



Red Voice

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YOUTH MOVING
SOUTH AFRICA
FORWARD

07 May 2014

2014 GENERAL ELECTIONS
I VOTED ANC



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Inside: Socialism in our Lifetime!



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Editor's Voice



Dumelang,

The YCLSA takes this opportunity to thank millions of our people especially young people who overwhelmingly voted for the African National Congress led alliance and gave birth to a renewed mandate for it to continue to govern, deepen, defend and consolidate the gains of the last 20 years of our democracy. This is a sign of confidence in the programme to pursue changing their life's with the necessary speed expected by the masses of our people. This revolutionary act help us towards the radicalization of the 2nd phase of our revolutionary struggle, to extend the quality and refine quantity of our service to our people and continue to improve on the how and what we deliver to them .

We have listened to our youth, active in their communities ,active in the economy, active in churches, active entrepreneurship, youth in education, youth involved in sports, arts and culture, youth in politics, so ours is to radically implement (our people's manifesto) without fail. Young people have rejected the thesis that it is disengaged, not interested in the construction of their tomorrow and the better future of their inheritors. Young people have also rejected the political diet of 'Born Frees' and made the point that they were there in the terrain of the election. battle. As we move to implement young people's

wishes and demands-they have said to us please focus more on Entrepreneurship, Employment and Education (EEE) and as we move towards reviewing the National Youth Strategies Laws and Policies together with our progressive allies (ANCYL, SASCO & COSAS) we must place those at the centre of processes to follow. They have also asked us to deepen mass engagement with all youth and their structures to keep a dynamic contact for they are the main contributors towards their destiny, a possible Socialist World. We have committed to them that we will make sure that they get constant feed back on the youth accord, campaign for more Programmes and Products in the NYDA for it to continue to tell a new good story about itself, in the benefit of young people who are everywhere in the country especially in the deep rural areas of our beloved country in need of their services.

During our June Month programme we, the Youth committed to move South Africa forward by holding all governments departments, agencies, institutions, to account on how they implement the manifesto. The task for all of us is clear which is to continue to influence, change and be makers of a better tomorrow. As we begin to write a new chapter of our story- of our daily lives under the leadership of the revolutionary alliance - **The South African Story**, we must never be absent, be spectators, but be actively involved for this story is not ours but a story for those to come and called to build upon on what is ours and not what is theirs for we owe it to the future, a possible humane world, a world called -SOCIALIST South Africa and the World.

Cde Kabelo Mohibidu

YCLSA Provincial Secretary



May Day

Message delivered by Cde Blade Nzimande, General Secretary of the SACP

We mark May Day 2014 at a critical moment in our country's history. We have just celebrated 20-years since our 1994 democratic breakthrough. Next Wednesday, May 7th we will be going to the polls to elect national and provincial legislatures to usher in the fifth ANC-led administration.

This is not a time for working class complacency. This is not a time for distracting divisions amongst ourselves. The organised working class must be active and present on all of the key battle-fields of the day. This May Day 2014 the SACP is calling on the South African working class to close ranks in order:

- To unite to defend working class gains and the unity of COSATU;
- To ensure an overwhelming ANC-alliance election victory on May 7th;
- To take forward the struggle for a radical second phase of the national democratic revolution.

These three tasks are inter-connected. They are mutually dependent:

- Unless we embark on a radical second phase of our revolution, crisis levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality will continue. They will place impossible strains on the trade union movement, threatening all the gains that we have made;
- An ANC and alliance that is weakened electorally will lack the confidence and unity to drive forward with a radical second phase. Without a united, militant and independent COSATU within the alliance, the ability of a new ANC-led government to press ahead with radical transformation will be compromised;
- But likewise a union movement that stands aloof from the political battlefields will

simply abandon that space to its bourgeois class enemies.

That is why, as the SACP we say that the order of the day is: CLOSE RANKS!

Let us close ranks to celebrate collectively our 20-year track record

As we mark 20-years of democracy in SA, let us remember together the important working class victories we have collectively achieved over these two decades.

Amongst other things, we have entrenched within our constitution critical labour and socio economic rights, and we have passed many progressive pro-worker laws. There have been major gains in social grants, housing, electrification, and much more. These things didn't just descend from heaven. They didn't just happen. They were only possible in part because of the powerful role that the trade union movement played not just AFTER 1994 – but also long BEFORE.

These advances have been made, consolidated and defended by the ongoing unity in action of our Alliance, and by the organised working class under the umbrella of COSATU.

But these advances are under constant threat from the capitalist system, and from opposition parties like the DA which nowadays suddenly and opportunistically praise the administrations of former presidents, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki - as if the DA ever voted for those governments.

Therefore, let us also close ranks to celebrate together our achievements over these past five years

- Working with the ANC-led government we have rescued the auto sector in SA through public investment of R22bn in 183 projects, preserving 46,000 jobs and adding 9850 more jobs in the midst of the worst global.



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Continues...

capitalist crisis since the 1930s.

- Working with the ANC-led government we have had important interventions in other industrial sectors including clothing and textiles, imposing a 75 percent local procurement requirement on the public sector.

The responsibility of the youth remains first and foremost to obtain an education!

- In the past 5 years, we have driven an economic and social infrastructure programme, committing R1-trillion of public spending as a key counter-cyclical intervention in the midst of the global economic crisis.
- Together, through government and as a result of our campaigns, we have ensured the removal of adverse credit information, which came into effect a month ago, impacting on 10 million South Africans suffocated by mashonisas and high bank charges.
- Together, in the face of DA opposition, we have re-opened the lodgement of land claims, to address the plight of millions of the landless and land hungry.
- Together, over the past five years, we have ensured work opportunities for 4,5million unemployed South Africans through the Expanded Public Works and Community Work programmes.
- We have opened the doors of higher

learning to hundreds of thousands more children of the working class with a trebling of the National Students Financial Scheme from R3,1bn in 2009 to the current R9,6bn.

But these were not gains achieved on auto-pilot. They are not gains won by working class absenteeism, or by spoilt ballots, or by narrow anti-government oppositionism.

Vote ANC, but don't vote blank cheque!

The SACP will never call on the working class to vote once every few years, and then relax, leaving it to government. The reason is simple – the state is a contested reality. It's a CLASS contested reality. All of the above gains were won and need to be defended both from within and from outside of the state.

Without a united left, without a strong and united labour movement these advances will be pushed back. Without the left contesting inside of the state, advances will not be made – we will simply leave the space open to others, and especially to a bourgeoisie that never sleeps in its attempts to hijack our democracy, to infiltrate, seduce, corrupt and roll-back the state.

The working class must remain active and vigilant. Those we send into Parliament and into government must be held to their mandate. They must report back to their constituencies and to the working class. This is not a way to weaken these comrades, it's to strengthen their hand in their responsibilities in legislatures, in parliament, in government itself.

Let us close ranks to take forward the struggle for a radical second phase of the NDR

Let us close ranks to ensure an intensified struggle to address the triple crisis of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Despite important advances since 1994, our economy remains based primarily on the export of minerals, and the domination of the mining and banking sectors.



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- Unemployment was already at an outrageous level before the ongoing global capitalist crisis that began in 2007. Today unemployment stands at a massive 35%.

Today unemployment stands at a massive 35%

- Extreme poverty persists, afflicting millions of unemployed and even employed workers in an intrinsically low-wage economy. Poverty leads to hunger - 10 million South Africans do not have adequate access to food.
- Inequality remains deep-seated. 50% of the population live on 8% of national income in SA, while the top 5% of earners earn 30 times more than the bottom 5%. The share of workers in national income declined from 55% in 2000 to below 50% at present. This is 'reverse redistribution from the poor to the rich'.



Why do we have these problems? The DA and the commercial media blame the ANC-led

government and trade unions. They are, of course, wrong. It's the unchanged, persisting semi-colonial character of monopoly capital in SA that underpins the reproduction of crisis levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

This is the context in which we must close ranks, unite and take forward the struggle for a radical second phase of the democratic transformation of our society. By this we mean, amongst other things, a fundamental transformation of the structure of the economy, moving it away from its domination by the mining/finance/energy complex to re-industrialisation, building a strong manufacturing sector in South Africa and across our continent.

As part of the struggle to ensure radical transformation, the SACP stands fully behind COSATU in the struggle for:

- A new income and wage policy focused on addressing poverty and inequalities;
- A comprehensive social security system and a rejection of piecemeal approaches;
- The aligning of the mandate of Treasury and the Reserve Bank to the agenda of a radical economic transformation;
- Measures to ensure beneficiation of our natural resources;
- The channeling of retirement funds towards investment including building infrastructure where workers live;
- Comprehensive land reform to reverse the legacy of rural and urban racialised spaces.

Let us close ranks to fight the scourge of corruption

Our ANC-alliance electoral manifesto advances important interventions to fight corruption. Let us pledge to ensure that we do indeed stick to these manifesto commitments that include:

- Action against companies involved in bid rigging;



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- The prohibition on public servants and public representatives from doing business with the state;
- A centralised process to adjudicate major state tenders;
- All corrupt officials to be made individually liable for losses incurred to the state as a result of their corrupt actions;
- The strengthening of corruption fighting agencies.

But let us not fall into an opposition trap

To oppose corruption without fear or favour is not to be oppositionist – it is the best form of supporting the ANC government.

To speak up against police brutality, where it occurs, is not to oppose the ANC-led government or the police service – it's the best way of ensuring that we help to transform the state in line with ANC alliance policies.

To mobilise against incompetence, delivery failures and neglect of working class communities and to seek actively to correct these problems – does not have to be oppositionist. In fact it's an act of solidarity with and defence of the core principles of our ANC-led movement.

The difference between us and the opposition is that we oppose corruption, incompetence and failures in order to CORRECT them - in order to deepen our democracy, to defend and consolidate a strong developmental state.

The opposition raises these things not to correct them, but to score cheap political points, and above all, to sow demoralisation about the public sector, to roll back the state. They want to displace the role of the public sector with their own dog-eats-dog private capitalist market.

The capitalist bosses can afford private health care – so they don't need public health-care or an NHI.

They can afford private security – so they don't

need an effective police service in their communities. They can afford private schools – so they don't need public education.

But have you noticed how silent the opposition is about the multi-billion rand theft of public resources by the big private construction companies?

They can afford private gyms – so they don't need community halls and sports fields. They can afford housing mortgages on several, multi-million rand luxury properties– so they don't need state funded private houses.

They can save millions of rands for their retirement – so they happily evade taxation, and disinvest their ill-gotten profits out of our country.

Yes, we must root out corruption in the state – but have you noticed how silent the opposition is about the multi-billion rand theft of public resources by the big private construction companies? Have you noticed how quickly they have forgotten the role of the bread cartel in literally stealing bread out of the mouths of the poor? Have you heard them campaigning against tax evasion and the illegal export of capital out of our country.

Their campaign against corruption is not directed AT corruption – it is directed against the very idea of a developmental public sector.

On May 7 – let us teach this DA, the arrogant party of monopoly capital and minority privilege a powerful lesson.

We call on the working class to deliver a decisive electoral defeat on the DA:



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- A party that opposed farmworkers minimum wage being raised from R65 a day;
- A party that supports labour brokers;
- A party that wants to roll back hard-won labour market legislation in favour of a “flexible labour market”;
- A party that portrays COSATU as the enemy, and marches on its head-office;
- A party of hypocrisy that speaks out of two sides of its mouth on black economic empowerment and on land reform, a party that fudges its silent approval of the Zionist apartheid wall in Palestine;
- A party that is seeking to disguise its conservative minority white electoral machine and its neo-liberal agenda behind parachuted black faces and a newly discovered support for ANC presidents of the past.

Let us deal decisively with corruption! Let us defeat anti-working class forces!

We call on the working class - Come out in your large numbers to deliver a massive electoral blow to this party of big capital and white privilege.

Electoral abstenteeism simply plays into the hands of this retrograde anti-worker party.

On May 7 – let us also deal a decisive electoral blow against the EFF – the party led by the most corrupt tenderpreneurs

Workers are not fooled by these loud-mouthed demagogues, these tenderpreneurs in red berets. They have never done an honest day's work, so where do they get their fancy cars, their Breitling

watches? Where do they get their campaign funding? Africa and the world have seen this kind of clowning before. But it is a mistake to just laugh it off – the Hitlers and Mussolinis rose to prominence demagogically sprouting “socialism”, and then butchering the working class when in power.

The EFF practices the same kind of demagogy that we are seeing playing itself out on the platinum belt at present. The EFF like AMCU hijacks real grievances but for entirely self-serving leadership purposes. Wild promises are made for which there is no capacity to deliver leading inevitably to the crushing defeat of gullible followers. A second slow bleeding Marikana tragedy is now playing itself out on the platinum belt.

For all these reasons, we urge workers to come out in their overwhelming numbers to defeat anti-worker right-wing formations – whether they are cloaked in blue or red guises.

Without a strong and independent SACP, without a militant and independent COSATU, and without a revolutionary working class SACP/COSATU axis, electoral promises can be rolled back and nullified by the unceasing class war waged by the capitalist class. Without vigilance and strong organisation our own formations can be hijacked.

There is much more to be done! Let us close ranks! Let us roll back monopoly capital! Let us deal decisively with corruption! Let us defeat anti-working class forces!

FORWARD TO AN OVERWHELMING ANC-ALLIANCE ELECTORAL VICTORY!

FORWARD TO A RADICAL SECOND PHASE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!

Cde Blade Nzimande
SACP General Secretary



Socialism in our lifetime





The Ballot, the Streets – or both!

By Chris Mathlako

In the first half of the year, crucial sets of elections took place across the the world. In May, the European (EU) Parliamentary elections - touted as the most crucial elections in the phase on unrelenting systemic economic crisis of capitalism and stubborn implementation of austerity measures through-ought the continent; and since the inception of the current EU socio-economic and political system, furthermore democratic South Africa's 4th non-racial and all-inclusive general elections were held; and the world's largest democracy voted in India to constitute the 16th Lok Sabha.

But, what is the significance of elections and/or electoral/parliamentary politics for the left and communist parties in the current conjuncture? Put differently, why do communist parties and left progressives participate in elections and what do they stand to gain from such, within the context of the predominance of the capitalists system? Is it either/or - the ballot or the streets? Or both and in what measures?

Ongoing debates regarding the best (potent) political method(s) to achieving the goals of those struggling to change the statute quo, have gained ascendancy in the light of the massive popular outburst of an amorphous people taking over the streets and squares of major cities across the world. In fact since, the first editions of Porto Alegre's World Social Forum (WSF), the questions of **state power** and the **methods of struggle**, have dominated the discussions and debates regarding strategy and tactics. Boron asserts; "The postmodern *air du temps* favoured the dissemination of those novel ideas, apparently better suited to deal with the complexities of contemporary capitalism where traditional forms of class struggle seemed relics of a bygone past. If in 'classical times' it was possible to establish a connection between class, class conflicts, labour

unions, political parties and the state, where organisations like unions and parties developed certain strategies and tactics to fight the bourgeois state, in the rarefied atmosphere of the twenty-first century capitalism with its amorphous multitudes, vanishing national states and the omnipresence of a de-centred, immaterial empire, strategy and tactics became as obsolete as bows and arrows after the invention of firearms" (The Question of Strategy and Tactics: Socialist Register 2013. 241). There is also an 'argument developed by Hard and Negri, which winds up jettisoning 'strategy' as an incurable anachronism in the post-class era of the multitude', says Boron.

There are various perspective regarding elections and electoral/parliamentary paths to power. The South African Communist Party (SACP) sums its position in its 13th Congress Political Programme, elaborated from the Medium-Term Vision) - hegemonising all key sites of power, which includes, but not exclusively: state power, the work-place, the community, the economy, the international, battle of ideas and the environment. This constitute the struggle of socialism, as contained in the 13th Congress of the SACP, South African Road to Socialism (SARS)! The SACP makes the connection between the various key sites of power and argues, that in order to hegemonise these key sites of power and ensure the Parties positions are factored into the polity of democratic SA. Its Gramscian notion hegemony takes into the account the conjunctural terrain and the tactics that must be employed to advance the struggle for socialism, within the context of the material conditions prevailing.

In 'Leftwing Communist: an Infantile Disorder'; Lenin (taking up the cudgels with the German 'Left' Communists) argues; "Parliamentarianism has become "historically obsolete". That is true in



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the propaganda sense. However, everybody knows that this is the propaganda sense. However, everybody knows that this is still a far cry from overcoming it in *practice*. Capitalism could have been declared—and with full justice—to be "historically obsolete" many decades ago, but that does not at all remove the need for a very long and very persistent struggle *on the basis* of capitalism. Parliamentarianism is "historically obsolete" from the standpoint of *world history*, i.e., the *era* of bourgeois parliamentarianism is over, and the *era* of the proletarian dictatorship has *begun*. That is incontestable. But world history is counted in decades. Ten or twenty years earlier or later makes no difference when measured with the yardstick of world history; from the standpoint of world history it is a trifle that cannot be considered even approximately. But for that very reason, it is a glaring theoretical error to apply the yardstick of world history to practical politics".

These recent elections also coincided with developments of huge proportions and implications, for the working class and struggling peoples, such as the unrelenting war on democracy waged under the pretext of advancing democracy by the United States of America-European and NATO-axis. The Ukraine-ouster of a democratically elected president, represents the highest point of the machinations and determination, imperialism is willing to undertake in furtherance of its geo-political strategies to hegemonise the world. Elsewhere, others sought to use electoral politics as an effort of affirmation of their rule - such as the presidential elections in Syria, which Bashar al-Asad won overwhelmingly, but not recognised by the West. In the case of democratic South Africa, these elections represented a turning point.

Though the African National Congress-led Alliance won by 62%, there are suggestions that in some

key constituencies the ANC-led Alliance lost significant ground. In India the progressive and left forces also lost significant ground as the resurgence of rightwing politics swept across the nation and heavily punished the left. Whereas in the EU context, southern Europe, of the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) consolidated the left vote, elsewhere the conservative centre-right and emerging neo-nazi forces gained significant ground in the elections. indeed, social democracy was the biggest loser and

Capitalism could have been declared – and with full justice – to be “historically obsolete” many decades ago

subsequently moved towards the centrist and centre-right politics. All of this makes for some important analysis, particularly for the left and progressive forces the world-over. Taking into account the wave of (international) protests currently waging - the pertinent question(s) regarding elections and electoral politics makes a critical contemporary question of strategy for the left and progressive forces.

The question of elections and electoral politics is historic, and can be attributed in part to the split of the between Lenin and the Western European Marxist. No one of Lenin's generation, it is argued, understood Marx and Engels as well as he did. Records reveals - with hindsight that, the formal split took place when the First World War erupted, was a culmination of a decade-long process. Lenin, argues Nimtz (Lenin's Electoral Strategy from Marx and Engels through the Revolution of 1905: 2014), were primarily



The Ballot, the Streets – or both!

Continues...

responsible for the Bolshevik-led triumph in Russia in October 1917. Three years thereafter, Lenin declared that his party's "participation... in parliaments... was not only useful but indispensable" in its success. It is therefore imperative to, in an endeavour to evaluate the electoral politics to re-examine Lenin on elections

"participation... in parliaments... was not only useful but indispensable"

and electoral strategies. For in Lenin, we will appreciate the most crucial elements and dimensions regarding the tactic, since the Russian Revolution, is said to be the first and only revolution in history to employ the parliamentary arena for working class ascent to state power. Though Salvador Allende's rise to power was numbed by the bullets of counter-revolution and imperialism, it is also a critical point of reference for employing the parliamentary route to state power.

Nimtz book attempts to answer the question: what did Lenin mean by 'participation in parliaments', but importantly, it also elucidates the example of the Bolsheviks to today's "protestors" in whatever corner of the globe. "Yearning for something more fundamental than what is touted as 'change', many are torn between the 'streets' and the 'ballot box' for its realisation", argues Nimtz. He asserts that the 'solution Lenin fought for to this apparent dilemma was what he called 'REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM' - which is the basis of his book. In the book he (Nimtz) argues that Lenin's

position on the 'streets' versus the 'ballot box' - no, it wasn't ether/or, but squarely rooted in the politics of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Nimtz makes the points over and over again that Lenin, did more than to utilise the electoral and parliamentary arenas for revolutionary ends. this is chronicled in the copious speeches and thus, explains why the Bolsheviks, rather than any other political current, were hegemonic in October 1917. Lenin involved and immeshed himself totally in electoral activities, especially during his leadership of the Bolshevik-wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party RSDLP) in the four State Dumas from 1906 to the beginning of the First World War. He wrote copious on the question together with his writings on the peasantry in this period. Nimtz also argues, 'no one of Lenin's generation understood Marx and Engels as well as he did'. There is enough evidence to demonstrate that his electoral/parliamentary strategy was decisive in the Bolshevik-led triumph in 1917, probably the only revolution to have been realised in such fashion. This is, therefore - and surprisingly, given all that's been written about it - the first study trace the connection between the politics of the two founders of modern communist movement and Russian Revolution. Though not a definitive explanation for the Bolshevik success, a tentative case - given what's at stake in politics today. - is infinitely superior to none at all. Just ask the protectors at Tahrir Square!

Of particular importance, were the developments in Latin American in the aftermath of the Zapatista rebellion on 1 January 1994 and amplified by subsequent events in Seattle, to the Occupy Movement and recent 'Arab Spring' events. "Paradoxically enough, the rejection of anything related to strategy and tactics took place and gained impetus in the ascending phase of popular struggles against neo-liberalism. The



The Ballot, the Streets – or both!

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rising tide on anti-neoliberal alter-globalisation movements, sparked with the Zapatista rebellion on 1 January 1994 and amplified after the 'Battle of Seattle' in November 1999 and the ensuing succession of Porto Alegre World Social Forum played a major role in fostering political thinking (among the left and progressives) in which classical Marxist principles of political action were strongly rejected.

Under this perspective social movement were exalted while political parties were duly demoted; classes and class organisation were regarded as remnants of archaic times, the 'truth' of social life lying in multifarious panoply of all sorts of identities hitherto concealed by the abstract universality of class; 'civil society' became the catchword of a promising new era, while the state was considered as unhealthy archaism.

The new common sense prevailing among large sections of the left could not fail to jettison what from Marx and Engels to Fidel and Guevara, passing through Lenin, Luxembourg, Mao and Gramsci, was the key problem of all revolutions: the seizure of state power"; explains Boron.

It is in this context, to borrow Nimitz words; '[T]he Bolsheviks example offers, therefore, potentially rich lessons for today's 'protestors' in whatever corner of the globe'.

Aspiring for something more meaningful and significant than what is often touted as 'change', many are torn between the 'streets' and the 'ballot box' for its realisation.'

The solution Lenin fought for to this apparent dilemma was what he allied 'revolutionary parliamentarism'.

Can electoral and parliamentary arenas be used toward revolutionary ends? This is precisely the question that held Lenin's attention from 1905 to 1917, leading him to conclude that they could—and would.

Conclusion

It is therefore imperative for us to continue to explore the time in which Lenin initiated his use of the 'electorate', beginning with the Marxist roots of Lenin's politics, and then his efforts to lead the deputies of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) in the First and

The solution Lenin fought for to this apparent dilemma was what he hailed 'revolutionary parliamentarism'

Second State Dumas, concluding with Russia's first experiment in representative democracy from 1906 to 1907. During this time, Lenin had to address issues such as whether to boycott or participate in undemocratic elections, how to conduct election campaigns, whether to enter into electoral blocs and the related 'lesser of two evils' dilemma, how to keep deputies accountable to the party, and how to balance electoral politics with armed struggle. Lenin later said that the lessons of that work were 'indispensable' for Bolshevik success in 1917, which means that this detailed analysis of that period is crucial to any thorough understanding of Leninism.



Cde Chris Matlhako
SACP Politburo Member





Honouring Chris Hani

By Norman Shushu

We, as the working class Party in South Africa, the South African Communist Party (SACP) take pride in the fact that we have produced one of the most outstanding revolutionaries of our time, Cde Chris Hani.

Comrade Chris Hani dedicated his entire life to the struggle of the working class and the poor. Having seen the need to participate in the struggle for the total emancipation of our people he joined the ANC Youth League at the tender age of 15 years. Cde Chris Hani went into exile in 1962 to Lesotho following his arrest under the Suppression of Communism Act and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in the same year.

He joined the underground structures of the South African Communist Party in 1961, in his own words, "having realised that National Liberation, though essential, would not bring about total economic liberation". In taking the decision to join the SACP, he was influenced by other outstanding revolutionaries that the SACP (CPSA) has produced like Govan Mbeki, Moses Kotane, Braam Fischer, JB Marks and Ray Alexander.

Cde Chris received military training in the Soviet Union and served as political commissar in MK as well as its Chief of Staff.

Cde Chris participated in the Wanki operation (Rhodesian Bush War) in Zimbabwe alongside the ZIPRA Armed Forces (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) against the South African and Ian Smith colonising illegitimate forces. His bravery and commitment and leadership displayed in close combat consolidated Cde Chris Hani's reputation of a brave revolutionary who was prepared to lay down his life for the liberation of our people, the working class and the poor.

As a revolutionary and a communist, Chris Hani disdained to conceal the truth. When things seemed not to be going well in our camps in exile

as well as within our broader movement, he penned what later became known as the Hani Memorandum which was highly critical of what was happening internally, which according to him, needed the attention of our movement as well as our leaders setting the tone for the revitalization of our ANC as a national liberation movement.

The SACP take pride in the fact that we have produced one of the most outstanding revolutionaries of our time, Cde Chris Hani

As the Head of Umkhonto we Sizwe when some counter revolutionary infiltrated our movement and encouraged a mutiny amongst dissidents and anti-communists. It was comrade Chris Hani who rose to the occasion for the suppression of the counter revolutionary mutiny as organised by enemies of the revolution, providing leadership all the way.

Our General Secretary Cde Chris Hani was brutally assassinated on the 10th April 1993 outside his home in Dawn Park, Boksburg by Janus Waluz, a polish immigrant in collaboration with the Conservative Party leader and member of the apartheid parliament Clive Derby-Lewis. The main reason for their actions is still not known except for what is popularly said i.e. to derail the negotiation process which was underway.

It was through Hani's death that the 27th April 1994 was agreed upon as a day for free and fair elections in our country. The day on which the masses of our people, the working class and the poor could exercise, for the first time, their right to vote after more than 350 years of colonial dispossession and apartheid subjugation.



Honouring Chris Hani

Continues...

Cde Chris Hani paid with his life for us to have the freedom that we enjoy today, which some of us take for granted. At the time of his death, he was serving in the National Executive Committee of the ANC and its National Working Committee, but more importantly, he was the General Secretary of the SACP which he joined in 1961.

Having paid the ultimate prize for freedom, I think that our former General Secretary would be proud of our twenty year democratic achievements, which amongst others includes the following:

- From 1994 to the onset of the global capitalist financial crisis in 2008 had the longest recorded period of uninterrupted economic growth, growing twice more than the last 19 years of the apartheid government;
- Twice as many young people attended university and twice as many young people graduated in 2012 more than in 1994;
- More than 1,4 million students have benefitted from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS);
- The Public Works and Community Works Programme have created 6 million work opportunities to unemployed people, 40% of them being young people;
- The national wealth, measured in terms of GDP, has grown to more than R3.5 trillion, up from less than half a trillion rand in 1994;
- Government's annual revenue has grown to R880 billion, up from R112 billion in 1994;
- The economy regained the 1 million jobs lost as a result of the 2008 global capitalist economic crisis. Employment is now higher than it has ever been;
- Since 1994, five million more people are working, with total employment at 14 million;
- Nearly 5000 farms have been transferred to

black people benefitting over 200 000 families;

- Nearly 80,000 land claims, totalling 3.4 million hectares, have been settled and 1.8 million people have benefited;
- We have promoted entrepreneurship development and provided financial skills and mentorship;
- We have set aside R2.7 billion for youth entrepreneurship loans and support;
- The proportion of South African adults with access to banking services increased from 60% in 2009, to 75% in 2013;
- An amnesty for five million people with adverse credit records was initiated;
- Over 3.3 million free houses have been built, benefiting more than 16 million working class and poor people;
- Half a million public rental houses have been transferred to their occupants;
- The social housing programme has delivered 30,000 well-located and well-managed rental housing units to low and moderate income households;
- About 12 million households have access to electricity - 7 million more than in 1994;
- Around 92% of South Africans have access to potable water, compared to 60% in 1996;
- Nearly 500 informal settlements have been replaced with quality housing and basic services.

In doing the above, we have not disappointed Cde Chris. It is important that we take forward the struggle for a radical second phase of the NDR in order to deal with the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Cde Norman Shushu
SACP Provincial Secretary





Salute the Youth of '76

The Young Communist League of South Africa [uFasimba] waves the Red Flag high for the heroic youth of 1976 who defiantly stood up to the brutal, suppressive and oppressive, racist, sexist and class super-exploitative apartheid regime.

As we commemorate the heroes of June 16, 1976 it can't help but make comparisons between the youth of that time and the youth of today. The current generation of the youth still faces fundamental challenges that were faced by the youth 38 years ago, although in a changed environment characterized by the defeat of apartheid in 1994 and the ushering in of a democratic dispensation the same year. The problems of racialised and gendered economic and income inequality, from which the systemic effects such as unemployment and poverty have been created and continue to be reproduced, lie at the heart of the legacy of the past which the generation of the youth of today must eradicate. This is the same struggle, fundamentally, fought by the class of 1976. Ours is to stay the course, continue the struggle and complete or hand it over in a much developed position to the next generation of the youth.

The youth are the main victims of the onslaught by the capitalist class. For so long as the system is intact, and its necessary conditions, products and levers for the amassing of wealth on a private basis, such as inequality, unemployment and poverty, continue and hit hard on the youth, there can never be anyone referred to as born free. The YCLSA therefore says the struggle continues: Aluta continua!

Young people are the most unemployed, underemployed and in most cases exploited in wage employment particularly low paying jobs in such areas as restaurant, private security, labor brokering, cleaning, construction. The owners of the means of production continue to maximize profits and accumulate socially produced capital

privately by exploiting young people as part of the broader working class.

We call on our government to speedily deal with the persistently high levels of inequality, unemployment and poverty which are among the highest in the world. The government must also move decisively and to open a new chapter through which practices such as labour brokering must be abolished.

We call on more investment in education and skills development. The government must tackle the private sector, which is the dominant section of our economy, to open the workplace as a learning space for graduate trainee programs, apprenticeships, internships, experiential training, recognition of prior learning and other work-based training. The private is the single largest consumer of education and skills, but since the 1990s with increasing penetration of neoliberal globalization in production the private sector in South Africa has clearly embarked on a strike by imposing sanctions on skills development.

More and more the private sector has become a complainant about lack of skills, but it is virtually doing nothing compared to this outcry to develop the skills of the South African workforce. The reality is that without access to the workplace which is prohibited by the private sector (almost at every workplace there hangs a notice: "No jobs" if not "No entry") our schools, colleges and universities will produce graduates who lack workplace experience.

The YCLSA calls for the adoption compulsory skills development targets binding on both the private and public sector. The state through the public service, state institutions and agencies, state owned enterprises and parastatals at all levels must also offer the youth training opportunities and work experience. The YCLSA will take this and other proposals forward



Salute the Youth of '76

Continues...

through engagement but if need be through mass action as well.

We also want more focus on the youth from the newly created ministry of small businesses and co-operatives development. Thus must help empower the youth and transform the relations on ownership and control function in our economy. Accordingly, the youth should not only be educated and trained to work for other people who are by the way exploiters. The youth must be educated, trained and supported to work for themselves in enterprises that they socially own.

The YCLSA calls on all young people to be at the forefront of the struggle to move South Africa forward

The youth is also the most affected by the HIV/AIDS with young women the hardest hit. We applaud the efforts made by the government in implementing a decisive antiretroviral therapy and prevention of mother to child transmission. The youth in particular must turn on themselves robustly and behave responsibly, abstain or stop unprotected sexual conduct. By so doing the youth will contribute in reducing and stopping the rate of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

The YCLSA will intensify its campaign for free sanitary towels especially for poor households.

The YCLSA calls on all young people to be at the forefront of the struggle to move South Africa forward. The youth must participate meaningfully in the affairs of our government and society at large. This, the 2014 June 16, is the first following

the fifth democratic election from which the ANC-led alliance emerged victoriously with a mandate to advance a second, more radical phase of our democratic and socio-economic transformation. The youth must not wait for track called the government to deliver. Instead the youth appreciate their potential as part of the broader fundamental forces, especially the working class, and act as an agent change. As such young people must become champions in this mandate for a fundamental democratic and socio-economic transformation.

In commemorating the youth of 1976 and celebrating their contribution in our liberation struggle the YCLSA hosted a Youth Month rally at the Kwa-Phaahla Stadium in Siyabuswa, Mpumalanga on Sunday 22 June.

YCLSA
YOUTH MONTH RALLY

22 JUNE 2014 • 9:00
KWA-PHAHLA STADIUM
SIYABUSWA

NZIMANDE • MANAMELA
• PYA

ARTISTS: PEPSI, VETKOEK vs MAHOOTA
AND MANY MORE

FOR MORE INFO: 0796700274

Released by YCLSA Head Office
16 June 2014



16 June 1976

By OJ Fourie

June 16, 1976 marks a remarkable day in the history of our country when young people stood up for what they believe in despite the opposition of an oppressive regime. The youth of today should continue to build on the foundations that were laid by the youth of the past. Our generation must not allow the gains of freedom and democracy to be lost; we cannot degenerate back to a society of racism, exploitation and oppression.

The youth of the past was prepared to sacrifice for a better South Africa. What are we prepared to sacrifice to continue building a better South Africa? We need to live exemplary lives so that future generations will emulate a lifestyle of Ubuntu and not of selfishness.

It goes without saying that the youth of today are dealing with numerous challenges, but so did the youth of the past but they continued to move forward to strive for better opportunities for them and for others.

As the youth, we must take our challenges head-on and overcome them so that it does not limit us from achieving our potential and limit our nation from achieving its potential to become a complete non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous South Africa.

John Dube was in his youth when he built a school that is still standing today and he also started a newspaper. Karl Marx was 26 when he wrote the Communist Manifesto and Vladimir Lenin was 33 when he led the Russian Revolution. Pixley ka Isaka Seme was 24 when he wrote The Regeneration of Africa, on which most of the thinking around the African Renaissance is based. Nelson Mandela was 32 and OR Tambo was 31 when they spearheaded the anti-apartheid programme of action in 1949. These are just a few examples of how the youth can and has influenced society.



The ANC has focussed a lot on youth development and to create opportunities for the youth since it became a ruling party in 1994. In the last 20 years our government has ensured that there are 1.7 million more young people working than in what there was in 1995. Twice as many young people attended university and twice as many graduated in 2012 than in 1994. The Public Works and Community Work programmes have created 6 million work opportunities for unemployed people, 40% of whom were young people.

In the last 5 years our government has also ensured that they have doubled the amount available for student bursaries benefiting deserving students in universities and FET colleges. The matric pass rate has increased from 60% in 2009 to 78.2% in 2013. Government have promoted entrepreneurship development and provided financial skills and mentorship and have also set aside R2.7 billion for youth entrepreneurship loans and support.



16 June 1976

Continues...

The National Development Plan (NDP) indicates that South Africa has a youthful population. The NDP, recognising that young people bear the brunt of unemployment, adopted a “youth lens” in preparing its proposals, which include:

- A nutrition intervention program for pregnant women and young children;
- Universal access to two years of early childhood development (ECD);
- Improve the school system, including increasing the number of students achieving above 50% in literacy and mathematics, increasing learner retention rates to 90% and bolstering teacher training;
- Strengthen youth service programmes and introduce new, community-based programmes to offer young people life-skills training, entrepreneurship training and opportunities to participate in community development programmes;
- Strengthen and expand the number of FET colleges to increase the participation rate to 25%;
- Increase the graduation rate of FET colleges to 75%;
- Provide full funding assistance covering tuition, books, accommodation and living allowance to students from poor families;
- Develop community safety centres to prevent crime and include youth in these initiatives;
- A tax incentive to employers to reduce the initial cost of hiring young labour-market entrants;
- A subsidy to the placement sector to identify, prepare and place matric graduates into work. The subsidy will be paid upon successful placement;
- Expand learnerships and make training vouchers directly available to job seekers

A formalised graduate recruitment scheme for the public service to attract highly skilled people;

- Expand the role of state-owned enterprises in training artisans and technical professionals.

In addition to the NDP, the ANC election manifesto will ensure more empowered, educated and employed youth over the next 5 years. The manifesto will implement a multi-pronged approach to tackle youth unemployment.

In the next five years the ANC will ensure job placements and internships schemes for youth. Students from FET colleges and universities of technology will be placed in workplaces to gain practical work experience. Through the campaign to turn the workspace into a training space, the public sector will increase the number of spaces for FET graduates and unemployed graduates to get experiential training. The intake of students for post-school education will be massively expanded over the next five years, with the aim of enrolling the majority of youth aged 18-23, especially in FET colleges. A skills plan will direct contractors to help increase the number of engineers and artisans, project managers, machine operators and financial managers. State-owned enterprises will be required to increase the number of training opportunities offered to young South Africans.

The ANC will further see to the increase of the number of young people in public works schemes through coordinating and scaling up existing programmes such as the Community Work Programme, the Mass Literacy Campaign and the National Rural Youth Services Corps, it is aimed to provide initial exposure to a work opportunity to at least four million young people. In the infrastructure programmes, 60% of jobs on new infrastructure projects will be set aside for young people. This will be combined with improved



16 June 1976

Continues...

training by FET colleges. Youth co-operatives and youth enterprises will be promoted. Public agencies responsible for co-operatives and small enterprise development will be required to develop special programmes targeting youth co-operatives and youth enterprises. The private sector will be encouraged to target youth and make use of youth employment incentive schemes.

The responsibility of the youth remains first and foremost to obtain an education!

Education remains high on the agenda of the ANC. More than one million students will be enrolled in FET colleges in 2014, and an additional 500,000 students will be enrolled in the next five years. The ANC wants to improve governance and administration of FET colleges and adopt quality assurance measures, especially relating to curricula and training. It will develop FET college-based mathematics and science foundation programmes to assist students to take up careers in engineering, science and technology. Opportunities for workplace-based training and experience will be created through greater partnership between the sector education and training authorities (SETAs), workplaces, and education and training institutions.

1,000 New schools will be built to expand access to education and respond to the challenges of rural schooling and urban population growth. An additional 50,000 student accommodation places will be provided through partnerships with the private sector and direct state initiatives.

Noting all of the above mentioned interventions



and opportunities that the ANC-led government will be providing for the youth of the country – it must be said that we, as the youth, must make use of these opportunities. We must take the responsibility upon ourselves in ensuring that these opportunities are not wasted.

The responsibility of the youth remains first and foremost to obtain an education! One of the YCLSA's key programmes are the Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign in which young people are continuously encourage to obtain an education regardless of the challenges that we are facing. Education will strengthen us to overcome the challenges of poverty, unemployment and equality.

As we celebrate Youth Day on the 16th of June, let us not just reflect on the achievements of the youth of the past; but let us be inspired by the youth of the past, the class of 1949 and the class of 1976, to overcome our challenges. Let us, as the class of 2014, also be remembered for having contributed in moving South Africa forward! Let us stand up and be counted – let's be the change we want to see happening in South Africa.

Roar young lions, roar!

Cde OJ Fourie

YCLSA National Committee Member



Socialism in our lifetime



New Youth Agenda

By Lebogang Olyn

Ours is continue to celebrate and tell the significance of June Youth Month, hence this piece it is dedicated to the memory of all those young people whose sweat and blood contributed to our freedom as well as those who lost their lives in the struggle for freedom. Among others, we talking about Hector Peterson, Tsietshi Mashinini, Solomon Mahlangu, Lahlul Mabilu, Percival Jas, Thomas Morebodi, and many uncelebrated young heroes and heroines of our struggle. These young martyrs of our struggle have dedicated their short lived lives to the liberation and emancipation of the young people of our country, the working class and the poor for a just and equal society, may their dearly departed souls rest in peace. Eight days before Chris Hani was assassinated in April 1993, he was interviewed by social historian Luli Callinicos. On the eve of our democratic election, he said that South Africa faced a "new enemy" and a "new struggle. That enemy, he said, was socio-economic. It was about the struggle for jobs, houses, schools and hospitals so that we can build a more humane society. As the education generation we must lead the struggle for socio-economic transformation and a more humane society.

This year we celebrate 20 years of democracy following our victory over the brutal and oppressive Apartheid regime in 1994. Today we enjoy the freedom to associate, the freedom of choice, the freedom of speech and many other freedoms. We are also presenting this input almost two months after the General National Elections. The voter education rolled out by the NYDA, young people went out in numbers to cast their votes. We must acknowledge and celebrate the significant progress that our government have achieved and that we continue to make as a young and vibrant democracy. Yes we may have many challenges to confront with youth

unemployment being enemy number one. These are not new or unique challenges and it will not be easy to overcome them but we must never give up and we should work hard to collectively address them.

As we conclude our 2014 JUNE YIUTH MIONTH, let us celebrate all the great successes of the last 20 years. This year the government of South Africa celebrated the June Youth Month under the theme: Youth Moving South Africa Forward! As the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) we have always emphasised our clarion call that it must be youth development for the youth, by the youth, with the youth. "Nothing about us without us."

Please allow me to highlight some of the key programmes that took place this month as part of celebration and commemoration of the June Youth Month. It is with great pride and excitement to inform you that the June Youth Month Programme for 2014 focused on, among others, and not limited to:

- Entrepreneurship Development programmes to create more entrepreneurs and coops, as well as social dialogues in all Districts to discuss and build a broad-based consensus on the priority issues facing young people;
- Launch of a Loxion Hub in Prieska which is already providing business premises to youth owned cooperatives involved in gem stones cutting and polishing, jewellery design, glass bead manufacturing and jewellery making; beauty and hair salon, ice-making and catering services. These business premises have been provided to young entrepreneurs free of charge through a partnership between the NYDA and the Siyathemba Local municipality;
- The main event where the Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa addressed the nation on



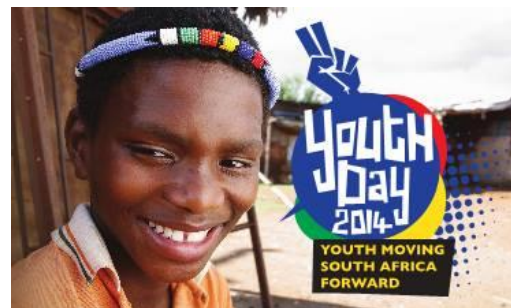
New Youth Agenda

Continues...

the 16th day of June to commemorate the 38th anniversary of the 1976 youth uprisings took place at the Galeshewe Stadium in Kimberley, Northern Cape, and was attended by more than 11 000 people from all corners of the Country;

- Handing over of Houses in Lindelani which were built by young people as part of Youth Build Initiative by NYDA in collaboration with COGHSTA;
- With the National Youth Service (NYS) volunteer programme, the National Youth Development Agency has reached 250 young people to clean and paint elderly people houses in Lahlu Mabilu Park – Galeshewe as part of the Launch of June Youth Month;
- With the NYS skills development programme, the NYDA committed R4 million towards the project of Youth Built. A total of 100 unemployed and out of school youth from Northern Cape were afforded the opportunity to build 100 low-cost houses at Phokwane Local Municipality in Jan Kempdorp, as part of the National Youth Development Agency's Youth Build Project. The 100 youth have received training as part of the Youth Build programme and the implementation of this project in the Northern Cape gives them an opportunity to put their acquired skills into practice. A programme of similar magnitude by 100 youth in collaboration with COGHSTA is currently taking place in Lindelani, Transit Camp to build 76 Houses; and
- The fourth commitment on youth employment accord speaks to the need for youth to be considered in particular industries. Examples include the solar water heating programme which should be a youth focused sector supporting youth

cooperatives and youth-owned enterprises. The green economy should have a 60% target of labour intake drawn from youth and the infrastructure programme to target at least 60% youth employment for new projects and activities with training opportunities.



YOUTH OF SOUTH AFRICA
HISTORY & LEGENDS
MAKERS & THE FUTURE
TOGETHER CELEBRATING 20 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY.

The Business Process Services sector, including call centres, where a target of 80% of new employment should be explored and aimed for. The NYDA has handed out 200 portable solar geysers to Youth and Child Headed Houses in Joe Morolong and Sol Plaatje (Phuthanang) respectively. In collaboration with these local municipalities, the NYDA will be rolling out NYS skill development programme for youth to acquire accredited skills on solar energy and establishment of cooperatives speaking to green economy.

The Northern Cape is indeed a better place to live in today. We have certainly laid a solid foundation. Indeed we have performed well but we are cognizant of the fact that we are capable of doing more.

I thank you!

Cde Lebo Olyn
NYDA Provincial Manager





Gallery



CHRIS HANI
21ST ANNIVERSARY
10 APRIL
1993 – 2014



YCLSA Northern Cape



YCLSA 92nd Anniversary – 25 May 2014

Socialism in our lifetime





Gallery – May Day 2014



Dora Tamana District - Kakamas



Basil February District – Calvinia



Braam Fischer District – Kuruman



Kimberley District – Pampierstad



Joe Slovo District – De Aar





SACP Office



Fulltime Revolutionary Staff



Party Office Building in Kimberley



Provincial Leadership





Calendar



2014

Northern Cape Province YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA Socialism in our lifetime

1 January - New Year's Day
21 March - Human Rights Day
18 April - Good Friday
21 April - Family Day

27 April - Freedom Day
1 May - Workers Day
16 June - Youth Day
9 August - Women's Day

24 September - Heritage Day
16 December - Day of Reconciliation
25 December - Christmas Day
26 December - Day of Goodwill



Announcements

Let your voice be heard write to the editorial team at yclsa.nc@gmail.com!



Please send your letters/views/comments to the editorial team, we want to publish your inputs in the next edition of the **Red Voice**

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MARTIN THEMBSILE

**CHRIS
HANI**



MARTIN THEMBSILE CHRIS HANI
1993 - 2014
21ST ANNIVERSARY



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YCLSA Congresses

Nelson Mandela



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