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The Interests Of The Workers And Landless Peasants Shall Be Paramount

DEATH OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER

The central importance of a political programme to guide the political, economic and social struggles of the millions of workers and landless peasants in South Africa has been covered in decades' long literature production of the NEUM, UMSA and the APDUSA. On 25 June 1955 the much misguidedly propagated Freedom Charter was adopted and a few weeks ago, on its 59th anniversary, there were some reminiscences in the bourgeois media. Mr Jeff Radebe wrote a newspaper piece, (published in the Sunday Independent, 29 June 2014), remarking that "the relevance of its text will gradually drift into oblivion". The assertion by Radebe that the lofty promises of the charter are embedded in the country's constitution indeed confirm the extremely limited historical value the charter has held and that the constitution is indeed a reactionary and logical continuation of the reactionary character of the charter.

The minister's reference in the article to the ANC's vision of a "non-racial" society in the face of its steadfast adherence to the concept of "minorities" is one example of the empty rhetoric that accompanies Charterist politics. Their days of deceiving the poor majority population with fancy

political phraseology are indeed numbered. In the rest of a poorly written defence of the Freedom Charter and current government failure to solve the social and economic problems of the labouring classes in South Africa, the minister attempts to relate the charter's promises to current government policies. The attempt is a feeble one. More "radical" interpretations of the Freedom Charter do not fare much better in convincing anyone that the charter has represented political and historical progress.

At about the same time Mrs Jessie Duarte, in response to the platinum workers' strike, remarked that AMCU is cultivating "anti-ANC sentiment" and that a "counter-revolutionary" atmosphere has descended on the platinum belt. These are two ANC leaders who for years on end have boasted that they are the true champions of the poor and destitute and that the Freedom Charter demands were what they were fighting to realise. None of this holds true anymore. Now they are openly threatening workers and organisations who dare to challenge their bourgeois rule. Duarte and Radebe are the real counter revolutionaries and should be treated as such. ●

ZERO TOLERANCE FOR CORRUPTION?

The ANC professes zero tolerance for corruption but this appears to be more in word than in deed. Action is indeed taken against corrupt government officials in the lower echelons of the public service but hardly any of the persons involved have faced criminal charges. The latest case is the appointment of Hlaudi Motsoeneng as the permanent Chief Operations Officer of the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC). This has been endorsed by the Minister of Communications, Faith Muthambi, in utter disregard of the Public Protector's finding that Motsoeneng had lied about his academic qualifications and was unfit to hold such a senior position. Further, he had irregularly increased his own salary from R1.5 million to R2.4 million and he had sacked senior staff members who were unhappy with his tenure. A second case is the appointment of Tina Joemat Petterson as Minister of Energy. This, after her stint as Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, in which the Public Protector found that she had irregularly granted a tender for R800 million to Sekunjalo

Investments. The company was deemed to be totally unqualified to monitor and protect the country's fishing resources. This had resulted in the tender subsequently being cancelled with coastal patrol vessels lying at anchor for months on end, unable to perform their very important duties. She had further been found guilty of irregularly spending over R150000 on air fares for two of her children and an au pair to Sweden. Despite the Public Protector's recommendations, no action was taken against Joemat-Petterson. Now she holds office over ➔

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➤ the running of state owned electricity supplier, Eskom, which everyone knows is in a critical state. It seems that the principle of zero tolerance for corruption does not apply to cases of blatant corruption in the upper echelons of the party.

How the ANC can argue that it does not tolerate corruption is impossible to accept. In the recent elections President Jacob Zuma expressed disdain for “clever blacks” who had the temerity to criticise the ANC. It seems that he is happier with the mass of the uneducated, suffering as a result of South Africa’s rotten educational system, who will happily vote for the ANC, not understanding the legal technicalities involved in large scale corruption.

In every bourgeois party one finds two classes of individuals. The small core, usually in the leadership, who are passionate about the need to uphold and defend the capitalist system and then there are those who have only entered politics as a career to finance their own personal interests. This latter group is most prone to manifest corruption though the upper echelons are not immune to this disease either. The ANC is still young in experience controlling a bourgeois state and it lives by the false glory of having led the so-called anti-apartheid struggle. This has legitimised the corrupt elements in its ranks. But the struggle was far more than one against apartheid and it should properly be seen as one against oppression and exploitation of the vast majority. Today the masses experience little freedom from their exploitation and the ANC boast is

increasingly being seen as a hollow one.

ANC ideologues are torn between defending a bourgeois state and promoting a pre-socialist state. But they sold out in the negotiated settlement for the sake of having all their political prisoners released and their exiles given immunity from prosecution. This, besides the fruits that they could expect to enjoy in the position of national leadership. After all, Mandela was a millionaire before he left prison. It is in this climate of indecision on the role that they should play that the opportunists have gained the upper hand in the party and we now have a string of criminal corruption cases which the ANC and its Alliance members attempt to legitimise. Recently, Blade Nzimande, Secretary of the South African Communist Party and Minister of Higher Education disgustingly attempted to defend Agriculture Minister, Senzeni Zokwana for grossly underpaying a farm labourer R800 per month, (about R26 per day), which is less than a quarter of the legally prescribed minimum wage. Now, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Thandi Modise, is accused of neglecting a farm she owns at which hundreds of animals have died due to neglect and her employees at the farm cry of not being paid their promised R50 a day wage at all. All that the ANC can do is to attempt to smother these incidents with left sounding rhetoric. Expelled Youth League chairperson and head of the Economic Freedom Fighters, Julius Malema leads the brigade. ●

ON CURRENT STRIKES

The current strike season reveals a serious shortcoming within the trade union movement, be it the unions aligned to the ANC or the independent trade union movement. This is the absence of political demands within wage negotiations of all trade unions at present. The demands that are being made show a reliance on an economic solution to the current crisis that the South African population experiences. All demands are directed at financial benefits (increase in basic wages, provident fund, shift allowance, etc.) for all unionised members who actually constitute the minority of those in permanent or semi-permanent employment. This can be attributed to the capitulation of the petit bourgeois leadership of the unions who abdicated their task of representing their members in all spheres of society.

It appears that the reason for this is the absence of political training, the separation of economic struggle from socio-political struggle. Further, the leadership has avoided the responsibilities of providing direction in the struggle of their members against local, provincial and national government. Indeed, some members of the leadership have been co-opted into government via the tripartite alliance.

Most members of trade unions are parents, rate-payers who experience the impact of neo-liberalism on housing, education and service delivery that is

political in nature. In the recent May elections we witnessed paid organisers of the unions being used to canvass for a party that introduced anti-worker legislation and shop-stewards were used as volunteers to perpetuate their oppression by the pro-capitalist ANC government.

For as long as workers are used as bargaining tools without being provided with the tools to enable them to make a proper analysis of their situation, for so long will they battle to understand that their plight can only be addressed through the battle for dominance of the working class and landless peasants over the capitalist class that is being represented by the ANC leadership. It is only through the interaction of workers in all spheres of struggle that we will be able to advance to throw off the shackles of exploitation. This does not mean that workers must not strike for higher economic benefits but these struggles must always be interconnected with all struggles such as those for housing, against poor service delivery and education and against unemployment. It is against this backdrop that the need for progressive trade unions within a united front of all social forces of the oppressed plus progressive political organisations becomes imperative. This must be the rallying call in order to prepare us for the onslaught on capitalism. ●

A 2014 YOUTH DAY MEETING IN KHAYELITSHA

Youth Day is dedicated to the memory of the student rebellion of 16 June 1976, a high watermark in pre-1994 struggles against Bantu Education. But our struggle neither began nor ended on this day when the police force of the supremacist state shot down protesting teenagers in Soweto. In this protracted struggle against minority rule, oppression and exploitation, many young activists paid the ultimate price for our freedom. Youth Day thus fittingly became a moment for tributes to many pre- and post-1976 generations of selfless young freedom fighters.

The Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) joined forces with a handful of other organisations for an inspiring and memorable June 16 public meeting. It took place at a small Community Hall across the road from the Khayelitsha sports stadium, in a neighbourhood simply known as Section 2. The hall was obviously too small for the crowd fluctuating between 200-250 people. Dozens assembled outside the two entrances to hear the electrifying speeches or to catch a glimpse of awesome cultural items delivered from a poorly lit stage. Some came by minibus taxi from townships, like Delft and Philippi, while others were from as far afield as Robertson, a rural town which is about 130 km northeast of Cape Town city. The event attracted a mix of school-going and unemployed youth plus some older activists. Students from surrounding high-schools made up about two-thirds of those in attendance.

In an impassioned speech a student at Philippi High school explained how Grade 12 students receive lessons in refurbished containers that have been serving as makeshift classrooms for several years. He blamed both the Western Cape and National Departments of Education for failing to provide critical infrastructure and other fundamentals that are the cornerstones of free and equal education for all. A college student spoke from the audience and turned the spotlight on the school curriculum. After all, top quality schooling demands far more than enough classrooms and textbooks. He questioned government's commitment to invest in quality education for all, relating a story of his own bitter experience. Even though he had passed Grade 12, he did so without mathematics which was a requirement for him to pursue post-school studies. During his time at high-school, nothing was done to assist them to master mathematics and inculcate a full appreciation of the future benefits of what he described as an essential subject. Before he could enter college, he had to pay a considerable amount of money just to complete Grade 12 mathematics. Government's flawed neoliberal model of schooling,

he concluded, is to blame for this situation. It condemns working class children to impoverishment because the quality of education a child receives depends on whether parents are able to pay for a child's education. It runs counter to the demand for free and equal education for all. It deserves outright rejection as a solution to the enduring crisis in education. This explosive take-home message sparked resounding applause from the audience.

As to be expected, intense political debates characterized the meeting but the agenda also included short yet politically enlightening cultural items. Students from Chris Hani High School, located in Khayelitsha, performed a play with a powerful political message. After reciting two poems, one of the three students from Alexander Sinton High School based in Athlone sang a popular freedom song with the audience joining him in singing the chorus. Mobilization for this 2014 Youth Day public meeting included a march for decent services and jobs to the provincial legislator in Cape Town city on 13 June. PYM used this protest action to reach out to some of these schools through left-activist teachers and groups like Sounds of the South (SOS), a cultural group with apparent Pan Africanist political leanings.

The Housing Assembly and Gugulethu Backyarders were the most prominent social movements that took part in this vibrant gathering. A representative from the Rita Edwards Women's Collective, an organization of women activists with its stronghold in the Mowbray-Observatory suburb, delivered a brief solidarity message in which she cited one of Nelson Mandela's speeches. The Democratic Left Front (DLF) Western Cape was the only explicitly political movement invited to speak. Youth resistance throughout history, the DLF speaker explained, often started large-scale rebellions against social injustices that would galvanize other social classes into struggle. It demonstrates the role youth can play in advancing social revolutions. There is a vital lesson from the past for present struggles: today's young activists must unite their struggles with those of working people against the entire capitalist system.

Overall, this 2014 Youth Day meeting went beyond worthy tributes to the brave young activists of bygone years. It displayed the signs and raised the hopes of introducing radical left politics to a new generation of youth enraged and energized by their immediate problems. Laying the foundations for a militant anti-capitalist youth movement must be done.

A luta continua!

STRIKING PLATINUM WORKERS SPEAK OUT

In a meeting at the University of the Western Cape (29 May), organised by the Western Cape Democratic Left Front, three striking migrant

workers of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), employees of Amplats and Lonmin, spoke of their experiences ➡

➡ during their 19 week strike. Academics and students at the university, as well as other interested parties made up the audience of about 50 to 60 people in attendance.

The workers strongly restated their demand for R12 500 as a basic wage demand. They reiterated that they are not prepared to stand down on this demand. As a side comment a remark was made that workers are talking of upping the ante and putting forward a demand for R20 500; this, to drive home the point that they are serious about their demands. They rightly consider this to be a living wage. Comments from members of the broader public, being given coverage in the capitalist media, includes one that suggests that due to the workers being uneducated, their central demand is in fact “unreasonable”. One contributor from the floor questioned this, asking how and by who the value of the labour of mineworkers are in fact determined. The fact that the bosses of the mines hardly walk around with PhD qualifications means that they should not be paid the millions, if not billions they claim for themselves.

The August 2012 events that led to the Marikana massacre were described by one worker ; it clearly revealed how the police actions on 16th August were calculated and premeditated. The workers raised the issues of the land and its wealth that belong to them; that they must be paid fairly for

the backbreaking, dangerous work they are expected to do. The workers stated unequivocally that “enough is enough”; that their struggle is a struggle for the entire working class in the country. One student raised the point that his father is a worker at Amplats and that he has “nothing to show” for years of work that merely enriched the capitalist bosses and their allies. The audience expressed strong support for the workers for which the three comrades were very grateful.

Some contributions in the meeting raised the humanitarian aspect of the workers’ struggle. These contributions simultaneously advanced the idea that the political dimension of the struggle should be underplayed – in fact, that it should not be a focal point of the meeting. However, most contributions made, overtly or by implication raised this dimension: the demise of the tri-partite alliance and the government/ bosses alliance; the struggle for socialism; the need for a “blueprint” that will allow us to chart a way forward; the need for political education of the youth; the need for nationalisation of the mines; the need to propagate the issue beyond the university grounds and so forth. The meeting concluded with inspiring exchanges of solidarity between the mineworkers and the audience.

APDUSA salutes and support the striking platinum workers.

CSAAWU CONDEMNS ATTEMPTS TO BREAK MINEWORKERS STRIKE

Statement by the Commercial Stevedoring Agricultural & Allied Workers Union

The platinum mineworkers strike is now the longest strike in the history of the mining industry and the demand for a living wage of R12,500 demand is one of the most important demands to have emerged from the workers struggle since 1994. The demand is not just for a better wage but is a demand against the capitalist system itself. The mineworkers are leading the way – they give hope and confidence to workers across the country and beyond!

Workers are demanding R12,500 so that they can live a life of dignity with decent housing, water, electricity, food, healthcare, education and transport. These are not big things. They are things every human needs for a decent life. Bosses claim workers are unreasonable while Mr. Griffith (Anglo American Platinum CEO) and his 11 executives and top management have just been awarded R25.3m in a bonus-share scheme and a further R51.8m if performance criteria are met. Over and above their obscene salaries, top management get paid out in share options and share dividends that come to millions of rands. AMCU reports that management is being paid at least 209 times more than the lowest-paid workers.

Throughout the strike reactionary forces, including the state, the ANC government and bosses’ trade unions, have worked together in attempts to crush the strike, victimise and intimidate

workers because the demand for a living wage threatens the whole system. Strike leaders have been falsely charged with attempted murder, Amplats bosses have filed a claim against AMCU for nearly R600m in damages, Amplats attempted to lay criminal charges against strike leaders and now we see bosses recklessly circumventing the union and calling for a return to work with threats of job losses if workers do not return. They are fuelling divisions amongst workers and threatening workers’ livelihoods. Hundreds of police are being sent in to support the bosses’ calls. At least 18 workers have been injured by Amplats mining security this week during a peaceful protest and dozens have been arrested on charges of public violence. The government is decisively stepping in on the side of the bosses. Now that elections are over, they are going all out to break the strike, which could result in a repeat of the Marikana massacre in 2012.

Workers are standing strong and refusing to return to work. We salute our comrades and call on our class brothers and sisters to remain strong and united, despite the attacks. There is nothing worse than when we turn on each other because of the violence created by the bosses and their system.

CSAAWU calls on all progressive forces to come out strongly in support and defence of the mineworkers strike and the demand for R12,500! We call for: ➡

- ➔ ♦ The urgent rolling out of regional and national living wage assemblies that involve local communities, movements and trade unions in the next 2 weeks. The assemblies must advance strike solidarity, a living wage for all workers, the building of the united front, mass workers party and a workers government.
- ♦ Food and money collections in every organisation, community and workplace.
- ♦ Charity and religious organisations, including Gift of the Givers, to come out in full support. Workers are being starved back to work!
- ♦ United Front strike support committees in every region.
- ♦ The rolling out of solidarity protests, pickets and secondary strike action.
- ♦ International solidarity from our class brothers and sisters – dockworkers refuse to handle

platinum! Transport workers refuse to transport platinum! Mineworkers and trade unions across the world, stand with your brothers and sisters!
 The strike needs the weight of the working class behind it so workers are not starved and intimidated back to work! A victory for mine workers will be a victory for all workers, employed and unemployed. It will be a victory against a system that creates violence and threatens our human existence!

***AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!
 HANDS OFF AMCU!
 MEET THE MINEWORKERS DEMAND OF R12,500!
 FORWARD WITH MINES UNDER DEMOCRATIC
 CONTROL & MANAGEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS!
 VIVA SOCIALISM VIVA!
 With acknowledgement to and with permission of
 CSAAWU***

PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2014 ELECTIONS

The 2014 elections have come and gone, leaving some interesting developments in its wake. The ANC recorded an expected victory but with a reduced percentage of the total vote, receiving 62.15% as against its 65.9% in the 2009 election. This translates into a nett loss of approximately 690000 votes, besides taking account that the percentage poll overall also fell from 77.3% in 2009 to 73.47% in 2014. The conservative Democratic Alliance, politically to the right of the ANC, but less corrupt, increased its share of the vote from 16% in 2009 to just over 22%. It also delivered a sound beating to the ANC in the Western Cape where the latter boasted it would regain control. The ANC also suffered a significant loss of votes in Gauteng province where its share fell from 64% in 2009 to the now 53.63%. Here again the DA achieved the biggest increase in its share of the vote.

Before one can draw any conclusions from these figures it is necessary to examine the success of the new comer, the Economic Freedom Fighters party (EFF). This party, which arose out of the aims and ambitions of disgruntled members of the ANC Youth League, who enjoyed a lavish and profligate lifestyle they were afforded there, until they became an embarrassment which could no longer be swept under the carpet. They were then summarily expelled or suspended. Previously they had shouted that they “would die for Zuma” but now they reserved their greatest wrath for he who had kicked them out and he who has been tied up in his Nkandla homestead scandal. It is difficult to accept their transition from being loyal ANC members who faithfully followed the Freedom Charter, to their apparent left-sounding program of nationalising the mines and seizing white-owned farmland without compensation. They further profess to being inspired by the policies of Hugo

Chavez and the supposedly leftist policies of Robert Mugabe. But the big question remains: who has been funding the EFF? They were able to launch a large-scale campaign with well-organised rallies across the country. It is also reported that party leader, Julius Malema had the facility of costly helicopter transport from one point to the next. The funds spent by the EFF in their campaign could hardly have been derived from the under-employed and unemployed youth who constitute the vast majority of its membership. As noted in an earlier article of ours, a possible motive for the funding of the EFF could have been operative amongst certain wealthy individuals and business concerns who felt the need to embarrass the Jacob Zuma cabal by cutting into the vote of the ANC. This has partly been achieved. But yet another factor has to be considered. In the aftermath of the Marikana massacre, the bitter farm worker strikes in the Western Cape and then the break with tripartite alliance loyalties by the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, a potential movement for the establishment of a left-wing front or even a mass workers party could not be ignored. With its left sounding populist rhetoric the EFF has partially succeeded in deflecting attention from the building of a left-wing movement with possibly widespread appeal.

There were those on the left who became excited about the formation of the EFF and the size of its support that it attracted. Hence, the talk of a potential alliance with the EFF – “we can learn from them how they have managed to build widespread support in a short space of time.” These individuals now have to face the possibility that they were bluffed into becoming pawns of those with entirely different motives. The EFF now goes to parliament with about 25 seats. Here it will not be ➔

➤ possible for them to rely on bluster and insults to further their aims and the likelihood is that they will become “pragmatic”, supporting the ANC against the DA wherever possible. They may even go to the extent of giving the ANC the necessary two-thirds majority to change the constitution so as to limit the powers of the judiciary. After all, they have alleged that they too have been victims of a biased judiciary. But building a left-wing movement outside of parliament is hardly on its agenda. They remain the disgruntled supporters of a basic and fraudulent ANC ideology.

Another consequence of the rise of the EFF is the possible death of the financially bankrupt ANC Youth League. What is left of the old ANCYL leadership and what is new consists of those who are politely toadying up to Zuma. It can no longer boast a role of bringing fresh ideas into the ANC and much less can it now claim to be the ANC king maker. Similarly, the role of the South African Communist Party can also now be called into question.

In the mean time Jacob Zuma still has to answer for Nkandla. Then, he will also have to answer his remark shortly before the elections that only “bright (or clever) people” have been concerned with the Nkandla spending. This speaks of a man who regards the mass of the voting population as not so bright and they can easily be

fobbed off with cheap answers for massive fraud.

The result of the “vote no” campaign, called for by ANC stalwart, Ronnie Kasrils and a few supporters, may also be noted. This was not anti-ANC campaign, but rather an effort to bring the current leadership of the ANC back to greater acceptability. This campaign had hardly any impact, showing that those who voted for the ANC are still under the illusion that it was an organisation that led the liberation struggle and that its leadership problems can be settled internally. Then there was the electoral effort of the newly formed Workers and Socialist Party (WASP), established under the aegis of the Democratic Socialist Movement. The WASP shunned an alliance with other bodies unless it was in charge. It received only a tiny fraction of the total vote, 0.05%, showing that a sectarian approach to the struggle cannot succeed. Finally, a peculiar result of this election has been the decision of the militant shack dwellers’ movement, Abahali baseMjondolo, to lend tactical support to the DA, which is just as neo-liberal, if not more so than the ANC. Previously, it has been virulent in its opposition to all political parties, according to the argument that they all inevitably become corrupt upon receiving a measure of power. It previously called stridently for a boycott of ALL elections. We are keen to know whether its anarchistic proponents will argue that its new stance demonstrates democracy from below. ●

MINISTER GORDHAN’S 2014/15 BUDGET FOR CORPORATE ENRICHMENT

South Africa’s Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan, tabled his R1,1 trillion budget for 2014/15 in parliament on 26 February. Minister Gordhan desperately talked-up the derisory amounts of pro-poor spending in the margins of the latest government income and expenditure plan. But more careful interrogation of the budget begs a fundamental question: who are the top recipients to whom South Africa’s public money is being distributed? Huge volumes of public resources are set to flow into schemes for corporate enrichment, especially businesses profiting from bulk infrastructure construction, exports and state debt, at the expense of the poor and labouring majority.

The Finance Minister anchored his budget speech in the 2030 National Development Plan, viewed as the blueprint for prioritizing state spending for decades to come. This is what Mr Gordhan told his audience from the parliamentary rostrum: “The NDP reflects the priorities underpinning this budget, and prepares the ground for the next phase of our economic and social transformation.” (Pravin Gordhan, 26 February 2014, p9) A few weeks earlier, President Jacob Zuma echoed similar messages in his 2014 State of the Nation Address, promising to fast-track the implementation of the NDP through five yearly implementation plans. For both men the NDP is the fulfillment of the Freedom Charter.

In fact, at the 2012 Mangaung Conference of

the ANC, the NDP 2030 received a resounding endorsement despite bitter opposition to it from dissidents within the tripartite alliance, most noticeably the National Union of Metalworkers of the South Africa (NUMSA). It is no secret that the NDP 2030 is premised on the same capitalist logic as the 1996 Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) neoliberal policy. Commitment to labour market flexibility and rampant privatization, among other neoliberal impositions, is indelible in both frameworks to safeguard corporate interests coupled with ferocious assaults on workers.

The promotion of *competitiveness* and *exports* is a dominant theme that runs through Minister Gordhan’s 2014 budget speech. This mantra unmistakably betrays his devotion to neoliberalism. A host of corporate tax breaks and subsidies (called ‘investment incentives’) are mooted and must be pleasing to the bourgeoisie. Given the neoliberal command to restrict government spending, by how much will the growing ‘investor incentives’ cut the budget for meeting the socio-economic needs of the majority, agrarian reform, etc.? The 2014 budget speech is silent on this fundamental trade-off or contradiction that pervades the actual numbers.

More importantly, tax breaks and subsidies are never enough to advertise and sell South Africa as an attractive export processing hub for the accumulators of profit. Investors demand cheap and docile labour! In the final analysis, the capitalist ➤

➡ class must intensify the exploitation of labour if they want to beat their competitors and capture larger export markets. Compliant Mr Gordhan and his comrades in other government departments (DTI, Economic Development, etc.) thus champion the expansion of 'special economic zones'. But export processing zones are notorious for their dehumanizing working conditions and stripping workers of basic freedoms; these enclaves are concentration camps for wage-slaves and the production of super-profits.

The much talked about youth wage subsidy, officially labeled the Youth Employment Tax Incentive, follows a similar logic for corporate enrichment. All workers, embracing the jobless and non-unionised, are set to gain from rejecting and protesting against such false remedies to South Africa's long-running unemployment crisis.

Over the next three years, government plans to spend R847 billion on infrastructure projects, making this the largest slice of fiscal expenditure. There cannot be any dispute about the need for mass public investment to construct energy, water, transportation and other social infrastructure that uplift peoples' living standards. Sharp disagreements stem from the flawed model that dictates how public money is to be poured into the ambitious infrastructure development programme. The Finance Minister's plan amounts to grand-scale outsourcing to the private sector as if there are no anti-neoliberal alternatives to the building of social infrastructure.

Government debt is set to soar, partly to pay for new or upgraded infrastructure. The combined debt of all government agencies, including state-owned enterprises, stood at R1,39 trillion in 2013, according to the latest Government Debt Management report. This amounts to nearly 40% of the total value of output produced in the country (or GDP). And the cost of servicing government debt is bound to surge in tandem with higher indebtedness – aggravated by recent downgrades in the country's credit ratings, speculation in debt markets and interest rate hikes. Paying the interest on government debt has increased by about 66% from R66,2 billion in 2010 to R114,9 billion in the latest budget- not too far below state spending on all social grants! This guarantees a steady income stream for rapacious financial capitalists.

Overall, the 2014 budget speech fosters false hopes that a flawed and bankrupt economic model (codified in the NDP 2030) will improve our quality of life. In line with neoliberal prescriptions, government spending does not aim to break the stranglehold of capitalism on society, the root cause of unemployment, inequality and exploitation. On the contrary, outsourcing and state indebtedness to profit-seeking big business will increase at the expense of the poor and exploited masses. Militant movements against austere and neoliberal budgets must mobilize on the basis of a coherent anti-capitalist programme aimed at placing the entire economy under the democratic control of the laboring majority. ●

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EFF - REAL OR IMAGINARY?

There has been a great deal of concern and rather excessive interest expressed in Julius Malema's new Economic Freedom Fighters Party (EFF). A number of commentators, besides many on the left believe that this is a significant development. Some groupings on the left even think that a working relationship should be established with the EFF, especially in view of its socialist styled program. But one should firstly look at Malema's history to put things in their proper perspective. He has a chequered and uninviting background, flaunting a very lavish lifestyle – Gucci outfits, a Breitling watch, driving luxury cars and drinking expensive whiskies, as well as having owned a couple of up-market mansions and a farm in Limpopo. Besides this, he has displayed an arrogant posture of amongst other things, swearing at a journalist and calling him a "bloody agent". He has had his assets seized and auctioned off at the behest of the SA Revenue Service for failing to pay his taxes. He now also faces the more serious charges of money laundering, fraud, racketeering and corruption. This hardly speaks of a man committed to the noble goal of socialism and equality for all. As for the program of the EFF, having been expelled from the ANC Malema and his ilk could hardly have opted for a program more conservative than that of

the ANC. It is therefore logical that he and his cohorts have decided upon an organisation with leftist, revolutionary sounding goals. Whether the EFF will indeed be sincerely committed to these goals remains to be seen. As with the South African Communist Party, which ostensibly has a socialist programme but which is bound by a never-ending pursuit for the completion of the nebulous "national democratic revolution", so the EFF program appears to be mere rhetoric which in practice, may be only a populist support-farming device.

Much has been said about the ANC's fears of how much support the EFF will win at the polls. We are told that the EFF has a fair amount of backing in Mpumalanga and Limpopo that can damage the ANC in the forthcoming elections. It is clear that the EFF is looking towards the youth vote. But in the first place, from its targeted constituency, there is a question of how many of this youth will actually register and be eligible to vote. The boasts that the EFF is the new government in waiting are hardly likely to be borne out in fact and in deed.

The legal charges faced by Malema derive from the Public Protector's report on the tender scandal in the Limpopo province. He is due to formally appear in court, with others, to be tried on these ➡

➤ charges. (His trial has been postponed to September 2014). Malema has already argued that these charges are baseless and they are politically motivated. He thus seems to believe or hopes that they will be thrown out of court, à la Jacob Zuma. Politically motivated or not, these charges are very real, which demand more than allegations of a political conspiracy for an answer. There is the distinct possibility that he will be convicted on some, if not all of them and the EFF will then have to contend with the serious problem of its chief protagonist and leader sitting in jail. This is a possibility anticipated by some in the EFF who now say that if convicted, Malema will lead them from prison!

An important question that sorely needs to be asked is who is financing the EFF? Malema and his cohorts have no easy access to money from their targeted supporters, who are from the have-nots in society. They can hardly contribute much towards the expenses already lavished on large scale rallies, motorcades, t-shirts and berets, etc. Otherwise, there

are only two possibilities. The first would be business sources who wish to weaken the ANC by splitting its vote, without fear that the EFF will amount to a real political force to be reckoned with. The second is wealthy sources within the ANC who have been sidelined by Zuma and who previously were favourably disposed towards Malema and his ilk for their own reasons. These may be hoping that a substantial drop in the ANC's electoral support will spell the end of Zuma's regime. There is no pro-socialist agenda here. The EFF thus has the appearance of being nothing more than a tool in the hands of others with their own interests.

Malema and his EFF appear to be an extremely dubious ally of the struggle for socialist democracy. It has already displayed Stalinist tactics in its activities and there is the real danger that this organisation will end up as representing nothing more than the emergence of a rabid and dangerous, counter-revolutionary youth movement, prone to act in whatever way, at the instance of the highest bidder. ●

APDUSA POLITICAL SCHOOL

The APDUSA held its second biennial political school in Warrenton over the Easter weekend. The theme of the school was "Trade Unions, Programmatic Struggle and the Fight for Socialist Democracy" The school was attended by members from across the country, who all agreed that the papers and discussion were very enlightening. This marked a successful organizational effort. The opening topics covered the importance of programmatic struggle, which is reviewed below. Two further reviews will follow.

Any successful struggle for socio-economic liberation critically depends upon the formulation of a clear and coherent set of political and economic demands that spell out the vision and goals of the struggle. Such a programme for social revolution is inseparable from a policy and principles that clearly state how the struggle is to be conducted. The hallmark of a serious political organisation is that all its actions are founded on a programme, policies and principles - a neat codification of what it stands for and what it wants. This session of the political school examined key theoretical and practical issues about why and how political programmes develop. From the viewpoint of the workers and their allies, it showed that programmatic struggle is a distinct achievement of scientific socialism. This represents a major accomplishment over the longstanding myth that a spontaneous uprising of the oppressed and exploited masses will miraculously free society.

Leading examples from history show that any radical overturn of society, a revolution in other words, cannot succeed without a programme fit for specific circumstances. The example of the 1917 Russian Revolution serves as a powerful illustration of this crucial lesson. Russian socialists had spent a lot of time towards the end of the nineteenth century to craft a programme fit for guiding their struggle. In the Russian case, Lenin and

his comrades, had developed a programme to unite workers, the peasant majority and progressive sections of the middle class into a powerful fighting force.

This example also shows that political programmes are developed by the leadership of the workers movement. And this leadership of the proletariat does not automatically arise from the ranks of the working class- who usually lack the time and training for the absolutely essential scientific analysis of society with an eye on changing it. This fundamental task is the work of the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia, mainly originating from the educated strata of the petit bourgeois and bourgeoisie-classes that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and other socialist thinkers emanated from.

In the application of these vital lessons from the collective memory of the international workers movement, this discussion shed light on four programmes in South Africa: *Ten Point Programme* (adopted in 1943 by UMSA); *The Freedom Charter* (adopted by the ANC in 1955); *The Programme of Action* (adopted by the PAC in 1960); *Azanian Manifesto* (adopted by AZAPO in 1983). Each of these programmes reflect in concrete terms the demands, policies and principles articulated by specific ideological currents in the South Africa's liberation movement. Today, the 'Transitional Programme' represents an outstanding contribution to a scientific socialist understanding of programmatic struggle. Other programmatic interventions- such as the Communist Manifesto (1851), The theses of the 3rd International (1921) and the Theses of the WPSA (1938)- also helped to chart a way forward for revolutionary socialists in specific situations. These are conquests of the proletariat and form part of our accumulated memory. They are essential ingredients for advancing socialist consciousness. ●



From Around the World

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND EUROPEAN UNION YOUTH EMPLOYMENT INITIATIVES

The high levels of unemployment in the EU particularly among the youth remain blight on the body politic. In March 2013 there were 5.7 million young people without work in the 28-nation bloc of whom 3.6 million were in the eurozone. These figures are twice as high as the overall rate of unemployment. In the crisis stricken countries the figures are worse. In Spain more than half of the population under the age of 25 is jobless, while in Portugal it is 40% and in Greece in February it was a record high at 64%. The EU was at the centre of the global financial crash of 2007-08. In the years of recession that followed, the member states of the EU adopted the policies of austerity and unemployment. These policies are a direct attack on the working class. As talk of a “lost generation” spread and fearful of the youth causing destabilising social unrest, the EU has resorted to schemes to tackle unemployment. Economists dismiss the schemes as a public relations exercise.

One of the measures adopted by the member states of the EU to combat unemployment is the Youth Guarantee Scheme. Under this scheme, all young people up to the age of 25 receive an offer of a job, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education. The EU is to help member states fund the Youth Guarantee schemes through the use of EU structural funds, notably the Youth Employment Initiative. The EU leaders agreed to front-load the Euro 6 billions that had been earmarked for the Initiative so that these funds are available in 2014-2016. The EU member states also launched the European Alliance for Apprenticeships in July. The programmes are designed to link up the private sector, social partners and businesses to create apprenticeships. The EU member states also agreed to strengthen existing initiatives such as helping young people find employment across borders as well as fostering cross-border vocational training.

The grand sounding Youth Guarantee Scheme and other measures adopted by the EU appear not to be working. Thus Arnaldo Abruzzi, the head of the Association of European Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a TV interview said “Roughly 80% of the new jobs in the last five years have been created by other means; therefore if we do not want to fight youth unemployment, we need to take care about the growth and competitiveness of Europe as a means”. The association also called for an annual

EU summit to address such issues as providing training and apprenticeships to young people who have left their formal education. One of the reasons given by experts for the failure of the Youth Guarantee Scheme is the lack of the individual political will on the part of EU states to implement the Youth Guarantee Scheme. In Britain the government’s own advisors have branded its flagship scheme to tackle youth unemployment, the £1bn Youth Contract, a failure. It provides temporary wage subsidies to employers worth up to £2,275 if they provide a six month “job start” for under 25s. A quarter of the way through the programme, of 160,000 subsidies provided, there were only 21,000 applications and 2,070 payments made for young people completing 26 weeks on the scheme. One of the government’s advisors said the programme did not “make a meaningful dent in appallingly high levels of youth unemployment”. One third of jobless 18-24 year olds (250,000 people) had been out of work for more than 12 months and 15% (115,000) for more than 24 months, the highest level since 1994. The Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission has warned “Our judgement is that here the UK Government was too late to the party and what it is doing is so far having too limited an impact.” David Cameron at the Tory Party conference in September threatened unemployed under 25s that they could lose their right to housing benefit and Jobseeker’s Allowance if they were not in work or training.

Punishment for unemployment, as if it was the fault of those who could not obtain jobs and not intrinsic to capitalism with its industrial reserve army, is being meted out in the USA and Britain through the introduction of workfare. Workfare, a welfare to work scheme, forces welfare recipients to work to earn their benefit. It was introduced by the Labour Party in Britain in 1998. The present Con Dem government introduced its own scheme, MWA (mandatory work activity), which states that if you are referred to this scheme you must do 4 weeks of 30 hours unpaid labour at government offices, charities and private companies. Cait Reilly, a young graduate was forced under this scheme to go to work for Tesco, a supermarket, to stack shelves for free under threat of losing her benefits. She challenged this order in the courts and the Supreme Court ruled that the workfare scheme was illegal. This will not stop the government rewriting the law to ensure ➔

➡ the scheme carries on. Resistance to its reintroduction by campaigns like Boycott Workfare, through demonstrations and other forms of protest are set to continue.

As more than 1,000 young people a day join the ranks of Europe's unemployed, the failure of EU policies on youth unemployment become more glaring. For millions of people, the European dream

has turned into a nightmare. Far right parties are on the rise. Alexis Tsiparas, leader of the left wing Syriza Party in Greece in reaction to the EU's failed policies says, "Europe needs an anti-austerity and anti-recession front, a solidarity movement for its working people, north and south. This could deliver a pact for democracy, development and social justice". ●

ONSLAUGHT ON GAZA

In July, Israel launched a combined ground, air and naval attack on the Palestinians in Gaza. Israel has blockaded Gaza since 2007 when it refused to recognise Hamas as the authority in charge of Gaza, having won the democratic elections there. It labelled Hamas a terrorist organisation. This latest invasion follows the killing of three Israeli teenagers, hitchhiking in the occupied territory of the West Bank. At first the Israelis claimed the killings were due to Hamas but later withdrew that claim when they arrested the alleged killer.

The killings served as a pretext for the Israelis to re-arrest a large number of Palestinian political prisoners, who had been released in exchange for Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit held as a prisoner of war in Gaza. They then launched attacks in the West Bank, killing a number of Palestinians and arresting over 300. This was followed by an Israeli Air Force strike, which killed 7 Hamas resistance fighters in the Gaza strip.

The response of Hamas to Israeli aggression on the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank was to launch rocket attacks on Israel. The Israelis used these rocket attacks by Hamas as their justification for the invasion of Gaza. Their aim was twofold, to deal a crushing blow to Hamas and to punish the Palestinians for Fatah (in the West Bank) and Hamas reaching an accord and forming a national unity government in Gaza. The Israeli army, one of the most powerful in the world was employed to wreak havoc on the besieged population of Gaza.

Dubbed by the Israelis "Operation Protective Edge", this was the third and deadliest war in six years between Israel and Hamas. The Palestinians lost 2,104 dead and 12,656 injured, women and children bearing the brunt of the attack. The scale of the devastation was huge. 1700 houses were destroyed, one third of all hospitals as well as 14 primary healthcare clinics have been damaged or destroyed and at least half of all public health care clinics are closed. Gaza's only power plant was destroyed, signalling a crisis for Gaza's 1.8 million people already enduring power cuts of more than 20 hours a day. The strike can only worsen the already severe problems with water and sewage treatment. 520,000 people out of a population of 1.8 million, were displaced. In contrast to the losses suffered by the Palestinians, Israel's deaths mainly affected their soldiers of whom 66 were killed and 6 civilians.

Israel, in claiming the success of "Operation Protective Edge", highlighted the depletion of the Hamas rocket arsenal and the destruction of many of the tunnels built between Gaza and Israel. Its claims may be premature considering that the population of Gaza remains unbowed in spite of the horrific losses they suffered. The Hamas militia, small in number, bravely and

skillfully employed its very limited range of weapons to withstand the might of the Israeli army. Its popularity among the population has soared. The message the people of Gaza delivered to Israel and the world has been that they are no longer prepared to endure the state of siege. Having hurled the ultimate weapon of their mighty army at the Palestinians and failed to cow them or break their unity, the Israeli government and its people must ask themselves the question, what next?

The pressures against Israel are mounting internally and internationally. While most of the Israeli population backed their government's invasion of Gaza, there is now discord among many, who believe the attack failed because the spirit of resistance of the people of Gaza remains high. During the invasion of Gaza, there were many demonstrations throughout the world condemning Israel and showing solidarity with the Palestinians. In London there were two big demonstrations in quick succession. In South Africa, one of the biggest demonstrations took place in Cape Town, where an estimated 70000 to 100000 people marched through the streets demanding the expulsion of the Israeli ambassador.

The unstated aim of the Israeli government is not to negotiate with the Palestinians on a two state solution, while grabbing more land from the Palestinians on the West Bank. In spite of countless UN resolutions declaring Israel's occupation of the West Bank illegal, over the decades it has continued to defy widespread international anger with the active support of its ally, the US. No sooner had a ceasefire to the present conflict been declared, than Israel appropriated another 988 acres of land on the West Bank. In Cairo, where negotiations following the ceasefire are taking place, Israel has demanded that Hamas disarm. The Hamas demand is for the lifting of the illegal 7 year blockade of Gaza and the reopening of the border with Israel as well as the border with Egypt. Among its other demands are the rebuilding of Gaza international airport, destroyed by Israel in 2001 and the release of prisoners.

Outside the negotiating chamber, the Palestinians are up against the formidable alliance of the US and Israel. On the diplomatic front the Palestinian Authority has sought support internationally. In November 2012 it was recognised by the U. N. General Assembly as a non-member observer state. This support does not significantly alter the balance of forces ranged against the Palestinians. The call is for a stepped up boycott, disinvestment and sanctions campaign against Israel, which is gaining increasing support. ●

THE PROGRESSIVE FORUM

APDUSA honours the life's work and commitment to human liberation of Bernard Berhman, who passed away in England recently at

the age of 81. A fitting obituary, to which little can be added, can be read on the site of the Socialist Worker (UK):

<http://socialistworker.co.uk/art/34156/Bernhard+Behrman+1931-2013>

The passing of Bernhard Behrman has prompted the need for comment on the important role of the Progressive Forum as it was the body through which he first entered the ranks of the Non-European Unity Movement (later, The Unity Movement of South Africa).

The Progressive Forum was started in Johannesburg in 1948 by a group of students at the University of the Witwatersrand. Many of them had travelled to Cape Town to meet with Dr. G H Gool,

chairman of the National Anti-CAD (Coloured Affairs Department) movement. As a forum for critical discussion and political action, it reflected the radical trend in liberatory politics found in the Non-European Unity Movement to which it became affiliated. Not only did it provide an expanding base for the Unity Movement in Johannesburg and the Transvaal, but also in Natal, to which some of its members returned after graduation as lawyers (Karriem Essack and Enver Hassim). These pioneers of ground broken in two provinces, amongst others such as Dr. Ahmed Limbada, deserve profiles of their own. ●

TRIBUTES

EDSON NTSIBANDE

We pay tribute to Edson Ntsibande whose life was cut cruelly short on 17 December 2013. Edson came to South Africa from Zimbabwe in the later 1980s to find work. He joined the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) and as an activist he quickly fell foul of his employers at Gundle Plastics and was dismissed. Later, with the merger of the CWIU and the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPWAWU), he became an organiser in the new Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (CEPPWAWU). When he and others challenged the line that the African National Congress was following they were forced out of CEPPWAWU and then established themselves in a new, independent union – the General Industrial Workers Union of South Africa (GIWUSA) where he quickly rose to the position of General Secretary. Deeply committed to the broader interests of the working class he joined APDUSA in 2011 where he determinedly set about deepening his political understanding.

Comrade Edson has left a deep imprint in the collective memory of the APDUSA. Even though he held membership of the organisation for a relatively short period, he established himself as an inspiring leader of the working class. In his capacity as secretary general of the GIWUSA he made numerous trips from Johannesburg to Cape Town to extend the union and political links of the union. As an APDUSAN he played a major role in the mobilisations of GIWUSA and other trade unions during the 2011 chemical workers' strike; a strike that was characterised by intense class conflicts. In his interaction with fellow APDUSANs he presented sound, well reasoned and thoughtful arguments and opinions. His contributions were always of a progressive nature and his remarks on topical worker issues very incisive. In APDUSA conferences and the one APDUSA political school he attended in 2012, he demonstrated an ability to present the organisational advances as well as problems facing the working class in succinct, yet understandable terms. Edson was truly an internationalist champion of the working masses, given the fact that he

understood the need for GIWUSA to establish international trade union links. He understood as well that the struggle of the Zimbabwean working class and peasantry (his country of birth) has to be linked to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

His singular discipline has left a lasting impression on all who knew him and he will be remembered with pride. ◆

ALBERT WALTER FISHER

Albert Fisher, a longstanding member of APDUSA, passed away in late January 2014. Fondly known as Allie, he stood out as a tireless rebel with deep loyalty to political principles rather than personalities.

In the 1980s, Allie and his generation of high-school militants were made aware of the weight history places on every generation. As teenagers growing up in an impoverished and crime-infested township, they hurled themselves into the student rebellion of that era. That was when this young activist was drawn into the student leadership at Scottsdene High School. During his early radicalisation, he stood out as an electrifying orator who could inspire fellow high-school youths to join the brave resistance against 'bantus education'.

Following his recruitment to APYM around that time, joining APDUSA a few years thereafter, his political consciousness would take a great leap forward. As he grew into adulthood, his knowledge of the vision for a new world that galvanised peoples into anti-systemic revolts shaped him into a radical leftist with an internationalist outlook. His political maturation was not a smooth process; it was characterised by fits and starts. Allie would become one of the most avid and diligent students of the 1917 Revolution in Russia - thanks largely to the mentorship of Lionel Scholtz and Frank Anthony. Studies of the 1917 October Revolution steered his conviction in why and how a society can change for the better through the intervention of ordinary working people. But it also instilled the sobering lesson that social revolutions are uneven cycles of change that are fraught with setbacks, defeats and disappointments. ➡

➔ This cadre, who had spent almost his full adult life in the organisation, never wanted to be an office bearer in the Central Executive Committee—maybe due to personal reasons. He embraced APDUSA’s political re-orientation launched in the mid-1990s, articulated in its transitional demands for socialist democracy, as a crucial lifeline and weapon to advance our unfinished revolution in a new political context. He was a selfless volunteer who did stints at the Salt River office of APDUSA from the late-1990s onwards, serving as the public face of our organisation and introducing many who had passed by our office to APDUSA’s programme and principles.

Participation in APDUSA’s national conferences was a top commitment on Allie’s yearly

agenda. He relished these moments because it allowed for rare face-to-face conversations with comrades from regions far from his Western Cape branch. The new signs of organisational growth that permeated our 2013 national Conference in East London injected his rebellious spirit with fresh vigour. Heated political debates excited him, especially the critical political balance sheet about the state of South African trade unions in the context of widespread industrial strikes and a session interrogating how workers could seize state power. Our resolution to forge principled alliances with the emerging anti-capitalist left filled this revolutionary optimist with fresh confidence for the future. ♦

APDUSA

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Despite the gain of political rights for all, the compromise of 1992 has not fulfilled the democratic aspirations of the labouring majority and they continue to suffer in conditions of abject poverty and subjugation to the will of the rich who command the economic resources of the country. In the ongoing struggle we therefore demand:

- The convening of a democratically elected **Constituent Assembly**, charged with the task of drawing up a new constitution, governed by the interests of the oppressed and exploited working class and peasantry, based on the demand for full, unfettered political rights for all with majority rule in a unitary state, the removal of all artificially created regional political boundaries, the liquidation of all special minority rights and privileges which militate against the interests of the majority. The Constituent Assembly must have full powers to discharge these duties, untrammelled by any directions and constraints designed to serve self-interested minorities.
- A resolution of the **land question** in accordance with the needs of those who work and live off the land. This means the destruction of all existing tribal and feudal relations in the rural areas and the nationalisation of the land, without compensation. A new division of the land and its management, which excludes forced collectivisation, the payment of rent and the expropriation of small peasant farmers, must be undertaken by committees that are democratically elected by and answerable to the people.
- The **expropriation** of all major industries, banks and institutions of credit and their management by the state and representatives of the workers in the interests of the population as a whole.
- The revision of labour legislation for the liquidation of all discrimination against the worker. This also means:
- The **right to work**, which must be implemented both via the institution of necessary adjustments to the length of the working week to provide employment for all, without a reduction in wages, as well as by the institution of a progressive **public works program** with the full representation of the unemployed in its management.
- The fixing of a living **minimum wage** as well as a sliding scale to compensate for any price increases.
- The unconditional right to **strike** which includes the right of occupation of the workplace.
- Free and **compulsory education** for all up to matric with free books for the needy.
- Free **health services** for the needy.
- A single, progressive **tax system**, the abolition of vat and all indirect taxes that fall so heavily on the poor.
- The elected representatives of the people, at organisational level or in the local, regional or national political institutions of state, must be fully **accountable** to those who elect them and they must be fully bound by the demands and aspirations of the working class and its allies, the landless peasantry.

APDUSA calls for the self-organisation and united independent struggle of the labouring masses. We believe that the struggle can only advance decisively via the greatest ideological and organisational unity between the workers in the urban centres and the peasants in the rural areas under the leadership of the working class.

The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount.

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If you have been interested in any of the articles contained in this newsletter then it should be worthwhile to visit our website at www.apdusa.org.za for the latest postings. While the website is still under construction it already holds an array of archival material that is relevant to the ongoing struggle in South Africa.