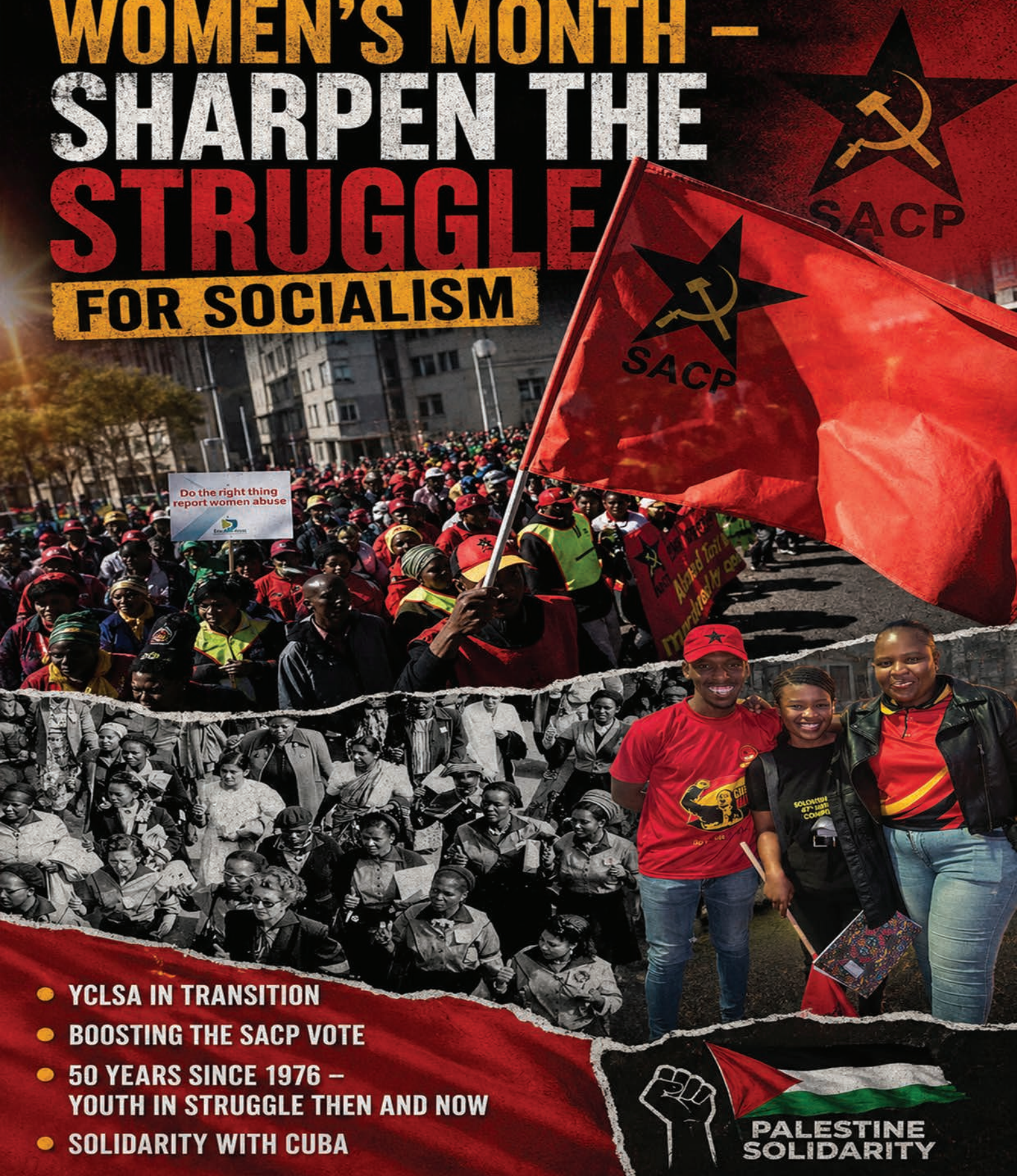


UMSEBENZI **ONLINE**

WOMEN'S MONTH – SHARPEN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM



- YCLSA IN TRANSITION
- BOOSTING THE SACP VOTE
- 50 YEARS SINCE 1976 – YOUTH IN STRUGGLE THEN AND NOW
- SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA



**PALESTINE
SOLIDARITY**

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Fidel Castro

(13 August 1926 – 25 November 2016)

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DATE
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Sandton



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EDITORIAL

A generation must earn its place in history



Painting by Judy Anne Seidman.

Fifty years ago, young people walked out of classrooms and into history. They did not know on the morning of 16 June 1976 how far their rebellion would travel. They could not know how many would be killed, detained, driven into exile or drawn into the organised liberation movement. They could not know that their courage would help alter the tempo of a struggle that would eventually destroy apartheid.

They knew something simpler: there are moments when accepting the world as it is becomes more intolerable than confronting the consequences of changing it.

Half a century later, it would be easy to commemorate that generation by turning it into mythology. That would be a disservice to them.

The youth of 1976 were not born heroic. They became political in particular material conditions.

They encountered oppression, argued about its meaning, organised against it, made mistakes, learnt, found allies and discovered that courage without organisation could not, by itself, defeat a system.

That lesson sits at the centre of this edition of Umsebenzi Online.

The crisis presently confronting the Young Communist League of South Africa cannot be answered by nostalgia. The interrupted Seventh National Congress and its conversion into a Special National Council exposed weaknesses that accumulated over years: organisational fragility, contested membership and authority, declining political education, factional habits and, in some instances, a political culture increasingly detached from the conduct expected of communists.

There is no revolutionary virtue in concealing this.

A communist organisation must possess the courage to examine itself with the same severity with which it examines capitalism.

The decision to establish a National Interim Leadership Core therefore cannot merely be a device for managing the period until another Congress. Its task is more consequential. It must help rebuild the political, organisational and ethical foundations upon which an elected League can stand.

The task is not restoration. It is reconstruction.

We do not need to recreate the YCLSA of 2003, 2010 or any other supposedly golden period. The generation that must now be organised inhabits a different world.

It is a generation in which millions are unemployed even after acquiring education. Others work without secure workplaces, collective agreements or predictable incomes. Algorithms allocate work. Platforms mediate human relationships. Artificial intelligence is changing production and professions. Climate transition raises questions about who will own the industries of the future. Young women continue to carry the weight of unpaid care and gendered violence. African workers are increasingly invited to turn their anger against one another while capital crosses borders without hindrance.

A communist youth movement that cannot speak to this world will become a historical society with revolutionary symbols.

The League must be where young people actually are: in factories and colleges; universities and TVET campuses; farms and townships; call centres and mines; unemployment queues and informal businesses; digital platforms and creative industries. It must help a generation understand that its individual insecurity has social causes and that social problems require organised power.

But organisation also requires discipline.

This edition contains a forthright reflection on conduct at the attempted YCLSA Congress. Some comrades may find it uncomfortable. They should.

There is nothing radical about disrespecting workers serving us. There is nothing revolutionary about arriving late because drinking was more important than political work. There is nothing communist about treating an organisation as a vehicle for position, status or personal indulgence.

Political discipline is not bourgeois respectability. It is respect for collective purpose.

An organisation unable to govern its time, resources, behaviour and commitments cannot credibly offer to govern society.

That is why political education matters. Not political education as the recitation of quotations and not the possession of a vocabulary that makes ordinary people feel excluded from politics. Political education must teach us how to understand the world, work collectively and change it.

The account in this edition from the Nkrumah International Cadre School is valuable precisely because the school did not separate theory from collective life. Participants studied sovereignty and imperialism, but they also cooked, cleaned, rotated responsibilities, organised cultural work and learnt from movements rooted in actual struggles. That is political education as formation.

The streets are another school.

During the voter registration weekend, young communists went door-to-door in Tshwane. They encountered students who knew something about communism but did not know a YCL branch existed on their campus. In Hammanskraal, older residents became the political educators. In Atteridgeville and Refilwe, activists encountered sewage, dangerous electrical infrastructure, poor roads and households living without reliable water.

This is where electoral politics acquires meaning.

The SACP's independent electoral contest cannot simply require the YCLSA to produce a "youth vote". Elections must become an organising process. Every door knocked on must teach us something about the condition of our people. Every campaign must recruit organisers, build durable structures

and leave behind a political presence that survives election day.

Votes matter. Organisation matters beyond the vote.

Women's Month presents the same challenge to ritualised politics.

Seventy years after more than 20,000 women marched to the Union Buildings, we should resist reducing their struggle to annual praise of women's "resilience".

Women should not have to become infinitely resilient in order to survive an unequal society. The measure of liberation is material: who owns land and capital; who earns what; who performs unpaid care; who possesses economic power; who is safe at home, at work and in public life.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Soweto uprising belongs in a discussion about rebuilding the YCLSA for the same reason. Commemoration is not the point. What the memory demands of the present is.

Ronnie Kasrils and Yunus Carrim, writing from different experiences of 1976, both remind us that youth militancy acquired its greatest power when it encountered organisation, political education, the working class and a larger strategy for liberation.

The young people of 1976 did not complete history for us.

They expanded what was possible.

Our generation has received that inheritance in a society in which political democracy coexists with staggering unemployment, inequality and concentrated economic power. The purpose of

remembering the past is therefore not to compare today's young people unfavourably with heroic ancestors. Every generation confronts different conditions.

The question is whether it recognises its own mission.

For young communists today, that mission includes rebuilding organisation; confronting unemployment and deindustrialisation; fighting for education as a right; developing technological sovereignty; struggling for the liberation of women; opposing xenophobia; building working-class power in communities and workplaces; contesting elections without becoming electoralist; and maintaining international solidarity with peoples resisting occupation and imperial domination, including the Palestinian and Cuban peoples.

None of these tasks will be performed by history on our behalf.

The future does not reward us because we inherited the correct colours, songs or vocabulary.

A revolutionary tradition is not inherited like property.

It must be reproduced in conduct, organisation and struggle.

Fifty years after Soweto, seventy years after the Women's March, and as the Young Communist League begins the difficult work of reconstruction, that may be the most useful meaning of memory.

Every generation receives history.

It earns its place in it.

Forward to the rebuilding of the Young Communist League!

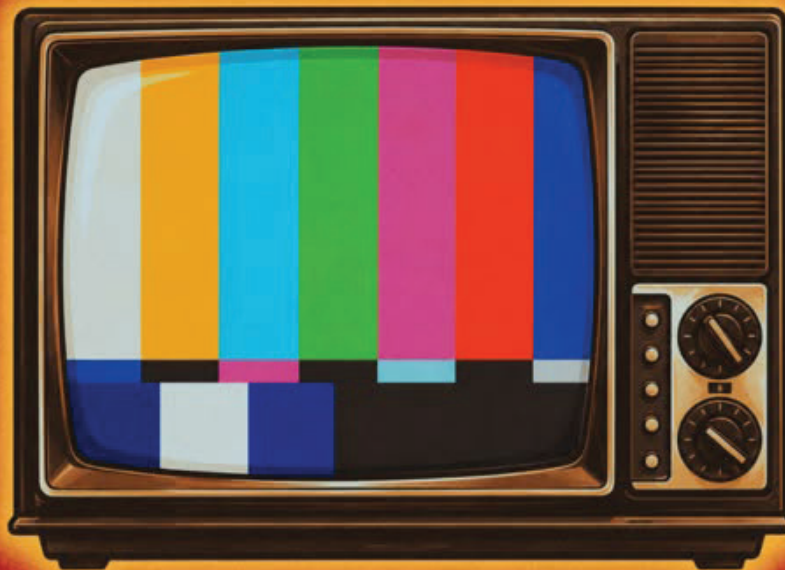
Forward to working-class and popular power!

Forward to socialism!

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YCLSA

Revitalising the Young Communist League



Key takeaways

- The planned 7th YCLSA Congress was converted mid-plenary into a Special National Council, on the SACP secretariat's own intervention, after administrative and political shortcomings surfaced
- No National Committee could be elected as a result — instead the SACP Politburo has appointed a National Interim Leadership Core (NILC) to lead the League
- NILC has an 18-month mandate to rebuild branches, prioritise the four provinces not in good standing, and convene the 7th Congress on 6–9 December 2027
- Immediate electoral task: help deliver the youth vote for the SACP's independent contest of the 4 November 2026 local government elections
- Cdes Jan Nabane (Interim National Secretary) and Mzwandile Thakhudi (Interim National Chairperson) lead a 26-member NILC, with the Secretary and Chair sitting ex officio on the SACP Central Committee and Politburo

The Politburo of the South African Communist Party (SACP) sat in its special meeting on 17 July 2026. The following is from the statement of the Politburo concerning the YCLSA.

The SACP, through its structures, the Politburo and the Central Committee in particular, has a constitutional responsibility to continuously evaluate the state of the organisation, including the YCLSA, and take appropriate decisions in order to advance its political objectives. The YCLSA remains a key source of political imagination and vigour for the Party as it takes its socialist programme forward, and therefore its welfare as an organisation is indispensable to the sustainability of the SACP and its vision. The ability of the YCLSA to be a vibrant and effective league of the SACP is the primary concern of the SACP at all times.

Against the backdrop of a prior YCLSA National Committee decision to convene an early congress that was scheduled for 10–12 July 2026 in Moses Kotane Province (North West), the Politburo received a report in this regard and discussed the programme and the fate of the YCLSA going forward from that purported congress.

The secretariat of the SACP played an oversight strategic role in the congress, as is practice in the Party, and the Politburo received a report in this regard. As part of its strategic oversight over the proceedings of the congress, the secretariat of the SACP submitted a proposal to congress delegates in the plenary of congress to the effect that the congress status and mandate be converted to that of a national council as provided for in Article 2.7 of the YCLSA constitution. This proposal was made as an intervention, having observed the administrative and political shortcomings of the congress and its processes, as well as with the view to maintain the unity of the YCLSA as an entity of the SACP.

Following a lengthy discussion of this proposal in the plenary, the delegates approved the proposal, which meant the gathering could not and did not elect a National Committee, as this is not in the constitutional purview of a national council. The meeting therefore was effectively converted into a Special National Council, which focused on shaping a comprehensive organisational and political programme to revitalise the YCLSA and build a programme that reconnects the organisation with young people at its base. Part of the council mandate and area of focus was the role of the YCLSA in the SACP elections programme. The YCLSA, thus, would be led by an interim leadership core for a determined limited period of time as appointed by the SACP.

In the context of this particular approach, the meeting received, discussed and adopted the political, organisational and financial reports as a guide to action and a foundation to consolidate a plan of action to be overseen by an interim leadership. The Special National Council determined in its discussions that the impending interim leadership should convene a National Interim Leadership Core (NILC) meeting that will serve as an induction and first plenary session.

The Politburo considered and accepted the report of the secretariat regarding the YCLSA programme

as well as the interventions and decisions of the secretariat in assisting the YCLSA to move forward. The Special National Council further mandated the National Interim Leadership Core, through an augmented national meeting of the YCLSA,

to adopt a programme of action and an 18-month roadmap in line with the terms of reference defined by the SACP Politburo as tabulated in the YCLSA constitution.

The decision to appoint a National Interim Leadership

Core was made by the Politburo in conformity with the constitution of the YCLSA regarding the National Council and its mandate and in line with the powers of the Politburo as contained in the constitution of the SACP. The Politburo also set out terms of reference for the National Interim Leadership Core, including the duration of its time of existence.

After thorough consultation and internal engagements with YCLSA provinces, the Politburo has determined the following to be the terms of reference for the National Interim Leadership Core:

1. The NILC is given 18 months to convene the 7th National Congress on 6–9 December 2027.
2. Revive and relaunch structures of the YCLSA with a focus on the four provinces not in good standing.
3. Lead and play oversight in establishing new branches.
4. Assess the state of the organisation in the provinces, receive reports from lower structures monthly and submit reports to the Politburo and Central Committee.
5. Facilitate and convene provincial and district congresses.
6. Organise all organisational activities on behalf of the National Committee.
7. Represent the YCLSA in all events where the structure is invited nationally to immediately hit the ground running in delivering a youth vote to the South African Communist Party on 4 November 2026.
8. Conduct induction for all newly elected provincial committees.

“The ability of the YCLSA to be a vibrant and effective league of the SACP is the primary concern of the SACP at all times.”

9. Members of the Secretariat must participate weekly in the SACP Secretariat meetings without fail.
10. The structure will have the powers of the National Committee in the period under review. In line with the powers of the National Committee, the NILC will elect four extra comrades, through co-option, looking into the principle of non-racialism and geographical spread, with priority given to Northern Cape and Free State.
11. The Interim National Secretary and Interim National Chairperson will be ex-officio members of the SACP Central Committee, and the Interim National Secretary, further, will be an ex-officio member of the Politburo.

The following comrades have been appointed to serve in the National Interim Leadership Core.

Interim National Secretary – Jan Nabane (M) GP
 Interim National Chairperson – Mzwandile Thakhudi (M) FS
 Interim National Treasurer – Tarik Lalla (M) GP SASCO
 Interim 1st Deputy National Secretary – Ponogo Pookgoadi (F) MP
 Interim 2nd Deputy National Secretary – Thandeka Nkosi (F) MM (KZN)
 Interim Deputy National Chairperson – Dr Thabani Dlamini (M) EC

NILC Committee Members:

Ayanda Mashaba (M) MP
 Mogale Matsose II (M) MK (NW)
 Edward 'Obama' Letsimo (M) MP: Elections Coordinator
 Thabile Lenkwane (F) GP: National Spokesperson
 Nuel Phatlane (M) GP: National Organising Secretary
 Exlira Giose (F) WC
 Gopotso Matlou (F) LMP
 Kgomotso Molotse (F) MK (NW)
 Kyle Haselsteiner (M) GP
 Lebogang Makhubele (M) LMP
 Lerato Phela (F) MP
 Dr Lesego Phetlhe (M) MK (NW)
 Lindokuhle Mdlaose (M) MM (KZN)
 Lucian Davids (M) WC
 Lukhanyo Banda (M) EC
 Sandra Wilkesen (F) GP
 Sarah Mokwevho (F) GP
 Sihle Mgushelo (F) EC
 Thalente Cele (M) KZN
 Themba Zondo (M) FS

We wish them well in reviving the YCLSA and rallying young people under the banner of the YCLSA and the Party.

Issued by SACP National Secretariat

YCLSA

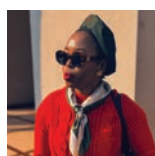
The Young Communist League we need now!



A dynamic, functional YCLSA is crucial to tackle the crises facing young people. Behind the unemployment figures are millions of lives suspended between education and employment, township and city, qualification and exclusion, expectation and disappointment.

Key takeaways

- Failed 7th Congress reflects deeper crises: contested authority, weak structures, declining political education.
- Task is reconstruction, not restoration — mass youth unemployment demands a YCL fit for today's conditions.
- New terrain of struggle: data, platforms, AI and algorithmic labour control alongside land, mines and banks.
- Programme must organise around needs, interests and aspirations — not needs alone, or it becomes joyless and abstract.
- Proposes an 18-24-month, milestone-driven reconstruction (verified membership, audits, political schools) before a new Congress



THABILE LENKWANE

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please."

— Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

The failure to complete the Seventh National Congress of the Young Communist League of South Africa should trouble every communist and every young person who still believes that politics can be an instrument of human emancipation rather than a ladder for personal advancement.

But the crisis did not begin at Congress, and it will not be resolved merely by reconvening it. The failed gathering exposed deeper contradictions: uncertainty about membership, contested

constitutional authority, weakened structures, unresolved disputes, declining political education, administrative fragility and the replacement of political work among young people by internal electoral manoeuvring.

The urgency of the present moment must therefore not become an excuse for organisational impatience. Congress must eventually be reconvened, but another gathering cannot, by itself, create members, rebuild branches, restore political confidence, develop cadres or recover the League's social purpose.

The task before us is not restoration, but reconstruction.

South Africa and the world that produced the re-established League in 2003 no longer exist in the same form. The central question is therefore not how the League can return to what it once was, but what kind of communist youth movement is required by the conditions confronting young people today.

The condition of young people

The case for a communist youth movement must begin not with the institutional needs of the SACP or the historical importance of the YCLSA, but with the concrete conditions of young people.

South Africa's official unemployment rate reached 32.7 per cent in the first quarter of 2026, with more than 8.1 million people recorded as unemployed. On the expanded definition, unemployment stood at 43.7 per cent, with young people among those most severely affected.

Behind these figures are millions of lives suspended between education and employment, township and city, qualification and exclusion, expectation and disappointment.

This is the unemployed graduate moving between applications, internships and temporary work. It is the delivery worker whose income and working hours are determined by an algorithm.

It is the young woman carrying unpaid care responsibilities while searching for employment. It is the township entrepreneur operating without affordable data, reliable electricity, access to finance or a stable market.

A generation has grown up under democracy but remains locked out of its economic promise. Many complete school without access to further education or training. Others enter colleges and universities but confront inadequate funding, accommodation pressures and uncertain employment prospects. Many complete qualifications only to join the ranks of the unemployed or accept work unrelated to their education.

Young workers increasingly enter employment through temporary contracts, labour brokers, digital platforms and informal arrangements. They may be economically active without job security, collective bargaining, pensions, medical aid or a recognisable workplace. Platforms describe them as partners, contractors or service providers precisely to obscure the social relationship between labour and capital.

Unemployment is not only the absence of income. It is also a crisis of identity, adulthood and social belonging. It delays independent life, housing, family formation and meaningful participation in society. It exposes young people to debt, violence, dependency and political demoralisation.

This is the youth condition of contemporary South Africa: a generation connected to the world through a screen, yet fragmented in its social existence; exposed to more information than any previous generation, yet frequently without durable political organisation; encouraged to imagine unlimited individual success while confronting profoundly limited collective opportunities.

These conditions are not temporary imperfections in an otherwise functioning economic system. They arise from the structure of South African capitalism: colonial dispossession, racialised labour, concentrated ownership, financialisation, deindustrialisation, spatial inequality and the

"The case for a communist youth movement must begin with the concrete conditions of young people."

failure of the economy to create socially useful work on the scale required.

A communist youth organisation remains necessary because these conditions cannot be overcome through motivation, individual resilience or entrepreneurship alone. They require organisation, class consciousness, political struggle and the transformation of social power.

What history makes possible

The most important lesson from the history of the YCLSA is not that a previous generation built a perfect organisation. It did not.

The lesson is that a national communist youth movement can be built under difficult conditions and can become relevant to the material, political and cultural lives of young people.

The decision to re-establish the League was not an act of historical sentiment. South Africa had achieved political democracy, but the social relations inherited from colonialism and apartheid remained deeply embedded. A distinct communist youth formation was required to place class, ownership, employment, education and social power at the centre of youth politics.

The re-establishment process also demonstrated that temporary structures could play a constructive role where they have a clear mandate, representative composition, transparent rules, definite timeframes and an enforceable obligation to transfer authority to elected structures. The steering process succeeded because it understood itself as a bridge to an elected organisation, not as a permanent substitute for one.

The League subsequently built branches, regions and provincial structures. It developed political schools, campaigns, publications and international

relationships. It became an identifiable current within the broader youth movement and an important presence in communities, educational institutions, public debate and the organised Left.

Its campaigns connected socialist politics to the daily experiences of young people.

Jobs for Youth argued that unemployment was not the result of deficient individual effort but of the structure and direction of the economy. The



The needs of young people include work, income, food, housing, education, health care, transport, energy, safety, connectivity and social security. These are the material foundations of a dignified life.

Right to Learn treated education as a social right. Health campaigns connected immediate needs to the struggle for universal public provision. The sanitary products campaign placed the dignity and educational participation of young women and girls within the political programme of the youth movement.

International solidarity with Cuba, Western Sahara and Palestine located South African struggles within the broader conflict between imperialism and national liberation. Participation in the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement demonstrated that internationalism was not simply a paragraph in a Congress declaration but a field of practical struggle.

These experiences proved that a communist youth movement becomes relevant when it connects a comprehensive theory of social transformation with the immediate needs and experiences of young people.

They also revealed weaknesses that must not be reproduced.

“Unemployment is not only the absence of income. It is also a crisis of identity, adulthood and social belonging..”

Political expansion was not always matched by institutional consolidation. Reported membership was not consistently equivalent to verified membership or functioning branches. Political visibility sometimes exceeded administrative capacity. Financial autonomy remained weak. Political education was uneven. Provincial disputes escalated into national crises. Factionalism, careerism and competition for deployment increasingly displaced collective political work.

These weaknesses developed over time and were reproduced across different leadership generations. But structural explanations must not become a way of avoiding political accountability. Leaders and structures made choices. Inflated membership was tolerated. Political education was neglected. Authority became personalised. Competition for positions was permitted to replace organisation among young people.

Reconstruction therefore requires more than improved systems. It demands a different political culture, ethical leadership and enforceable accountability.

A Marxist assessment must hold both realities together. The achievements show what is possible. The weaknesses show what must be done differently.

A communist youth movement for a new period

Marxism is not a collection of quotations

inherited from another century. It is a method for understanding and transforming the social relations of each historical period.

Marxism-Leninism insists on the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. It requires a revolutionary organisation capable of connecting theory to practice, immediate struggles to long-term transformation and the experiences of working people to a coherent struggle for political power.

The League cannot organise today's young people solely through the political language, organisational forms and campaign methods of the early 2000s.

Capitalism has changed.

Production is increasingly organised through global supply chains, digital platforms and automated systems. Data have become an economic asset. Algorithms allocate work, determine visibility, shape consumption and exercise surveillance. Artificial intelligence is restructuring professional, administrative, creative and industrial labour.

The old questions of who owns the land, mines, banks and factories have not disappeared. They have been joined by new questions.

Who owns the data? Who owns the platforms? Who controls artificial intelligence, cloud infrastructure and computing capacity? Who determines the purposes for which technology is developed? Who receives the productivity gains created by automation?

Will technological development reduce socially necessary labour and improve human life, or will it concentrate wealth while rendering millions economically disposable?

A contemporary socialism must answer these questions.

It must defend public and social ownership not only of traditional strategic sectors but also of the infrastructure of the digital age. It must advance universal connectivity, public digital platforms, data rights, technological sovereignty, publicly supported research and the democratic governance of artificial intelligence.

It must reject both technological romanticism and technological fear. Machines do not independently determine social outcomes. Ownership and power determine how technology is developed and used. Under capitalism, technology is primarily organised to reduce labour costs, intensify surveillance and increase accumulation. Under democratic social control, the same productive capacity could shorten working time, improve public services, expand access to knowledge and release human beings from degrading labour.

This must become a major field of communist youth politics.

Needs, interests and aspirations

The League should organise around the needs, interests and aspirations of young people.

This must not become an empty slogan. It should provide a framework for connecting immediate conditions, class politics and human development.

The needs of young people include work, income, food, housing, education, health care, transport, energy, safety, connectivity and social security. These are the material foundations of a dignified life.

Their interests include labour rights, democratic participation, economic transformation, public ownership, gender equality, environmental justice, peace and political power. These are the collective conditions through which immediate needs can be secured sustainably.

Their aspirations include knowledge, creativity, culture, innovation, sport, science, entrepreneurship, discovery, social contribution and the freedom to construct meaningful lives.

A political organisation that addresses needs without aspirations will appear defensive and joyless. One that speaks only to aspirations without confronting material inequality will reproduce the ideology of individual success. One that identifies

long-term interests without organising around immediate needs will become abstract and doctrinaire.

A modern League must organise all three.

Socialism must therefore not be understood merely as the nationalisation of existing economic structures. It is the democratic reorganisation of society so that human need and development, rather than private accumulation, determine economic activity.

It means public and social ownership of strategic resources, democratic planning, meaningful work, reduced inequality, universal public services, the liberation of women, ecological sustainability, cultural freedom, international solidarity and the extension of democracy into the economy itself.

Socialism must enable young people not only to survive but also to develop their full human capacities.

A programme for the present

The League should not begin reconstruction with a list of internal positions. It should begin with a programme of action through which young people can recognise their own lives and struggles within communist politics.

Work, production and industrialisation

A renewed Jobs for Youth campaign should demand a national employment strategy linked to industrialisation, public infrastructure, manufacturing, agriculture, technology, community services and the care economy.

The campaign must reject the notion that mass unemployment can be resolved through small-enterprise schemes alone. Cooperative and entrepreneurial activity have an important place, but they cannot substitute for the transformation of the productive economy.

"A communist youth movement becomes relevant when it connects a comprehensive theory of social transformation with the immediate needs and experiences of young people."

The state must act as an employer, investor, planner and coordinator. Public employment programmes should provide socially useful work, adequate training and pathways into permanent employment. Procurement, industrial financing and trade policy should be aligned with the development of domestic productive capacity.

Young workers in precarious, informal and platform employment must be organised as workers, with enforceable rights, social protection and access to collective bargaining.

The Just Energy Transition

The climate crisis and energy transition will shape the working lives of the next generation.

The Just Energy Transition must therefore not be treated as a specialist environmental matter. It is a struggle over ownership, industrial development, employment, communities and the future of South Africa's energy system.

Young communists should campaign for public and community ownership across the renewable-energy value chain, the domestic production of renewable-energy components, retraining and guaranteed transitions for affected workers, investment in mining communities, affordable public transport, climate-resilient infrastructure and universal access to reliable energy.

A transition that closes mines, imports technology and abandons workers and communities is not just. A transition that transfers the energy system from public ownership to private monopolies is not transformative.

The ecological transition must become an industrial and social programme. It must create new productive capacity, protect affected workers and ensure that the benefits of the transition are socially shared rather than privately accumulated.

Digital transformation and artificial intelligence

The League should develop a national campaign for digital equality and technological sovereignty.

Digital transformation and artificial intelligence

are not neutral technological developments. They are fields of struggle over ownership, labour, knowledge, surveillance and political power.

The campaign should demand universal broadband access, affordable data, digital public infrastructure, open knowledge, public investment in computing capacity, protection against algorithmic discrimination and surveillance, and enforceable rights for workers in automated and digitally managed workplaces.

Young people must be trained not merely as consumers of imported technology but as designers, technicians, engineers, researchers, programmers and producers.

Political education must help young people understand the political economy of technology: the relationship between data, labour, ownership and imperial power. It must ask who owns the platforms, who controls artificial intelligence, who benefits from automation and who bears the social cost when technology is introduced solely to reduce labour costs.

Artificial intelligence should not become another mechanism through which private monopolies concentrate wealth while workers are displaced and society becomes increasingly dependent on foreign technological infrastructure.

Under democratic social control, technological development could reduce working time, improve public services, expand access to knowledge and free people from degrading labour. The question is therefore not whether society should accept or reject technology, but who owns it, who governs it and whose interests it serves.

Education and knowledge

A renewed Right to Learn campaign should address the entire educational journey: early learning, schooling, community education, TVET colleges, universities, workplace training and lifelong learning.

It should confront exclusion, poor infrastructure, unequal digital access, student funding, accommodation, curriculum relevance and the disconnection between education and the

productive economy.

Education cannot be reduced to employability, although employment matters. It must also develop citizens, thinkers, scientists, artists, artisans and organisers capable of understanding and changing society.

Gender liberation

The liberation of women cannot be treated as an auxiliary programme.

A communist youth movement must confront patriarchy within households, communities, workplaces, educational institutions and political organisations. It must campaign against gender-based violence, economic dependency, unpaid care work, discrimination and the exclusion of young women from leadership.

It must also build an organisational culture in which women can participate fully and safely, not merely as beneficiaries of campaigns, but as political subjects and leaders.

Migration, African development and internationalism

The politics of migration is becoming one of the most consequential struggles of the present period.

High unemployment, weak public services and insecurity create fertile ground for the redirection of working-class anger towards African migrants. Anti-migrant mobilisation explains structural economic failure through the presence of foreign workers, even as migrant labour remains integrated into agriculture, construction, transport, retail and the informal economy.

The League must oppose xenophobia without denying the real pressures experienced by communities.

It should demand effective and humane migration administration, equal labour standards, the prosecution of exploitative employers, protection for both migrant and local workers, regional industrial development and stronger African economic integration.

Capital freely crosses borders in search of profit. The working class must not be divided by nationality while employers exploit different legal statuses to depress wages and weaken organisation.

The answer to migration is neither borderless abstraction nor chauvinist exclusion. It is democratic regulation, worker solidarity and continental development.

International solidarity with the Palestinian, Sahrawi, Cuban and other peoples must remain part of the political education of young communists. But internationalism must also confront the changing structures of imperialism: debt, intellectual-property regimes, technological monopolies, control of mineral value chains, military power and the unequal governance of the global economy.

The League should build direct relationships with progressive youth and working-class formations internationally while developing a distinctly African programme of solidarity, industrialisation and transformation.

The League, the Party and elections

The decision of the SACP to contest elections independently changes the strategic environment within which the League must be reconstructed.

The League's historical advocacy for an independent Communist Party electoral presence must now be translated from agitation into practical political responsibility.

The League is not independent of the Party in the manner of an unrelated political formation. It is an integral component of the communist movement and must contribute to building the political, ideological and organisational capacity of the SACP.

But integration does not mean administrative subordination or political silence.

The League requires sufficient autonomy to analyse youth conditions, initiate campaigns, develop young leadership, debate political

questions and communicate in a language capable of reaching new generations.

Its task is not simply to repeat Party statements in a younger voice. It must become the principal generator of communist youth politics.

The relationship between the League and the Party must be founded on political unity, organisational accountability and clearly defined constitutional authority. The Party must provide political support, resources, cadre development and institutional stability. It must not permanently substitute itself for the elected structures of the League or reduce the League to an electoral auxiliary.

The League, in turn, must accept the discipline and strategic direction of the broader communist movement while retaining initiative in the organisation of young people.

An independent electoral contest also creates new responsibilities.

Elections must not consume the organisation or reduce young activists to canvassers. They must become an arena for class organisation and socialist education.

The League should help the Party understand the material conditions, political attitudes and aspirations of young voters. It should recruit candidates rooted in community, workplace and social struggles. Local programmes should arise from concrete conditions rather than slogans imposed from above.

Election campaigns should identify organisers, recruit members, build branches, gather social information, establish campaign committees and develop permanent community work. Every electoral structure must have a post-election organisational programme.

The objective must be broader than obtaining votes.

A communist electoral campaign should clarify class interests, expose structures of exploitation, demonstrate the possibility of collective power

and leave behind a stronger organisation than it found. Without this, electoral participation may reproduce the same careerism and competition for positions that weakened the League previously.

The organisation and cadre we need

The territorial branch remains necessary, but it cannot be the League's only organisational form.

Young people are organised by capital through workplaces, platforms, educational institutions, industries, consumption patterns and digital networks. A communist youth movement must organise them across those same terrains.

"Young communists should campaign for public and community ownership."

The League should combine territorial branches with workplace and industrial units, university and TVET structures, formations for unemployed and out-of-school youth, professional and sectoral collectives, rural and agricultural structures, issue-based campaigns and accountable digital organising networks.

Digital organisation should supplement rather than replace physical collective life. Social media can communicate, recruit and mobilise, but it cannot, by itself, produce disciplined cadres, democratic decision-making or durable solidarity.

The League must recover the culture of political schools, reading groups, branch discussions, publications, campaigns, cultural activity and collective work.

Hola Batsha should be rebuilt as more than a nostalgic publication. It should become a contemporary political platform across print, web, podcast, video and social media. It should carry debate, explain complex questions, develop young writers and connect political education with practical campaigns.

An organisation that does not produce ideas will eventually consume personalities and rumours.

The League must also define the kind of activist it seeks to recruit and develop.

The contemporary communist cadre requires ideological conviction, but conviction alone is insufficient. The cadre must understand political economy, organisation, history, technology, gender, ecology, communications, public policy and international affairs.

The cadre must be able to organise a workplace meeting, interpret a budget, analyse an algorithm, conduct a political class, write an argument, run a campaign and listen to a community.

The League must recruit among young workers, students, unemployed youth, artisans, scientists, artists, teachers, health workers, agricultural workers, technologists, community organisers and young professionals. It cannot recruit only those already socialised into the internal culture of the Alliance or political institutions.

Its task is to transform social experience into class consciousness and class consciousness into organisation.

Leadership must emerge from political work, organisational reliability, ethical conduct and the capacity to develop others – not proximity to senior leaders or skill in internal electoral mobilisation.

“Every generation acts within circumstances it did not choose. But inherited circumstances do not absolve it of responsibility.”

Reconstruction before Congress

The League must return to Congress, but it must do so through a credible political and organisational process.

Reconstruction should include a verified national membership system, an audit of branches and provincial structures, transparent financial reporting, a national political school, provincial and sectoral policy conferences, an independent objections and appeals process, a relaunched publication and communications programme and a national campaign conducted before Congress.

The next Congress should receive an organisation that has already begun to live.

Political and organisational documents must be circulated well in advance. Delegates should arrive with mandates derived from functioning structures. Credentials must reflect verified members rather than improvised lists. Elections should conclude the political process rather than define it.

This work cannot be achieved through haste.

It may require an 18-to-24-month reconstruction process, governed by published milestones rather than an open-ended mandate. Temporary structures must operate under clear expiry dates, submit regular progress reports, maintain transparent financial records and subject membership to independent verification.

Temporary authority must not become permanent. Nor should an artificial deadline produce another Congress without credible organisational foundations.

No temporary structure should be permitted to reproduce itself indefinitely or use control over reconstruction to secure an unfair advantage in future leadership contests. The Party must guarantee the integrity of the process while resisting the temptation to administer the League permanently.

Former generations should make their records, experiences and political education available. They should not constitute alternative leadership centres, organise electoral slates or treat historical standing as a current mandate.

The League must be rebuilt and led by young communists living within the conditions it seeks to transform.

A mission for this generation

Fanon wrote that each generation must discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it.

The mission of the generation that re-established the YCLSA was to create a national political home for young communists, place class politics within the youth movement and build an organisation capable of campaigning under the conditions of post-apartheid South Africa.

The present generation confronts a different mission.

It must organise a youth population facing mass unemployment, technological disruption, ecological crisis, precarious labour, gender violence, African migration, political fragmentation and declining confidence in public institutions.

It must help build the SACP as an independent electoral and working-class political force.

It must redefine socialism for an age of artificial intelligence, platform monopolies, climate transition and globalised production.

It must make the needs, interests and aspirations of young people the foundation of communist youth politics.

It must build a movement that is disciplined without becoming bureaucratic, modern without becoming politically fashionable, militant without

becoming reckless and integrated into the Party without surrendering its initiative among young people.

Every generation acts within circumstances it did not choose. But inherited circumstances do not absolve it of responsibility.

The measure of reconstruction will not simply be whether the League succeeds in holding another Congress. It will be whether young workers, students, unemployed youth, young women and young people in communities once again recognise it as their political home and as an indispensable force in the struggle for socialism.

The League should not seek merely to recover its past.

It must organise the generation produced by the contradictions of the present and prepare it to transform society.

That is the Young Communist League we need now.

Cde Thabile Lenkwane is the National Spokesperson of the YCLSA.

Forthright self-analysis essential if we're going to rebuild the YCLSA



Learning from the best: Lenin at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol, 1920, painted in 1950 by Soviet artist Boris Ioganson.

Key takeaways

- YCLSA faces a crisis of political discipline, not just organisation.
- Lenin's warning to Communist Leagues in early Soviet Union is still relevant.
- Drunkenness, disrespect to hotel staff, gate-crashing delegates and open contempt for schedule.
- Rigorous self-examination needed and study of discipline and ethics – starting with Liu Shaoqi



EXLIRA GIOSE-DAVIDS

The 7th National Congress of the YCLSA, turned 'National Council' by the Politburo of the South African Communist Party, has perhaps, in all my years of activism, been the most glaring example of a movement for communists which lacks that very element.

The YCLSA has no communists, and immediately,

I am confronted with the tired rhetoric that it is a preparatory school for the Communist Party!

Speaking in 1920 to young communists on The Tasks of the Youth Leagues, Lenin warned against exactly this shortcut. He cautioned that lack of political education and simply assimilating slogans and conclusions without the practice and struggle that produce them results in what he called communist 'text-jugglers or braggarts' – people who have learned the vocabulary of communism by rote but prove incapable of acting the way communism demands.

Calling the YCL a preparatory school does not resolve this danger; it restates it. A school that produces text-jugglers rather than communists is not preparing anyone for anything.

I mean, sure, that statement carries weight to some extent, but revolutionary discipline should be part of the process of becoming a member of our communist organisations – the YCLSA and the SACP.

Need for revolutionary discipline among members

Some of the examples of ill-discipline I witnessed at the congress included the excessive consumption of alcohol, littering, fighting and disrespecting hotel staff, bringing unauthorised non-members into our congress/council which created a food and accommodation shortage crisis, standing outside while plenary was actively in session, refusing to check out of the hotel properly (loitering in hotel rooms after check out), to name but a few of the concerning behaviours.

Perhaps the deadliest obstacle facing our young comrades is alcohol abuse. I was once told, 'Drinking [alcohol] is the nature of a comrade at a congress'. This phrase may technically then be synonymous with saying 'All comrades are drunkards'.

The former first Deputy National Secretary, Tsietsi Letsebe, made a statement which advised comrades to rather use the large amounts of money spent on alcohol to forward the revolution instead. In an appalling response, a district secretary responded by arrogantly saying that he will not be told where to spend his money. He will spend it on drugs, alcohol and women if he so pleases.

"A school that produces text-jugglers rather than communists is not preparing anyone for anything."

It is more than unfortunate that this comrade's comments were met with hand-clapping and praise.

Perhaps another signal towards the calibre of people we have allowed into our movement and failed to transform.

This issue is particularly problematic as the SACP draws some of its membership from the YCLSA. When such individuals eventually ascend into Party structures, the Party becomes weaker, both morally and ideologically. We need a strong

Communist Party to bring us the socialism which is our human right.

None of this is incidental bad manners. Lenin located the psychology of the old society precisely here: an ethic in which each person looks after their own comfort and, in his words, does "not care a rap for anybody else".

"Lenin's communist morality was never an etiquette; it was the discipline required to forge disunited people into what he called "a single will, without which defeat is inevitable"

Comrades' public conduct impacts organisational discipline

Comrades who leave litter for others to clear, who disrespect the workers serving them at the hotel, and who treat other colleagues' time as less valuable than their own convenience, are not breaking with that psychology. They are practising it fluently, just without the vocabulary of a plot of land or a sack of grain.

A delegation from the most senior body of the Party leadership was in attendance, and the excessive late coming – an unfortunate behaviour which replicates itself throughout the Progressive Youth



Badge of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League

Alliance and its mother bodies – is a direct slap in the face to those we are meant to honour. It is mostly due to the issue of drinking and general disrespect and uninterest toward the YCLSA's proceedings.

This includes the national leadership of the organisation. Our General Secretary, the highest-ranking member of our mother organisation, had to wait until just before midnight to address us (a considerable deviation from the schedule).

This matters beyond the discomfort of the moment. Lenin's communist morality was never an etiquette; it was the discipline required to forge disunited people into what he called "a single will, without which defeat is inevitable".

A YCL that cannot organise its own sobriety, its own punctuality, and its own respect for the people serving it is not demonstrating a minor lapse in

manners. It is demonstrating, in miniature, the absence of the very unity it exists to build.

Time for rigorous self-examination towards the 7th National Congress

The coordinating failure of the congress/council was a direct reflection of the failure of leadership within the national leadership. For the YCLSA to move forward, we must have honest reflection, filter through those who seek to derail and sabotage our movement, and most importantly, educate ourselves on what it means to be a true communist.

Because the word "Communist" holds real weight. Let us not defile centuries of true activism with our behaviour. Chris Hani deserves the best of successors. We can be that, and we will become that, comrades.

"For the YCLSA to move forward, we must have honest reflection, filter through those who seek to derail and sabotage our movement, and most importantly, educate ourselves on what it means to be a true communist."

A good starting point for all of us who aspire to become communists is to read, study and get educated in the basic writings on communist discipline and ethics, beginning with Liu Shaoqi's How to Be a Good Communist.

It is only through serious, constant and consistent political education rooted in the major works of Marxism-Leninism that we have any hope of developing a youth organisation worthy of the struggles we face.

Cde Exlira Giose-Davids is a member of the YCLSA National Interim Leadership Core

2026 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS



Organise to vote!

During Voter Registration Weekend, 1-2 August, SACP structures and the Chris Hani Red Brigades were on the ground in townships, informal settlements and taxi ranks, mobilising the working class to register ahead of the 4 November Local Government Elections.

This is not just an administrative exercise — it is class struggle waged at the ballot box and to nurture a new political horizon in our communities.

Branches such as Ward 14 in Komani, Eastern Cape, used the weekend to build support for

the Party's own candidates, reaffirming the Central Committee's decision to contest these elections independently and unapologetically, in the name of the working class and the poor.

Throughout the country, cadres reminded communities that service delivery failures, corruption and neoliberal austerity will not be defeated by abstention or apathy — no matter how fed up people feel with local government failures.

Register. Organise. Vote SACP. The struggle for genuine local government — one that serves communities and not narrow, self-enriching interests — continues at every level.

2026 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

Chommy-na-Chommy voter registration aims to boost youth vote and political awareness



Chommy-na-Chommy voter registration campaign in Tshwane.

Key takeaways

- YCLSA's door-to-door voter drive in Tshwane found students at UP unaware their own campus has a YCL branch.
- Elders in Hammanskraal/Temba schooled young canvassers in struggle history before registration conversations could happen.
- Atteridgeville's hostels — exposed wiring, raw sewage — showed broken promises in stark physical terms.
- Refilwe resident has had no running water since 2014 and uses a dug hole as a toilet.
- Campaign vows to keep campaigning for SACP electoral power: registration is inseparable from demanding real service delivery



TSHOLOFELO MASEKO

The 'Chommy-na-Chommy' (buddy-to-buddy) voter registration initiative in Tshwane has revealed the day-to-day hardships of people in working-class communities.

We decided to call the programme 'Chommy-na-Chommy voter registration' because of the lack of participation of young people in the elections.

According to the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC), young people aged 18 to 30 accounted for just 18% of registered voters in the 2024 National and Provincial Elections, despite making up nearly 60% of South Africa's (SA) population. As leaders of young people in Tshwane, it then became

a personal task to go to the ground and help young people register to vote.

We wanted them to show up at the local elections. But we knew from the start that it wouldn't be easy.

We launched our campaign at the University of Pretoria. Most of the students we spoke to were studying law. They knew about communism. They understood the ideas of equality and fairness. That made our conversation easier, but, what really surprised us was that none of them knew that their own university had a Young Communist League branch. A majority of them wanted to join.

Learning experience

Then we went to Hammanskraal and Temba. We decided to have a door-to-door because of fewer people in the streets, and to our surprise, instead of us teaching, we were the ones who got taught.

The older people there sat us down and gave us a history lesson we desperately needed. They told us about the struggles of the past. The sacrifices. The promises that were made when they were young and full of hope.

"The hostels are horrible and the streets are full of exposed electrical wires just hanging there and the sewage all over the streets."

We listened with our mouths closed. Then we tried to explain why voting still matters today. Why the party must contest these elections.

Atteridgeville broke something in us. When you travel to Atteridgeville, you see quite a beautiful township until you approach the hostels in that area.

Broken promises

The hostels are horrible and the streets are full of exposed electrical wires just hanging there and the

sewage all over the streets. Children play there. Children walk there every day to go to school or to visit friends. One wrong step, one wrong touch, and a child could die.

Some of the residents in that area were not pleased to see us. Although we can blame the lack of political education for young people's non-participation in the elections, the broken promises from most political parties are another factor that causes these attitudes.

"The older people there sat us down and gave us a history lesson we desperately needed."

Our visit to Refilwe Manor started late. But we stayed. We had a door-to-door in that area and came across a woman named Sara who was also very unhappy. She told us that Refilwe has not had running water since 2014.

There was a reservoir project. It failed. And no one talks about it. No one is held accountable. No one even mentions it anymore. She said that the roads were so bad that when it starts to rain it then, becomes hard for her daughter to cross the road and go to school.

Then she told us the worst part. She dug a hole at the back of her home. A hole. She and her daughter use that hole as a toilet.

The city gave them temporary toilets outside. Sometimes they come to clean them. But what is the point? Why keep cleaning plastic toilets when you can just fix the reservoir and give them real water?

We have walked through these communities. For example, because I am from Mamelodi, I get to see ten or more people living in a four-room house. Families overly crowded while struggling from unemployment and the municipality then decides that they will not give service delivery to residents that do not pay rent.

Fix the system

The system does not care about need. It cares about money.

The government must stop simply cleaning temporary toilets and start fixing reservoirs – tackling proper infrastructure. It must stop serving only the wealthy and start serving everyone equally. It must fix the roads, bury the dangerous electrical wires, and restore dignity to the hostels. Chommy-na-Chommy will not stop. We will keep knocking on doors. We will keep registering voters. We will keep telling these stories because if we don't, who will?

“Chommy-na-Chommy will not stop. We will keep knocking on doors. We will keep registering voters.”

But we cannot do it alone.

The hard life of the working class has gone on for too long.

It doesn't have to be this way.

Cde Tsholofelo Maseko is the YCLSA district Head of Secretariat in Tshwane.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S MONTH

Building resilient economies for all: a legacy that still marches forward

SACP

Happy WOMEN'S MONTH!

CELEBRATING THE STRENGTH, RESILIENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF ALL WOMEN!

WE HONOUR the women of the past who fought for our liberation.

WE CELEBRATE the women of today who lead, build and inspire our communities.

WE COMMIT to advancing gender equality and building a society based on socialism.

Socialism is the future - BUILD IT NOW!

BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER, SELF-RELIANCE AND PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

ISSUED BY SACP HQ WWW.SACP.ORG.ZA

Key takeaways

- 70 years since the 1956 march to Pretoria; 2026 theme is “Building Resilient Economies for All”
- Warns “resilience” risks praising women’s endurance instead of demanding structural redistribution
- Four pillars needed: paid recognition of care work, stronger collective bargaining, real access to capital/land, treating GBV as an economic issue
- Public sector bargaining councils and Nedlac must turn G20 commitments into enforceable local outcomes
- Real accountability by next Women’s Day: narrower pay gap, funded care infrastructure, budgeted GBV prevention



THULILE KUMALO

On 9 August 1956, more than 20,000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to confront the architecture of pass laws that sought to control where African women could live, work, and move.

This year’s National Women’s Day marks the 70th anniversary of that march and the 30th anniversary of the first official National Women’s Day. It is a moment to honour Charlotte Maxeke, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa, Sophia Williams-De Bruyn, and the thousands whose names history did not record, while asking a harder question: thirty years into a democratic order, what has actually changed in the economic position of the women who marched, and their daughters and granddaughters who work today?

“The women who marched in 1956 were not seeking commemoration.”

National Women’s Day 2026 is commemorated under the theme “Building Resilient Economies for All”, carried forward from the 2025 Women’s

Month programme. The theme is not a slogan invented for the occasion.

It is anchored in South Africa’s G20 Presidency work through the Empower Women and Women’s Empowerment Working Group. This has prioritised the care economy, women’s financial inclusion and access to land and assets, and the prevention of gender-based violence and femicide as a precondition for women’s full economic participation.

Why “resilience” is the right word – and the wrong one if left unexamined

Resilience is often used to praise women for enduring hardship: the informal trader who keeps her stall running through load-shedding and crime, the domestic worker who commutes three hours because low wages leave no choice, the shop steward who organises after a full shift of unpaid care work at home. There is truth in celebrating that endurance. But there is also a risk in a theme like this: resilience can become a substitute for redistribution.

“Resilience can become a substitute for redistribution.”

An economy that merely expects women to keep absorbing shocks – economic, social, and physical – without changing who holds capital, land, and bargaining power is not a resilient economy. It is an economy quietly outsourcing its instability onto the people least able to refuse it.

A resilient economy for all women, rather than one resilient because of women’s unpaid labour, requires structural shifts:

- **Recognition and redistribution of care work.** Unpaid care remains the single largest, least measured subsidy that women provide to the economy. Building resilience means public investment in childcare, eldercare, and health infrastructure – not congratulating women for filling the gaps state and market leave behind.

- **Collective bargaining as an economic lever, not just an industrial relations tool.** Wage floors, job security, and protection against outsourcing and casualisation matter more to working women's resilience than entrepreneurship programmes alone. Unions remain one of the few structures that can move gender equity from rhetoric into enforceable agreements.
- **Access to capital, land, and markets in real terms.** Women-led enterprises remain concentrated in the informal sector and under-financed formal sectors, often locked out of

the theme lands differently than it does in a corporate CSR calendar. Public sector unions and federations sit at the table where wage negotiations, occupation-specific dispensations, and restructuring decisions are made – decisions that disproportionately shape the economic security of the health, education, and public administration workforce, sectors where women make up the overwhelming majority of workers. Building resilient economies for all, from this vantage point, means:

- Ensuring collective bargaining structures such as the Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council, Public Health and Social Development Sectoral Bargaining Council, and General Public Service Sector Bargaining Council treat gender pay and grading equity as a core business, not an afterthought.
- Pushing the National Economic Development and Labour Council's social dialogue function to hold employers and government accountable on the care economy and GBV prevention commitments made at G20 level, translating international commitments into local, enforceable outcomes.
- Building internal union capacity – women's structures, education programmes, and leadership pipelines – so that the resilience being asked of women in the economy is matched by resilience and representation within the organisations meant to defend their interests.



On 9 August 1956, 20,000 women staged a march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the proposed amendments to the Urban Areas Act, a centrepiece of apartheid legislation. The four leaders of the march, from the left: Sophie De Bruyn, Helen Joseph, Lillian Ngoyi and Rahima Moosa.

collateral-based lending because land and asset ownership still skews male. Financial inclusion pledges mean little without addressing that underlying asset gap.

- **Gender-based violence as an economic issue, not a separate agenda item.** GBV drives absenteeism, job loss, and diminished earning capacity. An economy cannot be called resilient while a woman's safety on her commute, in her home, or in her workplace remains conditional.

Public sector and labour dimension

For those working inside the labour movement,

From commemoration to accountability

Every August, the discourse around Women's Month circles familiar terrain: tribute, gratitude and a call to "honour the mothers of the nation". That tribute is deserved. But the women who marched in 1956 were not seeking commemoration. They were making a demand to the state. Thirty years since the first official National Women's Day, the

“What has actually changed in the economic position of the women who marched, and their daughters and granddaughters who work today?.”

honest measure of “building resilient economies for all” will not be found in the speeches delivered at the national commemoration but in the following shifts by the time this theme returns:

- The gender pay gap in both public and private sectors narrows in verifiable terms.
- Women’s share of land, business assets, and formal credit increases.
- Care infrastructure – crèches, home-based care support, and health systems – is funded as economic infrastructure, not treated as a soft issue.
- GBV prevention moves from campaign season messaging into budgeted, monitored state and workplace obligations.

Resilience, in the end, should not describe what

“An economy that merely expects women to keep absorbing shocks – economic, social, and physical – without changing who holds capital, land, and bargaining power is not a resilient economy.”

women are forced to become in the absence of a fair economy. It should describe an economy that no longer requires women to be exceptional simply to survive it.

Cde Thulile Kumalo is the National Gender Coordinator for the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union. She writes in her personal capacity

NATIONAL WOMEN'S MONTH

*Memory is a weapon against betrayal
– remembering the women who made the
ultimate sacrifice for liberation*



MK recruit poster aimed at women comrades: "The need for unity is the need for People's Power. It is the power against ignorance and general abuse. The search for active unity is the task for both men and women alike. Forward with the year of the women!"

Source: J. Seidman, Red on Black: The Story of the South African Poster Movement

Key takeaways

- Remembering the sacrifices within Women's Month, honouring women's fortitude and resistance against betrayal in the liberation struggle.
- MK comrades Makhosi Nyoka, Lindiwe Mthembu, June-Rose Cothoza and Surendra Naidu were ambushed and killed near Piet Retief on 8 June 1988.
- Phila Portia Ndwandwe, a key Natal Machinery operative, was kidnapped in Swaziland four months later by turned comrades.
- Ndwandwe was tortured, then executed at Elandskop farm for refusing to become an Askari.
- TRC amnesty hearings in 1998 exposed the perpetrators, but declined to publicly name two Askaris linked to her abduction.
- Ndwandwe's remains were reburied in 1997, honoured by Mandela, and she received the Order of Mendi for Bravery in 2003.



VUSI MAVIMBELA

As South Africa observes Women's Month this August, we simultaneously commemorate the ultimate sacrifice made by women in the liberation struggle.

We received news that on 8 June 1988, a minibus carrying comrades from Swaziland to Durban had been ambushed near Piet Retief, and three young women comrades, Makhosi Nyoka, Lindiwe Mthembu and June-Rose Cothoza, had been killed, together with an Indian male comrade, Surendra Lenny Naidu.

I had seen these comrades before they were sold out to their treacherous death. Even in their absence, their young and innocent eyes continued to flutter about in my mind like beautiful butterflies in search of a world of truth and validation. They were driven by the ideal of comradeship, common good and the common struggle that could yield liberation and emancipation in the fullness of their sacrifice. They had not calculated the betrayal

that was soon to come clothed in erstwhile comradeship and turncoats. These were young lives full of idealism and youthful optimism, with their souls burning unquenchably in the wind of promising possibilities that lay in front of them.

They were all unarmed when they were ambushed and the vehicle they were travelling in was riddled with bullets. Weapons were planted on them to suggest that they were carrying weapons, and that they had fired at the police.

In their amnesty application, the perpetrators confessed that one of their agents had infiltrated the underground Natal machinery to which these comrades belonged. The unit of perpetrators comprised Eugene de Kock, Frederick Johannes Pienaar, Christo Petro Deetlefs, Paul Jacobus van Dyk, Cornelius Johannes Botha, Douw Gerbrandt Willemse, Leon William John Flores, Jury Bernardus Hayes and Gerrie Johan Barnard. They were all granted amnesty for the crimes.

"They had not calculated the betrayal that was soon to come clothed in erstwhile comradeship and turncoats."

The minibus that carried Makhosi Nyoka and her comrades was, in fact, driven by an Askari, Lieutenant Silulami Mose, from the Luthuli Detachment. These apartheid units and death squads operated from the Vlakplaas Farm, from Security Branch offices in Piet Retief, and as part of the Port Natal Security Branch in Durban.

Four months later, on an October day in 1988, a comrade of mine who was part of our leadership echelon in the underground in Swaziland sent an urgent message requesting to see me. As was often the case with the treacherous underground working conditions in that country, we agreed to meet under the cover of darkness in the evening of the same day at a venue in Mbabane. I primed my pistol and holstered it securely on my belt. I put a few hand grenades in a holding panel on the inside of the driver's door and set out on a drive to the evening rendezvous. As pre-agreed, the comrade emerged out of the shadows, opened the front

passenger door of my car and quickly slid into the passenger seat.

We both looked around, scanning the environment for any possible surveillance or suspicious movement as we proceeded to exchange comradely greetings. She immediately got to the point of why she had requested the urgent appointment. She told me that Zandi, also called Zandile — Phila Portia Ndwandwe — was nowhere to be found. Zandi was Phila's nom de guerre, and she was a crucial part of our underground structure in Swaziland. Importantly, she was one of the leading figures attached to what had become a beleaguered Natal Machinery.

The previous day, one of the comrades had driven Ndwandwe to George Hotel in Manzini, where she met two men who behaved like her acquaintances. After happily greeting them, she left together with them in their car. Ndwandwe had told the driver who had accompanied her to the venue not to worry about her and that she would meet him later. The two men had been comrades who had been infiltrated into the country but, unbeknown to Ndwandwe and all of us in the underground, had turned coat and become Askaris working with the apartheid police.

Ndwandwe was part of the reconnaissance machinery responsible for the infiltration route from Swaziland into South Africa, which made us suspect that her kidnapping was not completely unconnected with the two ambushes that had taken place near Piet Retief four months earlier. One ambush had taken place on 8 June and involved the Makhosi group, but the other had happened on 12 June and involved a separate group of all-male comrades. We were correct in our suspicion, although we had no direct proof at the time. The truth was revealed through TRC amnesty applications, which showed that some of those involved in her kidnapping and subsequent murder were also involved in the ambushes that had killed the other comrades.

When my comrade finished delivering the unnerving news to me, I immediately felt as though our very rendezvous was under surveillance. We looked at each other and again scanned the dark environment around us as we exchanged views on what could have happened. Two immediate thoughts entered our conversation at that time: Ndwandwe had been lured away and kidnapped by people she knew, or she had defected to the enemy. My comrade further told me that Ndwandwe had nothing in her possession when she went for the appointment except the clothes she was wearing at the time and a small handbag.

When we met in my car, it was already more than twenty-four hours since Ndwandwe's disappearance. That was worryingly long in underground military and combat work, where one member's very life and death depended on the next member's undivided loyalty to the cause, and where every minute that passed without credible information about her whereabouts spelled imminent danger and possible death.

"The two men had been comrades who had been infiltrated into the country but, unbeknown to Ndwandwe and all of us in the underground, had turned coat and become Askaris working with the apartheid police."

What gave us a glimmer of hope that she had not defected was that there was no immediate noticeable enemy follow-up in terms of the information she had about our underground structures: there had been no raids on houses that she knew about in Swaziland and no reported arrests of unit members she serviced inside South Africa. Nonetheless, we took the safe route and agreed to give immediate instructions to all units that Ndwandwe knew about, both inside the country and in Swaziland, to change codes of communication, vacate houses and get rid of the cars they had been using in coordinating operations with her.

The two of us also had to immediately embark on survival adjustments of our own. We reasserted to each other the need to take extra care. She opened the passenger door and slid out into the night.

Ndwandwe's disappearance was very hard news to swallow. I had not met a more congenial and down-to-earth underground operative in my work in Swaziland. She was a warmly reassuring comrade to work with, and that is partly why I could not seriously countenance that she had defected. At the time of her disappearance, her baby Thabani was only two months old. For her to defect and leave behind such a young baby did not make much sense. My commiserations went to Bheki Mabuza, the father of the baby and the man who had driven the car that clandestinely picked me up from the Mozambique border and drove me in the dead of night into the heart of Swaziland to join the underground structures I now oversaw.

Although I was more inclined to believe that Ndwandwe had been hoodwinked and then kidnapped by Askaris or underground operatives she serviced inside South Africa, I did not completely rule out defection. Over many years of struggle, I had learnt that the human mind is like a thick and dark forest that can also be inhabited by unknown apparitions and wild beasts. Which one of those animals would leap into the open at any given time depends on the threshold of an individual's frailties or the outer limits of their fortitude and integrity.

It is always foolhardy to assume that the human mind is knowable; it is extremely naïve to assume that it can be studied like a book and passed magna cum laude like an examination. During the struggle, I learnt always to leave room for disappointment. Over the decades, we had managed to unmask enemy spies even in the most uncharacteristic individuals. Therefore, I developed a simple dictum for myself: believe with your heart but trust with your mind!

As soon as my comrade shut the car door behind her and melted into what had now turned into a suffocating evening, something else happened to me. I began to experience palpable panic attacks; it dawned on me that Ndwandwe knew

"During the struggle, I learnt always to leave room for disappointment."

my underground hideout in one of the suburbs of Mbabane. A few months before her disappearance, several comrades in the Natal Machinery to which we belonged had been withdrawn to Lusaka and Angola for security questioning.

Both at headquarters in Lusaka and amongst us in Swaziland, there were strong suspicions that enemy agents within us were informing the apartheid regime about operatives and planned operations in Swaziland and inside the country, especially in Natal. The Natal Machinery seemed to be the most beleaguered of all our underground outfits in Swaziland.

The recall of some of these operatives resulted in a shortage of personnel in our underground structures, forcing us to multitask. It was in those circumstances that we were compelled to share some key operational resources, including hideouts and cars, contrary to strict prescripts of underground work. Under the circumstances, we had little choice because doing nothing would have resulted in the work coming to a standstill.

"We were under siege from all quarters — enemy agents within our ranks, Swazi police collaborators and the South African police with their death squads."

Apart from apartheid spies who had infiltrated our ranks, collaboration between the apartheid police and their Swazi counterparts was at a very high level. We were under siege from all quarters — enemy agents within our ranks, Swazi police collaborators and the South African police with their death squads.

Following the attainment of political liberation in South Africa, apartheid police members from the Port Natal Security Branch testified at the Ndwandwe amnesty hearings organised through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which took place from 9 to 19 November 1998. They confessed that they were involved in her abduction



Women MK heroes who paid the ultimate price in the fight for South Africa's liberation. From the left: Cdes Makhosi 'Tholi' Nyoka, Nontsikelelo June-Rose Cothoza, and Phila Portia Ndwadwe. No portrait exists of Cde Lindiwe Mthembu.

and murder. The group included Andrew Taylor, Hendrik Botha, Jakobus Forster, Lawrence Wassermann, Salmon du Preez and Johannes Steyn.

They further testified that after Ndwandwe's abduction, they took her back to South Africa, where she was interrogated and left naked for 10 days. She was then killed execution-style at the Elandskop farm in KwaZulu-Natal. This farm was often used as a Security Branch safe house. The members also unanimously testified that, after 10 full days of her resistance to torture and refusal to become a collaborator and Askari, she was struck with a baton on the head before she was shot in the head while kneeling naked on the ground. Brutality and savagery unsurpassed!

They then prepared a shallow grave at that Elandskop farm as they disposed of her clothes. They covered her naked body with lime, plastic bags and refuse in order to create the impression that her grave was a dumping site. They were already trying to forestall an investigation that they predicted might take place in the future. At the time of the exhumation, a blue plastic bag was found around the waist of her remains, and one of her murderers testified that she had worn it as a 'panty' to uphold her female dignity.

The perpetrators of Ndwandwe's murder were later granted amnesty based on the disclosures they made. However, although the identity of the two black male Askaris who fetched her from George Hotel in Swaziland was well known among Ndwandwe's comrades who worked in the underground Natal Machinery in Swaziland,

the TRC declined to name them publicly in the proceedings.

To the chagrin of the family and disappointment of Ndwandwe's fellow underground comrades, the TRC had decided, as per its terms of reference, that the two were not directly linked to Ndwandwe's murder. It was little comfort to Ndwandwe's comrades, who remembered that Solomon 'Kalushi' Mahlangu was hanged by the apartheid regime under the controversial legal doctrine of 'common purpose', which treated collective association as collective guilt.

Following the exhumation, the TRC handed the remains to her family after she had been missing for about 10 years. The reburial took place on 12 March 1997 and had the honour of being addressed by President Nelson Mandela.

Ndwandwe is one of the most outstanding female guerrilla figures in the history of South Africa. In 2003, she received the Order of Mendi for Bravery in Silver for demonstrating bravery and valour and for sacrificing her life for her comrades in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Repeating the memory and the ultimate sacrifice of these women in struggle is a celebration of women's fortitude and triumph against betrayal.

Cde Vusi 'Maphepha' Mavimbela, a poet and published author, and former SA Ambassador to Brazil, is a veteran of the ANC, SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Former NIA DG and Mvelaphanda Executive Director.

Rise to today's challenge



As we commemorate the youth of June 16, we cannot hide from the cruel irony that it is our young people who bear the ruinous impact of all this – and are the main targets of reaction. It is they who face mass unemployment and a future seemingly devoid of hope.

Key takeaways

- Soweto was not spontaneous — rooted in Bantu Education, a 1973-74 strike wave, and economic crisis.
- Angola/Mozambique liberation and Vietnam's defeat of the US shattered the myth of white power's invincibility.
- Thousands of youth recruits chose the ANC/SACP for organisation, training and political education over race-based sloganeering.
- 50 years on: corruption, xenophobia and imperialist meddling threaten the liberation gains those youths died for.



RONNIE KASRILS

I was working for the ANC and SACP in London fifty years ago – a junior member in a committee of Comrades Yusuf Dado, Joe Slovo and Jack Hodgson – when news of the Soweto uprising reached us. While we were shocked at the initial killings of the protesting high school students, we were inspired by their bravery and set about tasks related to underground propaganda in support.

Instead of fleeing in submission, the rebellion spread like wildfire, involving students and later workers, black and mixed-race youth, countrywide.

State pathology reports show that in the two months following the slaughter, 50% of the killed were over 20 years of age, and 20 per cent over 30 years. Clearly the uprising was not confined to school students. By year's end more than 1,000 people were dead. In that period three strikes took place, reminding the country of the strength and purpose of the working class (Statement of the SACP, April 1977, African Communist No. 70).

Role of the liberation movement before and after the uprising

Some have questioned the outlawed ANC and Party's role as though we had been sidelined by exile. The short answer is that we had never given up on our efforts, but that the strategy of the liberation movement in exile was revitalised. This is demonstrated by the fact that we had the revolutionary capacity and commitment: thousands were recruited, armed resistance and mass struggle grew, and international solidarity intensified in isolating the regime. To understand the situation, it is necessary to recall the context.

The SACP pointed out: "The events in what has become known as the Soweto revolt are not isolated happenings; they have their roots in the

crisis which has been building up at every level of the socio-economic structure. South Africa has suffered not only from the general crisis of the imperialist West, of which it is part, but also from the special contradictions inherent in the Apartheid framework." (April 1977).

There had been signs of mounting challenges. Our underground structures reported mounting opposition to the Bantu Education system designed to train Africans for servitude. The June 16 demonstration was called by a school's movement, influenced by a black consciousness ideology based in the black universities. Identity politics may have been prevalent at first. A significant coterie of activists, however, was already connected to the ANC, among them some charged with Winnie Mandela in 1969 for clandestine activity.

Working-class roots of the uprising

The rising ferment took place within the context of growing worker protests, dating from a 1973-74 strike wave. The increase in working-class militancy reflected worsening economic conditions. An economic slump was underway, with a rise in inflation, particularly affecting black households, a fall in the price of gold, and the rising defence budget.

Inherent to the mood was the significance of the liberation of Mozambique and Angola in 1975 by movements with which we had close working relations. The retreat of the racist South African Defence Force (SADF) from Angola in January 1976, when Cuban forces came to Angola's assistance after an invasion to prevent the MPLA from seizing power, heightened expectations. The defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam was an enormous inspiration. White power could be defeated.

A Party leaflet circulating immediately after June 16 declared, "Death to the Murderous Oppressors:

Our brothers and sisters will be avenged." (African Communist, No. 68, First Quarter, 1977, The Underground Voice).

Historic inflexion points played their part in transforming South Africa. The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955, reflected aspirations of an oppressed people for a non-racist, democratic society. The Sharpeville massacre of 1960 marked the turn to armed struggle. The defiance and imprisonment of the Mandela leadership in 1964 aroused a new generation. The movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), jointly formed by the ANC and SACP, had partnered Zimbabwean guerrillas in military incursions into Rhodesia in 1967-68, and the strategy of the exiled ANC's 1969 Morogoro Conference, began the long process of recovery. The distance from the country and smashed internal organising structures were problems. It was the Soweto events that marked a sea change, swiftly raising the tide of struggle to unprecedented heights.

"Instead of fleeing in submission, the rebellion spread like wildfire, involving students and later workers, black and mixed-race youth, countrywide."

"A Party leaflet circulating immediately after June 16 declared, "Death to the Murderous Oppressors: Our brothers and sisters will be avenged."

The power of organisation

The question arises: why did the vast majority of youth who left the country seek the ANC, with some also joining the SACP?

They were attracted by the ANC's organised presence in neighbouring states, safe houses, experienced cadres and its international connections. It had a training base in Angola. The Soviet Union had provided advanced training from the early 1960s. Together with Cuba and East Germany (GDR), they could provide assistance on an increased scale.

The first request from new recruits was guns so they could return home to "kill the Boers".

Our forthright response promised action, but with political education combined with military training. The enemy was a system that needed to be destroyed, not a skin colour. An ideological underpinning more informed than race was required. What was surprising was how quickly they cottoned on. An upsurge in acts of armed propaganda saw rockets fired into police stations, planting bombs and mines. Then came the bombing of a key oil refinery, sabotage of a nuclear plant, and missiles striking the regime's military headquarters.

"Liberation heritage competes with the overwhelming commercialisation, commodification and neoliberalism of a country under the hegemonic sway of capitalism..."

Heroic operations developed over a decade into an almost insurrectionary mass uprising. It was that political factor, the masses, united and politically led, inspired by armed actions, a growing underground network and international solidarity, that coalesced into four pillars of struggle.

The emergence of a mass democratic movement, mobilising the oppressed under ANC-SACP leadership, was the essence of that sociopolitical force for change. Revolutionary nationalism infused with class ideology was essential. At the climax, the racist military lost the war to Cuban-Angolan forces at Cuito Cuanavale, and Namibia became free. That interconnection compelled the regime into negotiations. It is relevant to refer to the participation of the London Recruits, from many countries, directly involved in our clandestine tasks. They epitomised the glorious role of international solidarity.

Victory was won because of the justice of the cause, the overwhelming involvement of the masses, international support, the unassailable leadership of the ANC and its firm alliance with the SACP and trade union movement.

Preserve and protect liberation heritage

Fifty years on has seen the Soweto generation occupying careers in politics, government, business, professions, and the military, given the opportunities provided by a non-racial, non-sexist democracy.

They exhibited a remarkable esprit de corps. During the thirty years of MK's fighting existence (1961-1990), seven detachments graduated in training.

They are celebrated in freedom songs, poems, books, museums, street names, and cultural activities. A centre of celebration is the Soweto statue of 13-year-old Hector Peterson, one of the first of the martyred children to die. Young Solomon Mahlangu, the first of the generation to be executed, is a national icon. "Tell my mother", he said to the priest from the gallows, "that my blood will water the tree of freedom."

The surviving veterans strive to protect the gains of the struggle and defence of democracy. The alarm bells have been ringing. Corruption that has seeped into the organs of government, state and society, worsening socio-economic problems, and the rise of right-wing extremism reflect a deepening national crisis. A battle over values has been underway in a world in turmoil. Liberation heritage competes with the overwhelming commercialisation, commodification and neoliberalism of a country under the hegemonic sway of capitalism and Western imperialist influence and machinations – with the warmongering US, Nato and Israel to the fore. Counterrevolutionary forces, national and international, are fermenting xenophobia and division aimed at regime change. Make no mistake! Our country and precious sovereignty are in their sights, as they seek to manipulate weaknesses to their advantage.

As we commemorate the youth of June 16, we cannot hide from the cruel irony that it is our young people who bear the ruinous impact of all this – and are the main targets of reaction. It is they who face mass unemployment and a future seemingly devoid of hope.

"The alliance between China, Russia and Iran, linked to progressive forces of the Global South, is altering the global balance of forces against imperialism."

How the rot can be stopped

Whilst there are those who declared they hadn't struggled to be poor, there are those who oppose greed and self-interest, striving to serve the people. It is vital that today's youth, to whom the torch of freedom has been passed, are educated, motivated and mobilised for the challenge. Together and under the leadership of the working class and rural poor, where the vast majority have their roots, we can and must overcome all challenges.

It is relevant to refer to how the Party addressed the role of the youth in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising, explaining that the working class was the leading force and encouraging them to study Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party proclaimed that it was necessary to alert the youth to the dangers of racist and bourgeois ideas emanating from the ruling capitalist class and discard wrong thoughts of simply participating in the struggle for purposes of personal advancement and leadership rather than liberating humankind. (A Challenge to Youth, Editorial Notes, African Communist, No. 79, Fourth Quarter 1979).

SACP's vanguard role in building the future

As in 1976, bold leadership, ideological clarity and broad, non-sectarian unity are required in action. Otherwise, catastrophe.

The SACP strives to realign and strengthen the national democratic revolution with the ANC and Cosatu. It has been outspoken in rallying our people and broad left forces to unite in action.

South Africa is not a unique case. Such a message is a clarion call for unity and international solidarity of all progressive forces on all continents, from Cuba and Venezuela to Palestine; Northern Ireland and Lebanon to Congo, Kenya, Sudan, and Iran; against proto-fascist, imperialist, and neo-colonial violence globally.

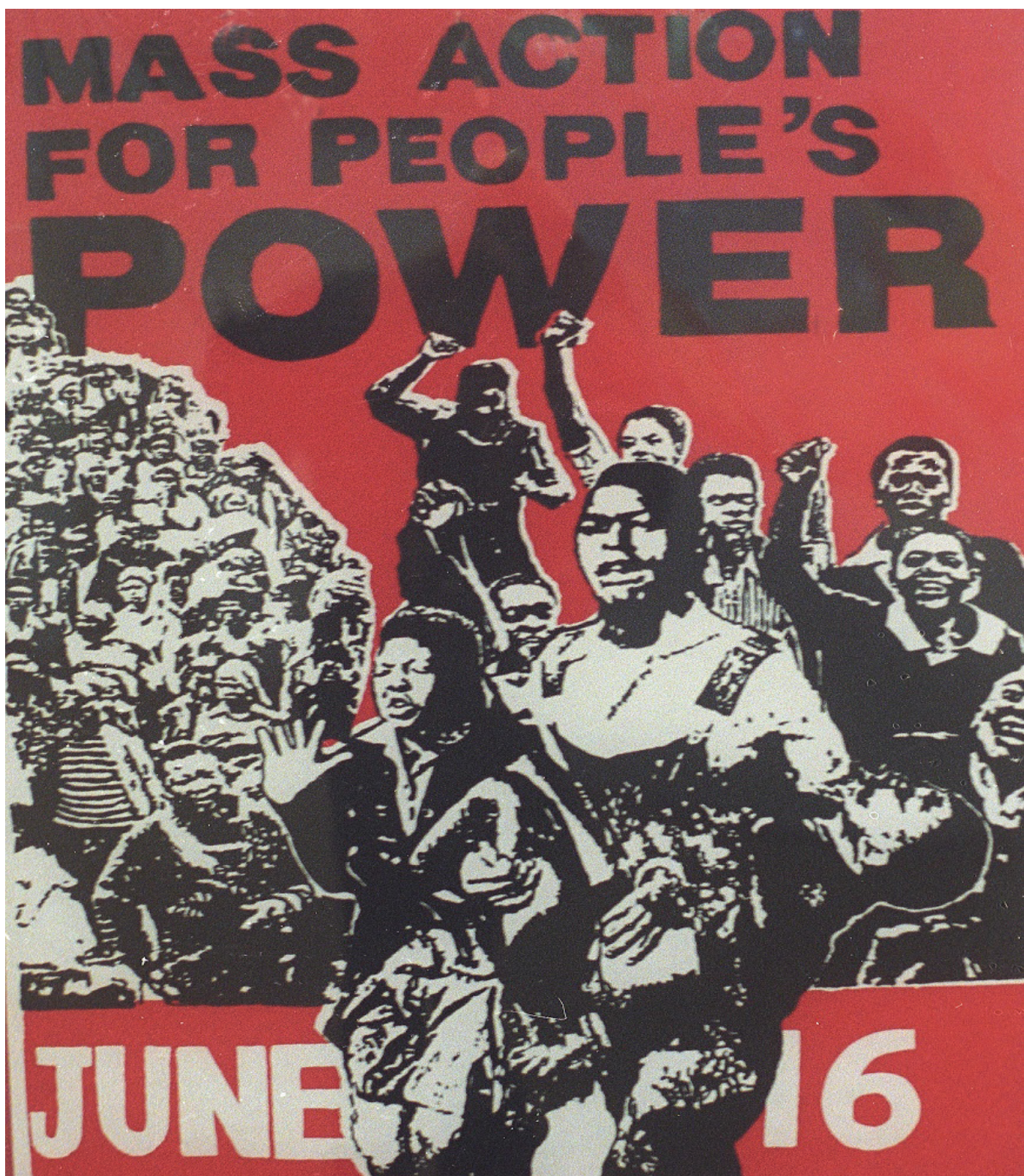
The alliance between China, Russia and Iran, linked to progressive forces of the Global South, is altering the global balance of forces against imperialism. The defence of national sovereignty and socialism, versus barbarism, is the line of march.

Amandla!

Venceremos!

Cde Ronnie Kasrils has served in leadership positions of the SACP, ANC and MK. He is a member of the SACP Central Committee

In solidarity with the student uprisings: a personal experience



There is much that can be said about the youth of 1976. But what stands out is their resilience, their bravery, their courage, their defiance.

Key takeaways

- UDW students, seen as conservative, still pulled off a 16 August 1976 boycott — several hundred strong — uniting Black Consciousness and “Congressite” students in common cause.
- Cde Yunus Carrim and two others arrested days later, interrogated for a week on false allegations.
- Detained without charge for 5 months at Modderbee Prison alongside Peter Magubane, Dr Nthato Motlana, Fr Mkhathshwa and dozens of Soweto-linked activists and students.
- Cell debates on Marxism, the SACP, and mass vs armed struggle shaped his politics — and exposed how thin gender discussion still was on the Left.
- Youth heroism alone would not win liberation — only an alliance under working-class leadership could.



YUNUS CARRIM

The Soweto Uprising was a major landmark in our history. Just how much so only began to emerge in the years that followed. South Africa was never the same again. At the time, the events in Soweto impacted us differently. This is just one peripheral personal account. It does not reflect on the sad state of where the youth are today on the 50th anniversary of the uprising.

Students at the University of Durban-Westville, confined to Indian South Africans, were relatively conservative, and in June, in the midst of exams, those of us who were politically aware knew that we wouldn't be able to mobilise a significant number of them to take part in a boycott of classes in solidarity with the Soweto Uprising.

So, when we got back to campus in late July after

the winter vacation, we organised a boycott on 16 August 1976. Several hundred students, not the majority, took part, but through a variety of activities, we brought classes to a standstill and got the university authorities worried. For once, the Black Consciousness adherents and the “Congressites” on campus found common cause.

As we participated in demonstrations at UDW in 1976, we had no idea that the struggle would advance so rapidly. Events overtook us. As erratic and uneven as our demonstrations at UDW were, the security branch (SB, as they were known) arrested three of us – Rashid Meer, Lloyd Padayachi and me – in the early hours of the morning of 19 August.

We were separately interrogated for about seven days. The police insisted that the ANC was behind the boycott - Comrade Oliver Tambo had spoken to sociologist and political activist Fatima Meer to prod her son, Rashid, to push for the boycott. I had just been to Lesotho and Swaziland during the July vacation with a cousin to keep him company while he attended to some business matters. So, of course, the SB insisted that I got instructions from the ANC. But I had no contact with the ANC! The most political thing I did on my trip was read three rather stale, tired-looking copies of 1968 and 1969 editions of *The African Communist*, which I found in a small bookshop in Lesotho (or was it Swaziland?) that couldn't sell them in seven years. And no *Sechaba* (the ANC journal). The ANC was certainly not behind the boycott, and I think the SB finally got resigned to that.

“As we participated in demonstrations at UDW in 1976, we had no idea that the struggle would advance so rapidly.”

Early one morning we were hauled out of our cells and packed off with about seven others in two yellow “kwela-kwela” police vans to Modderbee Prison in Benoni. Those who were with us included Umlazi civic activists

David Gaza, George Sithole and Vitus Mvelase, activist Govin Reddy of the South African Institute of Race Relations, trade unionist Bobby Marie, and Black Consciousness student leader, Norman

Dubazana. At Modderbee, we joined others from Soweto and elsewhere for the next five months.

We were about 50 in two cells. Among the group were photographer, Peter Magubane, Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana, and other political, church and other activists, including Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Samson Ndou, Moss Chikane and Peter Moatshe (all of whom became MPs), Mohammed Timol from the Human Rights Committee, and journalists Joe Thloloe (later the Press Ombud), Duma Ndlovu (now a playwright), Willie Bokala, Gabu Tugwana, PAC activist Mark Shinnars and some high school students.

"We were separately interrogated for about seven days."

In Modderbee we were not subject to interrogation, and engaged in political discussions in our cells. As the then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, with uncharacteristic wit, told the International Red Cross, he had simply "taken us from places of unrest to a place of rest".

For the three UDW students, it was a fascinating and irreplaceable experience. We spent 23 hours a day for five months in close proximity to comrades senior to us. It was also our first concerted engagement with African comrades beyond our fleeting contact with African students. And it confirmed in a very vivid and powerful way what we felt through our values and knew through our political understanding: that cultural differences aside, ultimately, we are all just human! And it conveyed too how utterly absurd apartheid was.

We were regaled with stories from some of the youth about Tsietsi Mashinini and the other Soweto student leaders. And while in our cells, we also heard about the unrelenting and dignified way Cdes Jeremy Cronin and David and Sue Rabkin (all SACP members) accepted their sentences for their SACP and ANC underground activities. We were inspired too by the persistence of the student struggles and how they were spreading to

different parts of the country.

When Mao Tse-tung died in September 1976, we had a moving commemoration service addressed by comrades from all the political tendencies among the detainees.

We engaged in intense and passionate debates in our cell. Most of us recognised that, as heroic and courageous as the youth were, there were limits to the role they could play in the national liberation struggle. It was vital that the youth linked up with the working class and the masses more broadly. It was, most of us were clear, an alliance of all classes and strata of the people under the leadership of the working class that would triumph over apartheid and fundamentally transform our country.

I was not linked to the SACP at the time, but sometimes led discussions on Marxism and the role of the SACP. Most of the detainees were not Marxists but were quite responsive to the SACP in the discussions. I also came to see that my approach to Marxism was somewhat mechanical and abstract, and tended to over-emphasise class against race, instead of fully appreciating the dialectical relationship between the national and class struggles in our revolution. Interestingly, there was very little discussion about gender issues, even though that was beginning to become significant among the Left at UDW.

"Early one morning we were hauled out of our cells and packed off with about seven others in two yellow "kwela-kwela" police vans to Modderbee Prison in Benoni."

Needless to say, there were intense discussions about the relationship between the mass and armed struggles – despite the fact that we thought the police were monitoring the discussions. But comrades were very motivated and determined, and could not be bothered by the police. We behaved as if it was the beginning of the end of apartheid – and in a sense it was! Of course, it took

another 14 years – but the Soweto Uprising of 1976 was a major turning point.

“We engaged in intense and passionate debates in our cell.”

For the struggle certainly - but also for me. My stay at Modderbee Prison was remarkable. It contributed signally to my growth and gave a greater depth to my understanding and subsequent participation in the struggle.

Compared to what others went through in detention, mine was easy. And, frankly, I benefited materially. While in Modderbee a chance conversation between Joe Thloloe and me led, after our release in December 1976, to the Union of Black Journalists proposing me for a scholarship to study journalism in the UK, which also led to a UN scholarship to study Sociology and a six-year stay there.

“There is much that can be said about the youth of 1976. But what stands out is their resilience, their bravery, their courage, their defiance.”

But, of course, my very subjective experience was very different from that of hundreds of other detainees, most of them youth, who were subjected to considerable pain and torture. But they refused to be cowed.



The Soweto uprisings sparked a new wave of protest and resistance to the apartheid regime. This photo by Paul Weinberg shows the 1984 funeral of Congress of South African Students organiser Bongani Khumalo.

There is much that can be said about the youth of 1976. But what stands out is their resilience, their bravery, their courage, their defiance. They refused to be demeaned by apartheid. They just said: “No, to hell with you!” in ways that previous generations hadn’t. And so, they made it impossible for apartheid to continue!

Cde Yunus Carrim is an SACP Central Committee and Politburo member.

A version of this article was published in Umsebenzi some years ago.

NSFAS: a symptom of the deepening contradictions in South Africa's semi-colonial capitalist state



The NSFAS is tasked with supporting over a million students, yet it is crippled by massive disbursement delays and a reported R14 billion shortfall.

Key takeaways

- NSFAS crisis – R14bn shortfall, 100,000+ students facing exclusion – is a symptom of capitalist state contradictions.
- Placed under administration in May amid governance collapse, ghost students and inflated claims.
- Sasco and Nehawu united in defending students while demanding real consultation, not top-down imposition.
- Demands: forensic audits, full fund recovery, worker/student oversight, debt cancellation, no exclusions.
- Only socialist transformation — not further bourgeois reform — can resolve education's structural crisis.



AVIWE RAPELANG MOHAPI

Across South Africa's campuses, students from working-class and peasant households are once again rising in anger. They block entrances, march through the streets, and confront the forces of the bourgeois state – not because they reject education, but because the very mechanism established to open the doors of learning has condemned them to hunger, eviction, and exclusion.

Allowances vanish. Over 100,000 eligible students face exclusion amid chronic shortfalls, while billions in public funds remain unaccounted for. The National Student

Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), born of mass struggle, now stands exposed as a site of perpetual crisis.

This is no accidental administrative failure. It is a concentrated expression of the fundamental contradictions of South Africa's capitalist state that is dominated by monopoly capital, shaped by colonial economic structures, and increasingly captured by parasitic tenderpreneurs and comprador elements that undermine even the limited progressive mandates won through decades of struggle.

Breakdown

The NSFAS is tasked with supporting over a million students, yet it is crippled by massive disbursement delays, a reported R14 billion shortfall, ghost students, inflated claims, systemic data failures, and total governance breakdown, culminating in its placement under administration in May 2026. In a society where youth unemployment hovers near 60%, every funding barrier translates into lifelong precarity and the reproduction of a reserve army of labour for capital.

The South African Students Congress (Sasco) has correctly foregrounded the acute suffering of students and the real danger of mass exclusions, while the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) has slammed the top-down imposition of administration without meaningful consultation, insisting on genuine stabilisation rooted in worker and stakeholder involvement.

Root causes

Higher education remains profoundly stratified along class and race lines, reflecting the unfinished National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the persistence of colonial monopoly capital. The

post-apartheid state, responding to the militant mass pressure of the working class, introduced schemes such as NSFAS. Yet these remain subordinated to the imperatives of debt servicing, capital flight, imperialist financial discipline, and the accumulation needs of white monopoly capital and its black junior partners.

Parasitic networks, enabled by neoliberal restructuring and the hollowing out of state capacity, systematically loot public resources. The broader capitalist crisis guarantees that education funding will remain chronically inadequate. NSFAS cannot transcend a bourgeois state apparatus whose principal function is to reproduce, rather than decisively transform, capitalist relations of production.

Exhaustion of bourgeois reforms

Established in 1999 as part of post-apartheid redress, NSFAS evolved from a loan-based system to more comprehensive bursaries under the hammer blows of student militancy, such as #FeesMustFall. However, within the current trajectory of the NDR, characterised by limited redistribution within the confines of capitalism, contradictions have sharpened. Expansion without decisive anti-capitalist measures exposed fiscal constraints, the profiteering role of private intermediaries, and rampant corruption.

The NDR, as currently practised under heavy bourgeois influence, is showing clear signs of exhaustion. It has extended formal access but failed to guarantee quality education, successful completion, or absorption into a meaningful productive economy. The transition from loans to bursaries has not resolved the underlying class character of the education system; it has merely displaced and intensified the contradictions.

"Higher education remains profoundly stratified along class and race lines, reflecting the unfinished NDR and the persistence of colonial monopoly capital."

"Parasitic networks, enabled by neoliberal restructuring and the hollowing out of state capacity, systematically loot public resources."

Immediate demands and strategic tasks

The entire organised working class must stand with Sasco, Nehawu, affected students, and progressive forces in defence of NSFAS against any creeping privatisation or further commodification of education. We must militantly demand that the government:

- Institute independent forensic audits, full recovery of looted funds, and transparent worker- and student-led oversight.
- Reprioritise the national budget decisively in favour of education, ensuring full and timely disbursements covering tuition, accommodation, food security, and learning materials.
- Cancel all historic student debt and guarantee no exclusions for poor and working-class students.
- Eliminate middlepersons through direct public disbursements and strengthened state capacity.

Advance the NDR

These battles are winnable through unified, militant mass struggle. Yet revolutionaries must

be clear: under capitalism, NSFAS will remain inherently crisis-prone. The decisive strategic task is to advance the NDR onto a socialist-oriented path, integrating socialist planning of higher education with radical reindustrialisation, genuine land reform, nationalisation of strategic sectors, and decent work under the ideological guidance of the SACP.

“The decisive strategic task is to advance the NDR onto a socialist-oriented path”

Campus struggles constitute a vital front in the broader battle for working-class hegemony. Only the socialist transformation of production relations can elevate education from being a privilege of the few to a fundamental right in a people’s democratic state advancing towards socialism.

Forward to socialist, free and quality education for all in South Africa! Advance the NDR to its logical conclusion!

Cde Aviwe Rapelang Mohapi is the National Education Officer at Nehawu and a political activist. He writes in his personal capacity

YOUTH

Neoliberal policies and failure to reindustrialise are major causes of youth unemployment



Comprehensive re-industrialisation could help reduce South Africa's mass unemployment – but not within a neoliberal model.

Key takeaways

- Unemployment falls hardest on youth, 50 years after the Soweto uprising.
- SA has never had one continuous industrial policy — just a scattered succession of frameworks since 1994.
- Engels: unemployment isn't a policy glitch, but capitalism's deliberate "reserve army of labour".
- The ANC's market-driven liberalisation has been disastrous, entrenching a services-heavy, low-employment economy.
- Calls for a unified, state-led industrial policy tying infrastructure, training and local production together.



LUKHANYO MTSHINGANA

This year, as we celebrate and embrace the 1976 generation of June 16 in their bravery through the Soweto Uprising, which then triggered a mass rebellion against white minority rule, we must reflect and understand that language extends beyond just being a communication tool.

It constitutes the essence of our identity, reflecting our cultural perspectives and shared memories.

When we use our native languages, we are not merely sharing information but reflecting on the intricate philosophies, customs and emotional depths of our forebears as Africans. Fifty years after the Soweto Uprising, we find ourselves with huge inequality and an ever-increasing unemployment rate at approximately 32.7%, with the majority being the youth.

Calls for reindustrialisation

In South Africa, there have been calls by youth formations, both political and non-political, that the country needs to be reindustrialised. Since our 1994 breakthrough, there has not been a single continuous industrial policy in South Africa, but rather a series of frameworks, sector programmes, action plans and related initiatives which led to the evolution of industrial strategy through the Department of Trade, Industry and Competition.

These include: the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) strategy of 1996, the Microeconomic Reform Strategy of the early 2000s, the National Industrial Policy Framework of 2007, the Industrial Policy Action Plans of 2007–2021, the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan of 2020, and the recently increased focus on localisation, industrialisation and green industrial development.

In Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Friedrich Engels wrote that in capitalist society the misalignment of economic policy is not a mere technical mistake but rather a fundamental characteristic of the capitalist system itself.

The system focuses on profit and capital growth, necessitating a constant “reserve army” of jobless individuals to maintain low wages and submissive labour. Unemployment, poverty and social fragmentation are the unavoidable and deliberate results of a system that is fundamentally out of sync with the requirements of most of its people.

Neoliberal policies’ impact on job creation

Between 1994 and 1996, the economic landscape in South Africa displayed a certain level of discord between the objectives of social rebuilding and industrial growth. The 1994 RDP aimed mainly at tackling the inequalities left by apartheid by broadening access to housing, education and essential services.

These goals were crucial for social change, but the programme focused less on developing a robust manufacturing foundation and increasing productive industrial capacity. GEAR emphasised fiscal discipline, trade liberalisation, inflation management and drawing in foreign direct investment.

The policy sought to promote economic growth and job creation; its market-driven strategy exposed various local industries to global competition before they became adequately competitive, restricting labour-intensive manufacturing industries.

“Unemployment, poverty and social fragmentation are the unavoidable and deliberate results of a system that is fundamentally out of sync with the requirements of most of its people”

The restricted industrial growth attained during this time had lasting effects on job creation; the economy of the country grew more on services and capital-intensive sectors instead of labour-intensive manufacturing that could employ substantial numbers of low-skilled labour.

The Microeconomic Reform Strategy, the National Industrial Policy Framework, the Industrial Policy Action Plans, the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, and the recent emphasis on localisation, industrialisation and green industrial development were implemented in part to tackle these structural deficiencies.

Towards a state-led reindustrialisation programme

South Africa still faces the inability to build a robust industrial foundation-led programme due to ongoing deindustrialisation in certain industries,

leading the nation to be characterised by a lack of job opportunities and elevated unemployment rates.

The country still has one of the highest unemployment rates globally, especially among young people and unskilled labour, partly because of the inadequate alignment between initial economic reforms and long-term industrial development goals.

Instead of transitioning from a development-centred model to a market-driven strategy, the country needs to allow the government to implement a unified industrial policy that integrates infrastructure funding, workforce training, backing for local production and specific incentives for crucial sectors.

There must be enhanced policy consistency, better coordination among government agencies and increased support for small and medium enterprises to foster industrial growth, job opportunities and economic change while tackling inequality and poverty.

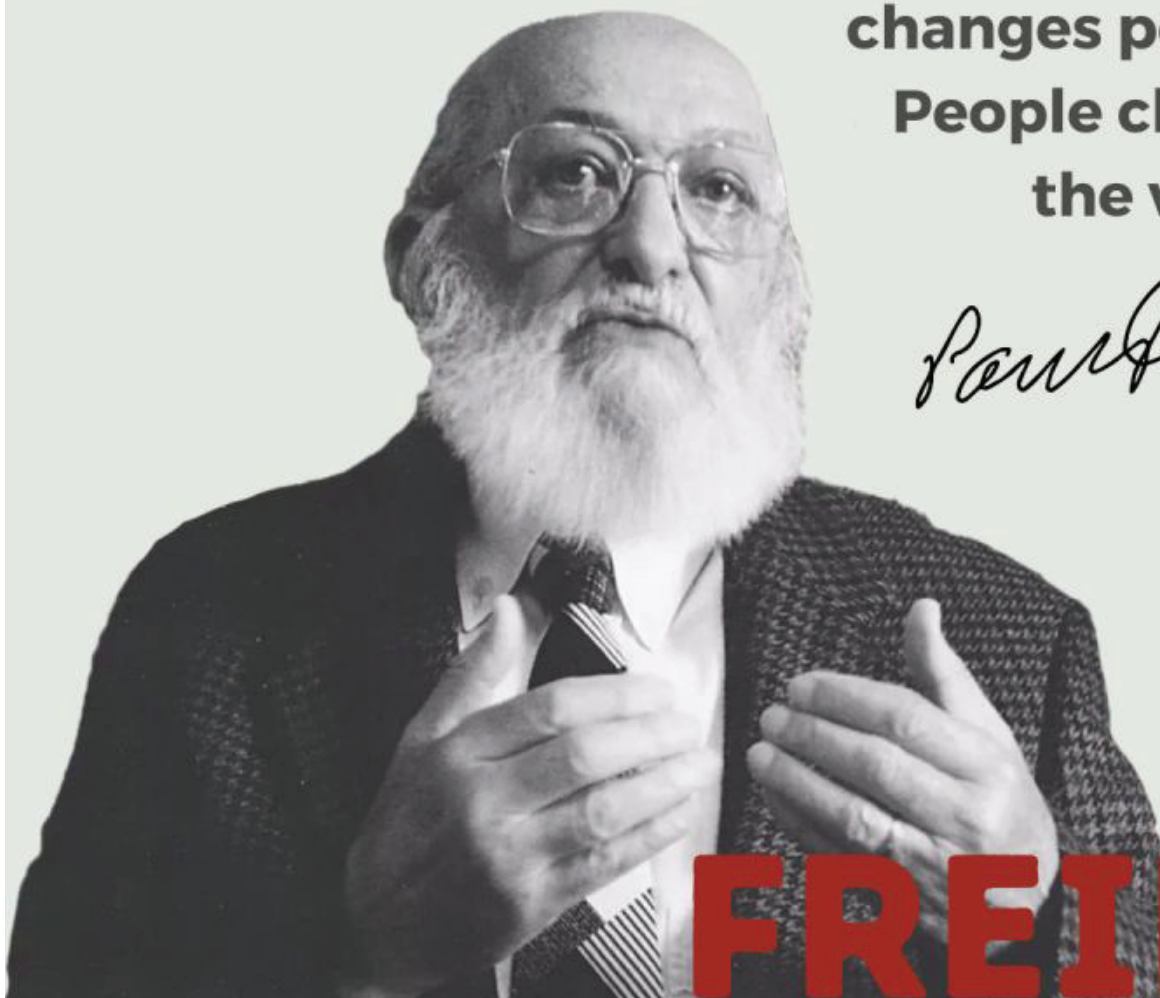
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POLITICAL EDUCATION

Lessons and experience from the Nkrumah School

PAULO

Education doesn't change
the world. Education
changes people.
People change
the world.



Paulo Freire

FREIRE

"What struck me the most, though, wasn't only the content of the classes – it was the method," writes Cde Lucian Davids. "The school was run as a collective, not a conference. The pedagogy used was the problem-posing method of Paulo Freire."



LUCIAN DAVIDS

I spent a month at the Nkrumah International Cadre School in Bela-Bela, Limpopo, as one of four delegates sent by our Party. This is my account of what a month of collective political education among more than a hundred comrades from over 25 countries taught me.

The school convened this year under the theme “Fidel 100: Defending and Advancing Struggles for Sovereignty,” marking the centenary of Cde Fidel Castro. That theme sat over everything we did for the whole month, and it’s the thread I want to pull through this account.

A global space

There were 116 of us in that cohort, drawn from West, Central, Southern and Eastern Africa, and from Brazil, China, Venezuela and Indonesia. Sitting in a classroom with that range of experience is genuinely disorienting at first – you realise very quickly how narrow your own vantage point on “the struggle” has been, however well-read you think you are. Comrades from the Sahel, from Kenya, from Western Sahara, from Latin America were all describing versions of the same capitalist crisis, but each nuanced by a completely different history and terrain.

Our own delegation was small – four of us, representing Gauteng, North-West, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape – but we were expected to carry the full weight of the Party’s presence on an international platform, and we tried to do that with discipline.

What we studied

The word that came up in almost every single class, whatever the topic, was “sovereignty”. Not sovereignty in the thin, purely legal sense, but sovereignty broken into its component parts, each

with its own politics and its own struggle attached:

- Political sovereignty – control over the state apparatus and the capacity for self-determination, free from imperialist coercion.
- Economic sovereignty – control over productive resources and the ability to plan development according to popular needs, not according to capital.
- Food sovereignty – the right of peoples to define their own food and agricultural systems, rather than depending on imported models.
- Technological sovereignty – the capacity to develop and deploy technology according to social priorities rather than market ones.
- Epistemic sovereignty – the right to produce knowledge from the perspective of working people, rather than importing frameworks wholesale.
- Ecological sovereignty — control over territories, resources, and our relationship to nature.

“What struck me the most, though, wasn’t only the content of the classes – it was the method. The school was run as a collective, not a conference. The pedagogy used was the problem-posing method of Paulo Freire.”

Domestically, this framework was applied against the rise of Afrophobia within the country. One of the toughest things to have experienced was sitting in a classroom where over 100 faces were trying to understand why the “hope of Africa” (South Africa) was busy chasing their brothers and sisters away

like animals.

We had done our part to explain that the current moment was strategically orchestrated by imperialist forces to destabilise our ability to fly high the flag of Palestine and demand accountability on that front. The first stain that was used against us was the false narrative of “white genocide”, but it didn’t stick. However, they found the silver bullet. Afrophobia, which too often disguises itself as xenophobia or as “national pride”, was the one

thing they could use – mobilising working Africans against other working Africans.

Related to this, on an international front, we were pushed to think about the global shift in power relations, the rise of fascism and why African unity must be built in tandem with solidarity beyond the continent – with Latin America and with the East – all of it oriented, ultimately, towards socialism.

The pedagogy was the lesson

What struck me the most, though, wasn't only the content of the classes – it was the method. The school was run as a collective, not a conference. The pedagogy used was the problem-posing method of Paulo Freire. No facilitator who presented their work claimed to know everything about the struggle and how to make revolution.

Rather, they guided us in the approaches we must consider based on the lessons of history, actively imploring us to think critically about the structural challenges we are faced with and think of creative ways of dismantling capitalism.

Every participant had a responsibility to undertake – be it cleaning, recording the institutional memory of the school, dishing up, re-organising the classroom or doing laundry. This is something I found particularly valuable.

We also rotated the task of coordinating each day's class and presenting revolutionary mystica – a slot where each cluster or country grouping had the floor to share their own political culture through song, dance or art. It sounds like a small thing on paper, but it does real political work. It forces every delegation, including the smallest, to actively contribute rather than simply consume, and it builds a shared culture out of very different national experiences in a way that lectures alone never could.

I left convinced that this is something we should be building into our own structures at home. If we want to attract new members and actually develop their

creative and organisational capacities, we cannot rely only on classroom-style political education. People need tasks, rotation, responsibility and a chance to bring their own culture into the room.

Beyond the classroom

A month in one place with delegates from across the world naturally opens space for plenty of bilateral discussion, and our delegation tried to use that time well. We were careful in every one of those conversations to be clear that we were speaking comradely, not with any mandate to commit the Party to anything. Still, real threads came out of it. We spoke with the Chinese delegation about an economic dialogue being developed in partnership with a South African university.

We met comrades from the Swaziland Youth Congress and discussed deepening relations and possibly building towards joint programmes with our own structures. We heard directly from the Communist Party Marxist Kenya about their organising among women and youth in the countryside, and about international capital

opening a new frontier in East Africa through Kenya – a conversation made sharper by Kenya's general elections next year.

Beyond formal bilaterals, the month put us in the same room as movements I'd only read about before: land and housing organisers from Abahlali baseMjondolo here in SA, the landless workers' and peasants' movements from Brazil and Tanzania (MST and MVIWATA), media comrades doing alternative international news work, and trade unionists organising across the Sahel and in Lesotho. Hearing organisers describe, in their own words, how they build power on the ground was worth more than any amount of secondary reading.

A month of political education only matters if it comes home with you and changes how you organise. A few things stayed with me in particular, and I think they're worth putting to our own

"Hearing organisers describe, in their own words, how they build power on the ground was worth more than any amount of secondary reading.."

structures directly, not just filing away in a report:

- We talk about being a vanguard with a mass base, but we are not systematically converting that mass into trained cadres. We need a real, structured cadre development process at ward level.
- The pedagogy of collective responsibility and rotating tasks that the school used on us is something we can and should adapt for our own political schools and branch meetings.
- Movements like Abahlali baseMjondolo, MST and MVIWATA are already doing serious organising work on the land question, on food sovereignty, and on building communes and cooperatives. We should be in far closer, more structured relationship with them.
- Alternative media platforms exist and are willing to carry our voice internationally. We should be using them deliberately rather than relying only on the outlets that have never been friendly to us.
- The lessons coming out of the Sahel on economic and national sovereignty are directly

relevant to a country like ours, and deserve serious, sustained study, not a single session.

What I keep coming back to, a month on from Bela-Bela, is that sovereignty was never presented to us as an abstract slogan at the school. It was broken down, again and again, into something concrete and buildable – political, economic, food, technological, epistemic, ecological. Every class, bilateral, rotated chore was really an exercise in practising some small piece of that sovereignty collectively, in real time, with people from a dozen different countries doing the same.

That's the experience I want to pass on to comrades who weren't there: not just what was said in the classroom, but how a month of genuinely collective living and organising can itself be a form of political education. I'd encourage any comrade who gets the opportunity to attend future and to go in ready to work.

Cde Lucian Davids is a member of the YCLSA National Interim Leadership Core.

SOLIDARITY – PALESTINE

Genocide continues. So does resistance.



Mourners carry the body of a man killed by the Israeli military during his funeral in Khan Younis, southern Gaza Strip, on 2 June. Photo: Tariq Mohammad APA images / Electronic Intifada

Gaza burns beyond endurance. Israel is expanding its extermination zone. Families are being wiped not just from the earth but from the record — entire Gaza households are being erased from the civil registry. This is not chaos. This is systematic genocide. Erase the body, then erase the name.

The West Bank tells the same story, dressed differently. Settler mobs aren't rogue actors. Settler violence is state violence, as Tamara Nassar makes plain. And it's not new. Today's aggressive settlement expansion builds on the very foundations laid at the start of the 1967 occupation. Religious Zionism didn't hijack the project. It always was the project.

Regional war deepens the crisis. Israel is withholding water from Jordan even as it takes centre stage in the US-Iran war. Water as a weapon. Classic settler-colonial statecraft.

But the axis of resistance is strengthening. The US is in a war it cannot win. This in turn is sharpening the contradictions of imperialism.

Imperialism's cultural wing is busy too. FIFA hands the US a World Cup moment to launder its complicity. Electronic Intifada, the excellent news source on the Palestine struggle and resistance calls it correctly: the tournament positions the United States as convener of global joy exactly as it bankrolls mass death. Sportswashing is class

collaboration with a scoreboard.

Repression follows the movement home. In the US, anti-communism is back with a Palestinian-solidarity face.

None of this is abstract to us. We know settler-colonialism. We know what apartheid looks like from the inside — the checkpoints, the land theft, the bureaucratic violence disguised as “administration.” Palestine is not a distant tragedy. It is our history, replayed.

The SACP’s line stands firm: solidarity with Palestine is key to the international against imperialism. Imperialism, Zionism and capital are one system wearing different uniforms. Smash one front, weaken them all.

Free Palestine!

Settler-colonisers ramp up land grab in West Bank



Israeli forces demolish a Palestinian home in the village of al-Deirat in the southern West Bank, forcibly displacing a family of seven, including five children, 17 June. The demolition was carried out under the usual pretext of construction without a permit from Israeli authorities in Area C, the more than 60 per cent of the West Bank under full Israeli military control. Photo: Mosab Shawer ActiveStills / Electronic Intifada

There has been a dangerous escalation in crimes committed by settlers and the occupying forces. This includes daily massacres, the burning of mosques and homes belonging to Palestinian civilians, and the closure of roads connecting cities and villages across the occupied West Bank.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of the State of Palestine has emphasised that these crimes are not isolated incidents but rather part of an official and systematic Israeli policy that provides political and military protection and support to settler militias.

The continued impunity enjoyed by the occupying forces and settlers effectively gives them a green light to persist in and escalate their crimes, serving the interests of the far-right Israeli occupation government, which opposes peace, continues to expand settlements, imposes facts on the ground by force, displaces Palestinian civilians, and implements plans of annexation, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.

The MFA has called on governments to take urgent and practical measures, including:

- issuing clear statements of condemnation;

- supporting independent international investigations;
- holding those responsible for these crimes accountable;
- working to disarm settlers in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 904;
- imposing sanctions on Israel's settlement enterprise and those responsible for and inciting it;
- banning the import of settlement products; and ending all economic and financial dealings with settlements;
- activating universal jurisdiction to prosecute perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity;
- supporting the establishment of an international protection mechanism for the Palestinian people;
- implementing the 2024 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice concerning the illegality of the Israeli occupation and settlement enterprise.

The Palestinian people can no longer endure the continued policy of impunity. It called on the international community to translate its legal and moral obligations into concrete and effective actions that would bring an end to the occupation, ensure the protection of Palestinian civilians, and compel Israel, as the occupying Power, to comply with international law and relevant international legitimacy resolutions.

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