

Monthly journal of the SACP Eastern Cape



RED



INK

Ed 24: January 2017

“We did not elect neither the
Guptas nor the Ruperts”



100
YEARS OF
SELFLESS
STRUGGLE

“Be consistent Cde President,
unite the ANC & the movement”

“The red ink that never dries”



Background

The Red Ink is the SACP Eastern Cape monthly journal. The Red Ink is a medium of the SACP for propagating its views with the working class in an unmediated fashion.

While it is important to constantly engage and contest ideas within the bourgeoisie commercial media but SACP is alive to the reality that any commercial media is first and foremost inclined to reflect views of its masters (monopoly capital).

Guidelines for Submission of Articles

Style and Length.

The length for feature articles is 1200-1800 words. Letters to the editor must not exceed 300 words and opinion pieces must not exceed 800 words. Articles must be written in plain and simple English. Articles may contain words in other South African languages, with the English meaning bracketed. Articles must be relevant to membership of our party and the working class in general, exciting and solicit debate and discussions.

Articles about recent events or contemporary issues in South Africa and the world will be given preference for publication in the Red Ink.

All SACP District Spokespersons, YCLSA Spokesperson and other Spokespersons of the MDM fraternal organisations are encouraged to submit articles about the recent activities; as they might not be covered in the mainstream media.

Due Date

The Red Ink is published monthly (12 issues per annum). The due date for the submission of articles is the 20th of each month. Late submissions will not be considered for an edition of such month but for future editions.

Originality

The Red Ink publishes original articles. We also publish articles which have appeared elsewhere in whole or in part. Should you feel that republishing an article would be beneficial to Red Ink readership and that the article will reach a broader readership through our medium than the medium that first published it, then you need to bring this to the attention of the Editor. All sources cited in the articles must be referenced.

Themes

Different editions/issues of the Red Ink will have specific themes (Joe Slovo Month, Chris Hani Month, Youth Month, Red October, SACP anniversaries, COSATU Anniversaries, ANC anniversary, etc.) therefore some articles must be tailored to suit the specific theme. Each issue/edition of the Red Ink will indicate the theme of the next edition, so articles should be submitted as such.

Processing of Articles

All articles shall be subjected to scrutiny by the Red Ink editorial team. The Red Ink is particularly interested in fostering a culture of reading and writing amongst the leadership and membership of our party. We will therefore give special consideration to the articles written by the general members of our party. Articles will go through a review process, after which we will inform the contributor whether the article will be published or not.

The review process largely depends on the adherence to deadlines provided by the Editor and the content of the article as submitted.

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Next Edition: Kindly forward your contributions to simdodi@gmail.com on Monday, 20 February 2016.

In this issue



"Be consistent President, unite the ANC and the entire movement" - Page 3



"We did not elect neither Guptas nor Ruperts" - Page 5



"Let's honour Cde Joe Slovo" - Page 6

Editorial Notes

On behalf of the Red Ink that never dries, the official publication of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Eastern Cape, I wish all of you, our readership a productive year ahead. We appreciate your support since the establishment of our publication. We trust that you will continue supporting us and spread the publication to others.

This is a very crucial year for the entire congress movement.

This year we are commemorating the centenary of the birth of Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo, the former President General of the African National Congress (ANC). Who shall forever be remembered as the President who kept the ANC and the entire movement together during the most difficult of times. He was an epitome of unity in the movement, he was not part of factions.

The ANC in its January 8th statement declared 2017 as the year of honouring Oliver Tambo and the year of deepening unity of the African National Congress and the broader movement. We should honour O.R Tambo by defeating factionalism and uniting our people, the movement and our communities. The befitting tribute we can pay to President Oliver Tambo is to unite our movement and free ourselves from any form of capture by any corporates, whether it's the Openheimers, Ruperts or the Guptas.

The SACP in the Eastern Cape in its message of support to the ANC Eastern Cape 105th celebrations held in Umtata said through our Provincial Secretary, Cde Xolile Nqatha *"No movement under the control of the Ruperts or the Guptas can be united and serve the people. We have elected leaders alone not with their friends. You comrade Deputy President, if the Ruperts are your friends (at least you did not confirm) don't impose them on us. Same applies with President Zuma, if the Guptas are his friends (at least he did confirm that they are his friends) he must not impose them on us, we elected him not the Guptas. Please don't make us and the entire movement carry the burden of the wrongs of your friends (alleged or real) and harm our movement and the future of our children. If this movement dies, when chips are down, at least you will have your friends to go to (Ruperts or Guptas) but our people have nowhere else to go but the movement is their only hope."*

This year will also mark the centenary of the great Red October social revolution which was the great victory of the people of Russia.

This year will see the convening of the SACP conferences of commissars, national imbizo as the build up to the SACP 14th National Congress which will be held in July at the University of Pretoria in Gauteng.

The African National Congress (ANC) will have its National Consultative Conference, Policy Conference and its 54th National Conference. All these important events in our movement should not be seen as only events, but important platforms to deepen the unity of our movement and advance the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). It is important that we go to these platforms more unified and come out of them even determined to the goal of driving South Africa's radical second phase of the transition.

This year marks the 22nd anniversary of the passing of Cde Joe Slovo. Joe Slovo was the founding commander of the joint ANC & SACP military wing, Umkhonto Wesizwe alongside Cde Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the General Secretary of the South African Communist Party and the NEC Member of the ANC.

Cde Joe Slovo was a patriot, a leader, a militant, a fighter, an internationalist, a theoretician, an organiser, and a negotiator. We should honour Cde Slovo by building a strong, agile and independent SACP with a strong grass root activism amongst other things.

We dedicate this edition to Joe Slovo. May you have a revolutionary read!

Siyabonga Mdodi – SACP Provincial Spokesperson

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 SACP Eastern Cape

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“Please be consistent Cde President, Unite the ANC and the entire movement”

By: Madoda Sambatha – SACP North West Provincial Secretary

President Zuma makes it his right and sometimes his prerogative to accuse “everybody” who holds a different view and create an impression that his views are always organizationally correct.

President Zuma said the argument that it was African National Congress (ANC) tradition for a deputy president to become president of the ANC was used to “motivate” for a candidate. *“Anyone who is nominated can contest. There is no policy. It’s not true that it’s a tradition...”* said Zuma. The president said it was a coincidence that former presidents Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Mbeki were succeeded by their deputies. He argued *“I’m saying it’s not a policy and not an accepted tradition as such. It’s a statement that people just make not because it’s true.”*

Let me first disclose that from the 2005 ANC National General Council (NGC) held in Tshwane through to Polokwane 2007 National Conference and later in Mangaung, as the member of the ANC I correctly supported President Zuma to be reinstated as Deputy President as he was removed or relieved of his responsibility as the Deputy President of the Republic by President Thabo Mbeki and I believed that his removal was conspiracy to block him from any possibility of becoming a President.

From this 2005 NGC, we remained mobilized and in most instances we became a critically mobilized membership against an ANC serving President of the ANC and predominantly against a serving ANC National Executive Committee (NEC). With support of members, branches, ANC structures and the alliance components the then Deputy President of the ANC, Cde Zuma contested and was duly elected as the president of the ANC. Then I believed that my actions as an ANC member and all those that supported President Zuma were correct and still today I believe that these actions were correct.

In the quotation of what President Zuma is quoted having said, the president assumes that even if he was not a serving Deputy President at the time he would have occupied the space and had members and structures mobilizing for him. This assumption is incorrect and in actual fact how he was treated by the President and law enforcement agencies at the time



made most of us to feel obligated to stand up and defend him but indirectly defending established principles and ANC tradition. Writing in response to the President I’m 100 % convinced that anyone who was a Deputy President at the time would have been supported to stand and contest President Mbeki.

The President argues that the argument on ANC Deputy to become a President as tradition is used to motivate for a candidate, the President here must be told to refer to Deputy President Ramaphosa by position or name and not tell us that it’s meant to motivate for a candidate. He must rather say *“it’s meant to motivate for Deputy President Ramaphosa”*. Assume that members of the ANC agree with the President, is there any organizational or political reason for the President and also the SG to tell the public about this- my view is no because in the January 08 statement few days ago- the NEC through the President said there would be principles for discussion before the names are considered.

What is clear with President Zuma is that in the names already raised for nominations (Deputy President Ramaphosa and Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma for ANC President position in 2017) he has his preference- Is it correct for the President to openly in public show his preference, NO because this could be later used to motivate for support of his preferred candidate by those who support him so we later have a candidate on grounds that the serving President supports that candidate or this could be used as the basis to reject the candidate by those who have an organizational and political problem with the serving President. So in this instance President Zuma's rejection of the candidacy of Deputy President Ramaphosa and acceptance before the nomination process of the candidacy of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma could later be used against his appointed candidate.

He repeated a statement he made that the party was ready for a female president. *"In the ANC that is no longer the issue. It has been accepted that [women] can hold senior positions."* He said it was not a concern for the Zuma family that his ex-wife Nkosazana may become president. *"Not at all. Nkosazana has been struggling before she became a Zuma. She has held a number of positions.... If the ANC says we think we can give you the responsibility it's not at all a concern to the Zuma family"*. This statement exposes President Zuma of hypocrisy of the highest order, in the first argument he says it is used to motivate for a candidate but this is open endorsement of another candidate in the name of readiness of "women to lead" as if there was an argument that women were not ready to lead.

There's a silent dangerous assumption implied by the motivation for Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma by the President's own words that Deputy President Ramaphosa has not struggled before became a Deputy President, here the President has openly written off his serving Deputy on any struggle credentials even forgetting that Deputy President apart from NUM positions he was an ANC Secretary General and that because the President supported the then Deputy President in Mangaung only on a condition that he would not contest him as President but remain his Deputy, and this means that President Zuma was not fully supporting Deputy President Ramaphosa as his Deputy but happy to have him to dislodge the then Deputy President Motlante.

On the question of women being ready, again the President is exposed for hypocrisy- after Polokwane why did the President not reappoint the then former Deputy President, Cde Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka) who

displayed in reality "women readiness" when she was appointed Deputy President by President Mbeki or were women not ready for two terms and are now ready after he has finished his 2nd term as President or women readiness is motivation for one woman. The danger of people who motivates Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's candidacy on "readiness of women" risk making mistake of any failure that may occur within her Presidency to apportion that to women failures and not her as the individual leader or any success that may be registered during her Presidency as being successes of ALL women and not her capacity and success.

"Sometimes comrades who are in the leadership have been making comments... Which makes it difficult [to expect ordinary members to toe the line]...those who are senior we are saying this is not the time," he said. Again the President sees everyone being wrong except himself, correct to say senior leaders must not publicly support any candidate before the formal opening of the nomination process but this includes the President himself or it should be applied to public support to all and not his view that its wrong to motivate for Deputy President Ramaphosa on grounds of being the Deputy President and assumed ANC tradition, but then himself again openly endorsing the candidacy of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as President on the motivation of "women readiness".

The National Democratic Revolution is meant to resolve three interrelated questions, which is Gender, Class and Inequality and thus the Gender question should not be fashionable only to motivate for nominations only and that it should not be used to motivate for individuals without the actual meaning to the National Democratic Revolution.

*Madoda Sambatha - SACP Provincial Secretary
writes in his personal capacity*

“We did not elect neither the Guptas nor Ruperts”

SACP Eastern Cape message to the ANC 105 celebrations held in Umtata

All comrades and friends gathered here today, we bring warm and fraternal greetings from the South African Communist Party as you mark 105 years of the ANC's existence and struggle. Again, we convey special greetings to our veterans and as the SACP we wish to welcome the decision of the ANC to engage our veterans on their concerns about the direction of our movement and our country. This is their movement and they have sacrificed and contributed in building the movement we have and efforts of building our country.

Many of them, through their track record are in good standing more than some of us who are elected and have paid up subscriptions. They are not corrupt; they have never donated with our movement to capital whether black, white and even parasitic.

Together with the ANC over the years we have worked together with you as South African Communists. Together we have registered many gains and suffered setbacks. As we celebrate the both the ANC 105 years and marking the centenary of the late great revolutionary comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo we welcome the call for Unity in Action.

We call upon all our leaders to speak and act in a way that restores the values and traditions of the movement as built and left to us by comrade Oliver Tambo and many of our fallen heroes and heroines. That is the only fitting tribute we can remember and celebrate comrade O.R.

We call upon leaders not to only speak against factionalism whilst they are part of factions and endorse factional positions as we approach this year ANC National Conference. For comrade Tambo was not a factionalist who worshiped money at the expense of our movement and the future of our country.

We are calling upon our province to unite for there is no faction including the 'Premier League' that can serve the interests of the people of the province and our country. We must know that those who go in and out of our province in our name as part of the 'Premier League' it is for their interests not those of our province and its people.

We must refuse to be abused by their lies for a better and a unified movement in the hands of the Premier League or any other faction. For all factions are self-serving. It is in fact in the present, where the Premier

league faction has greater influence that we witness many challenges and setbacks as revolution as they use our movement and positions they have to loot and enrich their families and friends. So their official and total takeover of our movement in the next conference can only mean a disaster. No capital whether black or white can save this movement for they both want it for their agenda to accumulate and be filthy rich at the expense of the majority.

No movement under the control of the Ruperts or the Guptas can be united and serve the people. We have elected leaders alone not with their friends. You comrade Deputy President, if the Ruperts are your friends (at least you did not confirm) don't impose them on us. Same applies with President Zuma, if the Guptas are his friends (at least he did confirm that there are his friends) he must not impose them on us, we elected him not the Guptas. Please don't make us and the entire movement carry the burden of the wrongs of yours friends (alleged or real) and harm our movement and the future of our children. If this movement dies, when chips are down, at least you will have your friends to go to (Ruperts or Guptas) but our people have nowhere else to go but the movement is their only hope.

This year is a very crucial year for the entire movement:

We marking the centenary of comrade OR and the centenary of the Red October Socialist Revolution. We will also be having the SACP's 14th National Congress and ANC National Conference. The possible developments during this year reminds us of the words of Lenin, he once argued: *"there are decades when nothing happens but there are days when decades happen."* The developments of the current period are likely to have implications for our revolution and our movement for decades to come.

It is at this hour of destiny that we call upon our province to unite, as communists we will play our role and we will not surrender our movement to the Gupta led faction (Premier League) or any faction without a fight, it is a fight we are determined to win.

At this political moment, the future of our province and our movement is in our hands. Let's safeguard this movement for the sake of our people, the comrades of this region, named after comrade Tambo have a greater responsibility which comrades need not to take for granted. We are calling for the unity of our people, our communities and our movement.

Delivered by Xolile Nqatha – SACP Provincial Secretary

“Let’s honour Cde Joe Slovo in action”

By: Lubabalo Mabuyane, ANC EC Provincial Secretary

This year marks 22 years since the passing of one of our most outstanding leaders of our movement. Cde Joe Slovo was a patriot, a leader, a militant, a fighter, an internationalist, a theoretician, an organiser, and a negotiator. Indeed, it is the combination of all these qualities so splendidly in one individual, which made Comrade Joe Slovo the great African revolutionary that he was.

Comrade Joe Slovo, Isithwalandwe, belonged in that category. In that sense, he was a rare species, an institution. Indeed it must be said that to reflect on the life and the contribution of Cde Joe Slovo, it is unavoidable to retrace of our struggle for liberation and freedom in our country in particular between the 1940s and 1990s.

As we are all aware globally the 1930s to the 1940s marks a political period when Nazism and Fascism were rearing its ugly head with figures such as Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy as some of their prominent leaders. Simply put the political agenda of Nazism was the promotion sheer racism, white supremacy and anti-communism, and particularly the promotion of the Aryan race (largely Europeans) as a master race. Thus according to the racist ideas of Nazism, the Germanic peoples were the ‘master race’, while the Jews, Roma people, Slavs, and blacks - were classified as ‘inferior’ races and thus sub-humans.

Cde Joe, real name Yossel Mashel Slovo was born on the 23rd May 1926 to a working class Jew family in a village of Obelkei in Lithuania, a small nation in Northern Europe. As a Jew in those times, it meant he together with his family and community made them official targets for the mass murders and atrocities that were to be later carried out by the Nazi regime. In 1934, the Slovo family arrived at the shores of our country as part of a wave of immigrants from Lithuania, Latvia and other Baltic states, many of whom were to play a very significant role in the labour and national liberation movements, especially its Communist component.

Comrade Joe Slovo himself arrived as a boy of 8 years old and little did he know how his life would follow. The



Lubabalo Mabuyane – ANCECPS

narrative of his father was that the family had intended to emigrate from Lithuania to Argentina, but at the last moment, his father boarded a boat for South Africa and his family followed soon after. It thus it fair to postulate that in our struggle for liberation we would have been weaker in the absence of Cde Joe Slovo.

Cde Joe Slovo’s upbringing was not an easy one, he was part of those who were forced to leave school at an early age because of poverty, a common feature of immigrants in Johannesburg. His father barely made a living for his

family as a fruit vendor. After dropping out of school due to circumstances, he became a warehouse assistant and, at age 16, he was elected a shop steward. This is perhaps the time in his life when for first time Cde Slovo is inducted in the role of leadership and responsibility. In the same year, Cde Joe Slovo joined the Communist Party.

As a shopsteward, he helped lead a strike which won benefits for workers, which mainly favoured white workers, but not African workers. Comrade Joe Slovo was deeply disturbed to witness the condition of African workers and thus as President Mandela puts it that *“Cde Joe Slovo among the few white workers who understood their class interest and sought common cause with their class brother and sisters irrespective of race.”*

In his own words, Cde Slovo perfectly articulates this perspective by declaring that: *“It is not difficult in South Africa for the ordinary person to see the link between capitalism and racist exploitation, and when one sees the link one immediately thinks in terms of a socialist alternative.”*

Also crucial to point out is that Cde Joe’s devotion to the struggle was not so much of white generosity to the black people of our country; Cde Slovo did not see himself as a white South African but as a South African. He was a full part of the democratic majority, acting together with them for a just and democratic order.

At 18, Cde Slovo lied about his age in order to enter the army and served abroad. Back in South Africa, he

became active in the Springbok Legion, a radical ex-servicemen's league. During the five years following the end of the war in 1945, Slovo's professional, personal and political life took definitive shape.

The young Joe could have late chosen a lucrative life, after returning from service in the Second World War, and acquire the opportunities accorded white veterans. He could have elected, as many in his position did, to part ways with his black colleagues as they rode into oblivion on the bicycles given them as the thankless reward for their service in the war.

Although he had never attended high school, he was admitted to the University of the Witwatersrand and won a law degree with highest honours. Just like President O.R. Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others, the young Cde Joe Slovo practised as an outstanding lawyer specialising in political cases and could have had a comfortable livelihood.

In 1949 he married Ruth First, the brilliant daughter of the Communist Party leader, Cde Julius First. They became a couple of legendary appeal. Although Cde Slovo continued his legal career for over a dozen years, his primary commitment was political. To use his own words, he had decided that in his life there was only one target, and that target was to remove the racist regime and obtain power for the people.



He committed himself fully to the struggles of the people in his chosen home, South Africa, becoming an ardent patriot in the true sense of that word, meaning a love for one's country and all its people, not merely a blind support of the government in power.

Indeed the demands of the struggle on him - made it difficult for him to play fully the role of father and brother. There are times when his commitment and that of Cde Ruth First - who was murdered in cold-blood in 1982 - created a world apart, where full family life, as with most other revolutionaries, became was a distant dream.

After the banning of the Communist Party and the illegalisation of advocacy of Marxism in 1950, Joe Slovo was among the group that reconstituted the Communist Party as the underground SACP in 1953. Because of his undoubted talent, he rose quickly into its leading bodies, and retained that status until the end of his life.

Despite the terrible disappointments, reverses and broken promises associated with the name of socialism, especially after 1950, Joe never wavered in his commitment to socialism as both an honourable cause and a realisable goal. This was a commitment rooted, in the first instance, in the South African experience, where there was not even the pretence that the elusive promises of capitalism would be delivered to the majority of the people.

He was not only the leader of the South African Communist Party and its principal theoretician but still Comrade JS lived the life not merely of a theoretician, confined to the boardroom and library. He was at all stages of struggle there at the forefront, generating ideas, and there too, in their implementation. Indeed he appreciated and internalised Marx's perspective that: *"Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in different ways; the point, however, is to change it."*

Perhaps, this quality is best demonstrated by his contribution in the formation of MK, where he was, in essence, its chief military strategist. Indeed Cde Joe Slovo was a full human being at heart. And he possessed the passion and natural intellect to see reality for what it was and all these factors helped mould one of the greatest South African and African revolutionaries of our times.

Perhaps another political principle that we should forever remember Slovo for is that he became an embodiment of the alliance between the ANC and the SACP. Cde Joe knew that the interests of the working class in our country were intimately bound up with those of the rest of the oppressed majority in pursuit of democracy and a better life.

Cde Joe appreciated that the Alliance between the ANC, the SACP and the progressive trade union movement was premised on concrete democratic and social tasks. He appreciated the need to strengthen this Alliance especially now when we are reconstructing and developing South Africa.

More than in theory, his own practical life demonstrated his profound understanding of the nature of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP: the leading role of the ANC; the principles of consultation, consensus and criticism within disciplined structures of the allies.

Though he held very firm views on a whole range of issues, Joe was never dogmatic, let alone rigid. He had a great capacity for concrete analysis, employing Marxist learning to dissect and comprehend living reality. The most central factor in his approach to struggle on any front was the understanding of the political situation, the balance of forces and thus the approaches necessary to advance that struggle. Thus he was able to appreciate changes in the objective conditions and initiate discussions on changes to the tactics to be applied.

He knew when to compromise. Yet he never compromised his principles. He was a militant. Yet a militant who knew how to plan, assess concrete situations and emerge with rational solutions to problems. He repeatedly emphasised that there was no strategy that could hold good for all time and that tactics necessarily had to be adapted and readapted to suit changing political and social circumstances.

It was, consequently, both as a strategist and as a practical man of action that comrade Joe Slovo distinguished himself in the ranks of the ANC and SACP leadership, especially during the years of exile. He was instrumental in the slow rebuilding of the movement's underground after the reverses that followed the Rivonia arrests. The document, "ANC Programme, Strategy and Tactics", adopted at Morogoro in 1969, bears the indelible imprint of his ideas.

As one of the commanders of the Special Operations Unit of Umkhonto weSizwe, he was responsible for planning some of the most spectacular attacks launched inside South Africa between 1978 and 1982. During the 1980s, he was among the small group of comrades active in drafting the so-called "Green Book", which served as the central strategic document for our movement before the Kabwe Conference of 1985. At Kabwe itself and afterwards he served on the Strategy and Tactics commission of the ANC.

Cde Slovo would later play a critical role in the negotiations process, as a Minister of Housing, but most importantly Cde Joe Slovo was dearly loved and admired by the members and supporters of the democratic movement. The question that therefore confronts us today is how best we can honour his living legacy. How best can we redefine the narrative that the name of Joe Slovo in the post-1994 era has become synonymous to the naming of shacks and indecent dwellings?

Our narrative in this regard must decisively seek to bring hope in that we have an urgent responsibility to work even harder transform shacks into decent homes for our

people. This is how we will best honour the legacy of Cde Joe Slovo.

In our recent January 8th statement, which was presented by the President in Soweto, Gauteng, we reported that one of our government's most successful programmes has ensured that more than 22 million people have been provided with housing over the last two decades. In principle, the building of houses by the ANC-led government is not just a nice to do task, but it is aimed at restoring dignity to the lives of our people. Indeed we are proud of the fact that more than half of these beneficiaries have been women. In real numbers, this translates to more than 4.3 million houses and subsidies. However, we also believe that the real political value of this programme also depends on the behaviours and attitudes of recipients who we are strongly urging to retain ownership and not sell or lease these assets.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) statement on the occasion of the 105th Anniversary of the ANC reflected that the 105 years of the ANC is the result of the dedication, sacrifice and hard work of millions of people, in South Africa and across the world, who acted in unity to ensure that we can live in a free South Africa. As such this celebration is your celebration, your victory! Moreover, we acknowledged that Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo would have celebrated 100 years of age had he lived until 2017.

As such we dedicate this year – his centenary – to him. The dedication of 2017 to President Tambo also acknowledges that the President did not lead alone in ensuring the entrenchment of unity and growth of the movement in exile, however, a leadership collective that included the likes of Cde Joe Slovo was necessary maintaining momentum and strength in the struggle for liberation and freedom.

We continue to regard President Tambo as the glue that held the many facets of the ANC together during the difficult years in exile. This declaration also carries with it a political responsibility to for all of us to DEEPEN UNITY! In this regard, the Strategy & Tactics (S&T) document precisely and correctly points out that: "*The challenge of the unity and cohesion of the ANC and the Alliance, impact not only on the ability to mobilise and organise the motive forces in transformation but also on the pace of transformation.*"

We must, therefore, say it without any fear or hesitation that the most obvious means to honour and emulate Comrade Joe Slovo it is to fast-track the pace of transformation in this country. ■

Matric results: an outcome of glaring class disparities, reproduction of inequality....

By: Mawethu Rune, SACPPEC Member

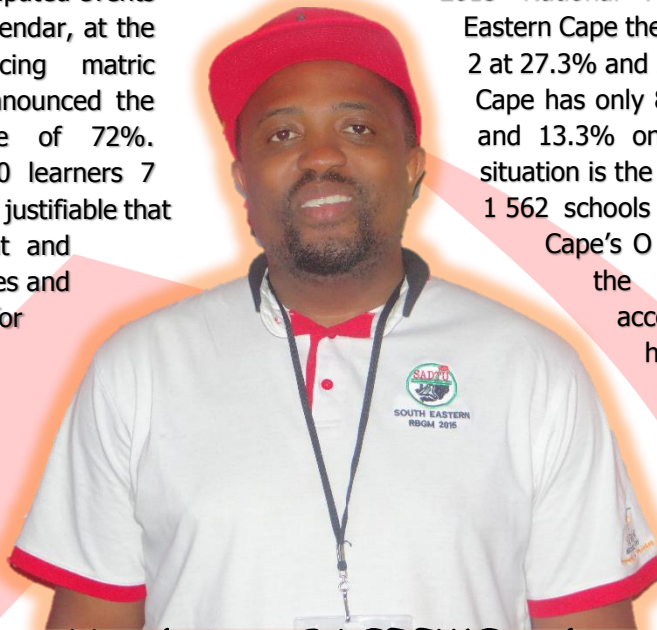
At one of the highly-anticipated events in the South African calendar, at the occasion of announcing matric results, Minister Motsekga announced the country's matric pass rate of 72%. Considering that in every 10 learners 7 passed, it would be considered justifiable that the Minister, the Department and teacher unions gave themselves and each other a pat on the back for a job well done. The provincial percentage competition was won by Free State with 93% of learners who sat for exams passing.

The Superintendent General of the Department of Basic Education, Mr Matanzima, could not help but marvel at the walks of the best performing learner - Conrad Strydom from Hermanus High School in the Western Cape as the red carpet was rolled out for him. By contrast the least performing provinces which were pulling others down were Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Limpopo.

Judging by the comments which followed from mainstream and social media, one would be justified in believing that if learners from these least performing provinces would work as hard as Mr Conrad Strydom, they would have achieved similar results.

This piece will argue that such could not be further from the truth; and that while efforts of government in the past 22 years must be commended for relative success, a glance at the bigger picture suggests that the interventions have not fundamentally altered the scale to such an extent that a poor black learner can stand an equal chance of success compared to their counterparts from affording families.

It not surprising that for the 2016 academic year, the top three performing learners from public schools in South Africa are found in quintile 5 – all hailing from Western Cape. This must be juxtaposed against the



Mawethu Rune, SACPPEC member

worst performing province which is Eastern Cape. The 2015 National Poverty Distribution places in Eastern Cape the poorest quintiles which is 1 and 2 at 27.3% and 24.7 respectively; while Western Cape has only 8.6% of its schools in quintile 1 and 13.3% on quintile 2. Compounding the situation is the fact that that Western Cape has 1 562 schools in total, compared to Eastern Cape's O R Tambo District which, out of the province's 5 537 schools, accounts for 1 145 schools. As history, has proven these dynamics are directly linked to the education outcomes, but somehow every year for matric results, chock and cheese is expected to taste the same.

Matric results as we demonstrate in this piece consistently do show that the facts above have a determining effect on the performance and subsequently the outcome of the schooling system. While there is reported improvement at face value, it is imperative to consider that the number of those who enter the system but do not make it to matric within their cohort is stubbornly high. This is a particularly worrying trend in that the department cannot fully account for the whereabouts of these learners and reasons of their drop outs, despite generalised excuses.

The numbers provided by the Department for the group which sat for matric exams in 2016 reflect that in the year 2000, there were 1 054 582 learners - out of that, only 610 178 wrote the final exams. This suggests that a whopping 444 404 is unaccounted for. This has far reaching implications as unemployment and poverty levels among those without matric is extremely high – this may mean that this high number is likely to be trapped in systematic generational poverty. It does not require a rocket scientist to figure out that by and large, these are pupils from poor families.

More interesting is that the education system seems to lose more learners once they get into grade 10 - for

“As history, has proven these dynamics are directly linked to the education outcomes, but somehow every year for matric results, chock and cheese is expected to taste the same.”

instance in this cohort 1,100,877 of learners enrolled for grade 10 and 44% of them never wrote matric examinations. More concerning is the number of learners who enrolled for matric but never wrote matric examinations: the figures indicate that of the 674 652 full-time enrolled matric learners, 64 474 learners never sat for the exams.

The Study on Higher Education Access and Outcomes for the 2008 National Matric Cohort reveals that "Using Census 2011 Small Area Layer data in conjunction with school location data, wealth index confirmed that "university access and completion are positively associated with the wealth index of the schools that learners attended". The figures further suggest that increases in the wealth index are more closely associated with increases in university access rates than completion or dropout rates.



The ramifications of the apartheid geo-political set up thus continue to unravel the province of Eastern Cape. For instance, the narrative of 'resourced area' schools performing better is very evident on the results of Eastern Cape: the top five performing districts for 2016 matric results were Cradock (81.2%), Uitenhage (76.3%), Graaff-Reinet (76%), Grahamstown (70.3%), and East London (66.8%) are located in the western side of the province which is historically affluent and boasts better resourced schools. This paints a grim picture when these districts are compared with the least performing districts in the province, namely: Lady Frere (49.5%), Dutywa (49.5%), Libode (47.9%), Ngcobobeni (47.2%) and Lusikisiki (44.7%) - all five districts are located in the Eastern part of the province, which is historically rural and underdeveloped with high poverty levels.

When conducting a performance analysis based on quintile performance, it can be deduced that the education system is also reproducing inequality. The poorest quintile (quintile 1) received a pass rate of 49.5%, while the richest quintile (quintile 5) performed at 95.3% in the very same Eastern Cape.

But this apparent condemning of the poor is not unique to one province – when one considers the Independent Examinations Board (IEB) matric results, it becomes more pronounced that conditions of the learners determine their prospects of success. The IEB reported that its 2016 pass rate was 98.67%. All IEB candidates that passed achieved a pass that is good enough to enter tertiary study at one of the three levels.

- 87.61% of the cohort achieved entry to degree study, compared to 85.26% in 2015.
- 9.83% qualified for entry to diploma study, compared to 11.66% in 2015.
- 1.23% achieved entry for study at the Higher Certificate level, compared to 1.37% in 2015.



This is against the outcome of Study on Higher Education Access and Outcomes for the 2008 National Matric cohort, which reveals gaps in the proportions of learners from each quintile achieving matric passes. For example, the proportion of learners from quintile 5 schools who passed matric is more than double (93%) that of learners from quintile 1 schools (46%). In terms of matric pass rate, therefore it is apparent that quintiles 1-3 schools have relatively similar output, while quintile 4 schools produce much better results, and quintile 5 schools outperform those all quintiles including quintile 4.

The differences in matric passes between the different quintiles follow a similar pattern: while 53% of learners attending quintile 5 schools achieved bachelor passes, only 8% of learners from quintile 1 schools, 9.3% of learners from quintile 2 schools, and 12% from quintile 3 schools managed to achieve this. This research points out that in terms of National Senior Certificate (NSC) performance, there again appears to be three distinct groups of schools: quintile 1 – 3 schools, quintile 4 schools, and quintile 5 schools. This can further be seen in the median matric average achievement levels for quintile 1 - 5 schools, which are respectively 36%, 38%, 39%, 43%, and 56%.

It is worth mentioning that a bachelor pass on its own does not guarantee university access. Furthermore, learners with lower university admission points (a majority of which are drawn from quintile 1 – 3 schools), are turned away from universities and referred to TVET colleges – many of which remain unattractive to students.

The matric outcome indicates that 13 years ago (if the element of Grade R is taken into consideration) the 2016 cohort learners were of similar potential and capacity. However, these results further show that even if the most important variable (which is the learner) is removed from the equation, results and outcome follow the resource of wealth index of the area and level of resourced schools. In other words, those from poor families are condemned for exceptionality. With implications that whereas the investment of government should be deliberately biased towards cushioning the most vulnerable segment of society. Regrettably, the results suggest that the most beneficial are those from better or affording families.

Dr. Andre Van Zyl, the director of the University of Johannesburg's Academic Development Centre and head of the South African National Resource Centre in 2013 revealed that "the higher education sector has space for approximately 18% of matriculants, then the system is full".

He further reveals that "of the top 18% of young South African people who enter higher education, which we have to presume are the ones who did best in grade 12 because the universities would not have taken them [otherwise], of those approximately just under half will never graduate". Furthermore, in that 18% cohort, approximately half become drop outs. Van Zyl further adds that between 50% and 60% of students drop out during their first year of study – that is why the focus on the first year of higher education is important.

In this regard the Study on Higher Education Access and Outcomes for the 2008 National Matric Cohort indicated that while only about 12% of learners from quintile 1-3 schools enrolled in undergraduate programmes at some point between 2009 and 2014, the corresponding proportions for learners from quintile 4 and 5 schools were roughly 24% and 45% respectively.

There are also vast differences in the extent of delayed entry into university between learners from different types of schools (in terms of poverty quintile). Only about 6% of learners from quintile 1-3 schools enrolled in undergraduate studies in 2009, the year immediately following matriculation, compared to 15% and 34%, respectively for quintile 4 and 5 schools.

The study further revealed that of much more interest is the gap in completion between university participants from quintile 1-3 schools and quintile 5 schools was also smaller than one might expect: 45% of university participants from quintile 1-3 schools had completed undergraduate qualifications by the end of 2014, while 56% of learners from quintile 5 schools had done so.

It therefore appears that while attending a quintile 1-3 school largely precludes learners from gaining access to university, those who do make it into university tend perform almost on par with their quintile 4 and 5 counterparts. In other words, the quintile of secondary school attended appears to be more closely associated with university access than university success.

While education is not a quick-fix solution out of poverty and systematic unemployment, it remains a critical component in the struggle of realising a better life for all. However, 2017 matric results depict a picture as to why inequality remain stubbornly high, with South Africa being arguably one of the most unequal societies in the world.

This trend of matric results suggests that learners from poor families stand very little chance of using education as a gateway out of poverty, while those from better off and affording families are in a far better situation in comparison. With net results of the education system being a contributory factor in reproducing inequality and the worst indictment being the large sums of monies the government invests on education, these investments aid a system that commends those who are better off and condemns those who worse off.

The reasonable inference that could be drawn from the performance of the few who enter university from quintile 1 – 3, which is on par with those from wealthier quintiles, suggests that firstly every learner with proper support should succeed.

Secondly the results suggest that if schools can effectively cushion learners from variables outside schooling, then learners stand a chance of succeeding. Thirdly, it seems that regardless of the location, if schools can be similarly resourced, then learners stand a chance of succeeding. Fourthly, it should not be ignored that matric results as currently tested in the form of examinations are an insufficient method to determine the potential of a learner as it is skewed in favour of those from better schools.

Therefore, the education system should be looked at in totality as not to aid only the children of those who can afford to be taught in better and resourced schools between early childhood development and matric. ■

Corporatization proposal of the student funding scheme is a reversal of Student Movement advances towards Free Education

By: *Sive Gumenge, former SASCOPEC Member in the Western Cape*

The *Mail & Guardian*, (22 December 2016 to 05 January 2017), published an article about a tabled "Gazette" for Cabinet to approve a "partnership" of the private sector and government on establishing a new student funding entity called Ikusasa Student Financial Aid Programme (ISFAS).

The article titled "*Student aid may have a new future*" is a result of a Ministerial Task Team report on creation of new a funding model for the "missing middle" and the poor. The Minister of Higher Education and Training, Dr Blade Nzimande appointed Mr. Sizwe Nxasana, the former FirstRand CEO to chair the task team.

In sophisticated manner, the article says the report seeks to propose that government must donate NSFAS to private capital as it does not have confidence in NSFAS systems for it to inject funding for South African students in need. In the article it is stated that, "*given NSFAS's legacy issues it will be very difficult to restore the confidence of the private sector to start funding NSFAS*". The latter is an absolute demonstration on how monopoly capitalism arrogance is and that is disgusting.

Therefore that tells you simply that private sector is not interested in the wellbeing of government and the poor, besides benefiting from it in whatever way possible.

At some point in time, Comrade Karl Marx said, "*Everything which exist, exist of necessity. But equally everything which exists is doomed to perish, to be transformed into something else. Thus what is "necessary" in one time or place becomes "unnecessary" in another. Everything begets its opposite which is destined to overcome and negate it.*"

Indeed perhaps NSFAS could be called all sorts of things by those who are not happy with it, but to push it to take a backseat in partnership with private sector after what it has done for poor South Africans, it will be a serious accident of history.



Sive Gumenge

This public-private partnership agreement proposed for NSFAS and a new special management companies, called ManCo and FundCo will be an ideological contradiction towards the realization of free education and socialism in South Africa.

Few years back, the Minister of Higher Education and Training, commissioned a review of NSFAS to what some of us in the student movement used to call, "*the Balintulo Commission*".

In the SASCO 16th National Congress in Durban, Comrade Blade said, "*you would all be aware of the ministerial committee reviewing the efficacy of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). I instituted this evaluation shortly after my appointment because it is generally recognised that the scheme has acute shortcomings in providing adequate support for needy students. As a result of these shortcomings, poor students and their parents have to resort to undesirable options such as mashonisas to finance their studies. This practice perpetuates a cycle of debt in thousands of poor households around the country and needs to come to an end..... In the final analysis, the revamped NSFAS must give effect to government's commitment to progressively introduce free education for the poor up to undergraduate level*".

Therefore with this ISFAP proposal, we need to ask about the Balintulo report and how far NSFAS has moved to respond to it.

Thus ask, is the establishment of this new scheme a declaration that, NSFAS failed? If yes, then the portfolio on higher education and training in parliament would have indicated by now. Also if it has not failed, then why reinvent the wheel?

Now that this report is in the public domain perhaps society and the congress movement, particularly the labour unions should unite in rejecting this new "mashonisa". Ideologically the communist party should

lead the call in its Financial Sector Campaign and the Battle of ideas Commission, because it will abuse the poor. The endorsement of this scheme will be ideologically contradicting the very same ANC's resolution of using the NSFAS to progressively marshal free education for the poor.

If we surrender education to the capitalists to manage, then we would have fully donated ourselves and our ability to fight for socialism. Lenin is correct that, *"Education is one of the component parts of the struggle we are now waging. We can counter hypocrisy and lies with the complete and honest truth."*

In the article it is stated that, *"the private sector is risk-averse and wants to have some guarantees that its funds will be well used"*. For crying out, the NSFAS is celebrating 25 years of student funding in South Africa and it funded even senior private and public sector officials.

Perhaps the private sector must just disclose the ownership of these companies that must be in partnership with NSFAS so that we honestly know their interest in this.

The strangest thing is that it is proposed, *"ISFAP will make decisions centrally regarding who is accepted for funding, together with the terms, conditions, and the grant/loan/bursary make-up of the funding"*.

Therefore it means NSFAS will just be an empty shell and as this partnership is an indication of take over. Even the National Development Plan of 2030 it states that, students who do not qualify for NSFAS should access bank loans and both NSFAS and banks loans should be recovered through arrangements with SARS. It does not indicate a takeover.

Perhaps the private investors should have some faith in the NSFAS mission of aspiring *"To transform NSFAS into an efficient and effective provider of financial aid to students from poor and working class families in a sustainable manner that promotes access to, and success in, higher and further education and training, in pursuit of South Africa's national and human resource development goals"*.

On the principle bases this proposal is an ideological suicide to make NSFAS backseat scheme and let alone its details on how it will function. ■

BOYCE MELITAFI

BORN: 12 NOVEMBER 1954 | DIED: 19 JANUARY 2017









MEMORIAL SERVICE


WEDNESDAY, 01 FEBRUARY 2017
TIME: 15H00
EAST LONDON CITY HALL






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SATURDAY, 04 FEBRUARY 2017
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BOYCE MELITAFI



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