 and has served as secretary at every level – branch, district, province, and, since December 2014, nationally. He regards himself as a product of the SACP 11th Congress which resolved to re-establish YCLSA. He also regards himself as a bridge between the old and new generation of the YCLSA, as he served with the old generation and is currently leading the new.

"I come from a polygamous family, and most of us are political. My brother, Vuyisani, went to exile and when he came back he joined the police. My father was a well-respected community leader and a staunch ANC member. Others who lead the ANC in my village are my brothers."



**Mluleki Dlelanga: Communist first and last**

Cde Dlelanga was born in in 1979 in Mneketshe Location in Ingquza Hill in the OR Tambo District in the Eastern Cape. He is married to Azile Dlelanga, a state accountant in the Department of Human Settlements in the Eastern Cape. They have two children, Lihle (11) and Sihle (7). Cde Dlelanga's family is in Buffalo City, while he's based at the SACP HQ in Johannesburg.

So how does he manage his family life?

"Well, communication is very important, and I keep in touch with my family a lot. I spend quality time with them whenever I can. We are a revolutionary family. My wife understands that I've dedicated my life to the revolution. But this doesn't mean I ignore my family. When I meet comrades at home, I also take my family with me when I can. I also discuss with

veterans how they dealt with their families and this helps me."

"My mother is in Ingquza Hill and I also keep in touch with her. But she doesn't really understand what I do." He laughs. "She doesn't care that her son is the YCLSA National Secretary. For her, her son is just her son and an ANC member." Cde Dlelange's father died in 2001.

#### Qualifications

Cde Dlelanga qualified with a diploma in marketing management in 2004 from the Mangosuthu University of Technology and a B-Tech at Walter Sisulu University. He also has a certificate in rural and urban development from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

In 2006 he worked as an SMME Officer in the Local Economic Development division of the Ingquza Hill Local Municipality. In 2008 he moved to the OR Tambo District municipality to work in its Tourism Department. In 2011 he became the parliamentary liaison officer of Eastern Cape MEC for Education, Cde Mandla Makupula. In 2014 he became an MPL in the Eastern Cape legislature. He is currently based at the SACP HQ as full-time National Secretary.

#### YCL issues

So what are some major issues the YCLSA is focusing on at present? "The Joe Slovo Right to Learn campaign is very important. Education must become fashionable. An educated youth is a liberated youth. But youth must not just be academically educated; they have to be politically educated too.

"Our Read to Lead campaign is closely related to this. Mass literacy is important. We've been putting a lot of pressure on

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