



WHO OWNS THE LAND – COMMUNAL LAND OR BANTUSTANS?

South Africa has been engulfed in stormy debates about the ownership of land. The best the ANC government has done for two decades is to oversee a failed neoliberal land reform project. The populist Economic Freedom Fighters appear to be setting the agenda for alternatives in the absence of a principled anti-capitalist agrarian platform. But behind its hollow chants for land nationalisation, leaders of the EFF aspire to be big private land owners. Many ANC politicians form part of a wealthy landholding minority. This land grabbing is rife in former Bantustan territories where poor peasants are starved of land around the scandal-ridden estates of Nkandla and Qunu. It is thus fitting to begin this series on altering land ownership patterns with tough questions about 'who owns the land in the Bantustans'? Subsequent articles take stock of the political and economic significance of land ownership reforms on government's agenda such as ceilings on land ownership and mandating a 50% ownership stake for farm workers in farming businesses where they work.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, a veteran politician of the African National Congress, has staked a controversial claim to the land owned by her former late husband, Nelson R. Mandela. But a factor counting against Madikizela-Mandela's claim on the Qunu property is the fact that she is not mentioned in Mr Mandela's will. Even so, her landownership bid enjoys the full backing of the infamous tribal autocrat, Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo. The ANC government and other tribal elites, on the other hand, continually and firmly reject this land claim for reasons that are vague and puzzling. Nevertheless, this landownership debacle is the latest one in which high-profile ANC politicians have become enmeshed and exposes the contradictions in the party's land and agrarian policies.

The disputed Qunu estate is near Mthatha, Eastern Cape. The property lies in a former Bantustan, territories post-apartheid government officials now label 'communal land'. How the former Bantustans suddenly changed into 'communal areas' is an intriguing mystery. What makes the structure of landholdings and land use in these areas 'communal'? What economic, social and

political relations define 'communal land' and separate it from other land tenure regimes?

Communal land literally means that a community has common control or ownership of a piece of land. But who makes up a 'community' and what are its decision-making rules? Moreover, South Africa is a capitalist country which is based on private ownership of productive resources (including land), wage-labour and commodity production. In this context, classifying land as common property is strikingly atypical and inconsistent with hard realities.

Upon closer interrogation of the Mandela land quarrel, even tougher questions arise: how does so-called "land supposedly held in common by the community" end up being the private property of one wealthy family? Curiously, all protagonists in the Mandela land saga are courting factions of tribal authorities in defence of their conflicting claims. This begs yet another question: Why does the tribal autocracy wield so much power over landholding rights and use almost a quarter century after the end of apartheid and despite growing resistance against them?

It is common knowledge that the state owns almost all land in the ex-Bantustans. Peasants occupy meagre plots without any secure tenure; these are pieces of marginal land unfit for any meaningful small-scale farming. They constitute a class of dispossessed peasants. By contrast, tribal kings and chiefs are state functionaries in the countryside, fully protected by the 1996 Constitution, the country's supreme law. These anachronistic autocrats continue their pre-1994 jobs: henchmen tasked with policing land dispossession and reservoirs of cheap migratory labour.

Promises that post-1994 land and agrarian →

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➤ policies will sweep away the Bantustans (with its land hunger and repressive agrarian relations) have not materialised. Yet the laws that aided the dispossession of the peasants, such as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, and became instrumental in bringing into being the Bantustans, were scrapped after 1994. This begs questions about the substance and value of the alternative policies. Are post-1994 agrarian reforms rooted in an anti-capitalist agrarian vision? Has the post-apartheid state implemented an agrarian programme in the interest of the landless majority working and living on the land?

An instructive case in point is to look at the rejection of the ANC government's communal land tenure law. Rural women marched in the forefront of widespread opposition to the Communal Land Rights Act (CLaRA), adopted in 2002. It is not difficult to understand why this law sparked such bitter resistance in the countryside; protests that eventually sealed the fate of this law. The CLaRA failed because it set out to bolster the land allocation powers of tribal autocrats and at the same time

reinforce the landlessness of women. This law was in effect upholding pre-1994 land inequalities and social injustices in the countryside. In 2010, the CLaRA was declared to be unconstitutional, thus forcing the state to rely on a mix of pre-1994 policies to govern land access and use in the former Bantustans, such as the 1941 State Land Disposal Act. Also, the so-called comprehensive policy to resolve the land question, the 2011 Land Reform Green Paper, merely promises the crafting of a communal land tenure law at an indefinite future date.

It is in this context that the family feud around the Qunu land is playing itself out. The scandal showcases the scramble for land among the aspirant black bourgeoisie, including high-profile ANC politicians. This shameless land grabbing is covered with rhetoric about social cohesion, communal land, developmental state and so forth. Like other capitalists, this minority in fact strives to accumulate land at the expense of the landless majority. ●

THE FREEDOM CHARTER MYTH BEING KEPT ALIVE

In its proposal for the formation of a new people's united front the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa is insisting that this front should base itself politically on the Freedom Charter of the ANC. This highly questionable demand has recently been supported in part by the Workers and Socialist Party (WASP) which argues for what it sees as the defects in the Freedom Charter to be rectified. In a document entitled "For A Socialist Freedom Charter" it states. "*We oppose both the uncritical acceptance of the Freedom Charter as well as its outright rejection.*" (Weizmann Hamilton, spokesperson for WASP. The full document can be read on the WASP website: <http://workerssocialistparty.co.za>). It opposes the formulation in the Charter on its demand for nationalisation which it correctly states allowed its evasion. (We say that there was never a demand for nationalisation of the mines and land in the first place. There was merely a collection of "there shall be" promises). Essentially, WASP argues for what they call a Socialist Freedom Charter, whatever such a hybrid, based on an erroneous and false document can mean.

In the past APDUSA stood by the principled demands of the Ten Point

Programme of the Unity Movement of South Africa, coupled with the policy of Non-Collaboration with the oppressor. These were not promises made by a leadership that could be broken. They were rather demands that the populace should accept as their own and which they should strive for. In the present era we call for a new, democratically elected Constituent Assembly that is bound by the interests of the working class and the landless peasantry. This centralises and unites all other demands of the oppressed and exploited that arise out of struggles such as those for land, decent jobs, housing, health and education and places them on a firm political basis. It further counters the tendency for them to remain issue-based and reformist.

The call for a new Constituent Assembly is the only concrete and meaningful demand that the oppressed workers and peasants can adopt instead of following a vague call for socialism which most do not understand.

To go further, we can do no better than to refer our readers to a statement made by IB Tabata – "The ANC Charts A Course To A Proper Sell-out" (1988) in which the fallacious and fraudulent character of the Freedom Charter is fully exposed. [See our website] ●

LAND ISSUES

The land question is probably the biggest issue that the South African struggle is facing. The manner in which the Apartheid Government dispossessed the rightful owners, turning masses of people into pariahs in the land of their birth, is in itself a programme for revolution.

The position of the APDUSA on the land question was made very clear a long time ago, via its Ten Point Programme, Point 7, which states, "Revision of the Land Question in accordance with the above. (The relations of serfdom at present existing on the Land must go, together with the Land Acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population living on the land and working on the land is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament).

The ushering in of the new dispensation in South Africa, that is the aftermath of the grand betrayal, the negotiated settlement, gave capitalism the country on a silver platter. The oppressed blacks were given token positions in parliament to sustain the grip of Capitalism on the oppressed workers and peasants. We thought the days of forced removals were gone, but surprisingly this evil act resurfaced recently in the province of the Northern Cape. The complex process of land restitution is taking too long to resolve the claims submitted by various communities all over the country. The Schmidtsdrift Community is involved in one of these land claim processes which is taking forever to be resolved, because of the following reasons:

- ◆ There is a company which owns the mining rights on the land
- ◆ The Northern Cape Government, which can loosely be described as the overseers of the process, are paying lip service to the problems of the community
- ◆ Northern Cape and other politicians are

blocking the restitution process so that they can allocate benefits to themselves instead of the community.

This very piece of land was used to resettle the San community, some of whom naively assisted the South African Defence Force in tracking and killing oppressed people in areas such as Namibia. A time frame was set for the San Community to move out of the area and it was given some land close to Kimberley called Platfontein. Some of them did eventually move to the new area, but others remained behind. This remaining group is now clashing with land claimants, who via the Communal Property Association (CPA), then ordered the Red Ants to forcibly remove them from the land. Many people were displaced, families divided and possessions damaged. As this process unfolded, there was no intervention on the part of the Northern Cape Provincial Government. This evil act is a painful reminder of what the Apartheid Government did to the oppressed people. The worrying factor is that in this case, the oppressed are doing the same to each other. Why is this? Are we regressing instead of progressing in liberating ourselves? Is this an example of upgraded black on black violence?

Let us go back to the basics. Why are we in the current position? Let us remind ourselves of the real issues that are facing us and put the struggle back on track. It is a struggle against Capitalism and its caretaker Government. Let us organise the working class and the peasantry into a formidable force because they are the ones who have nothing to lose, but their chains. They have something worth fighting for. This should be done in line with the following point: The democratic demands of the workers and the peasantry shall be paramount in the orientation of the APDUSA in both its short term and long term objectives. ●

THE STUDENT REVOLT – HIGHER EDUCATION BATTLES CONTINUE

University student protests hit South Africa from mid-October, continuing the "Rhodes Must Fall" struggle at the University of Cape Town earlier in the year. These revolts were reminiscent of those in Kenya (2014), Chile (2011-2013) Canada (2012) and most recently in the UK. The neo-liberal capitalist agenda is systematically driving wider layers of societies across the globe to resist the unrelenting attacks on their physical survival and future well-being. A most progressive aspect of the SA students' revolt was the accompanying issue of outsourcing of university workers' jobs being highlighted – especially at Witwatersrand University and UCT. Workers and students marched together with a common purpose: to find redress on the issue of university fees, privatisation of education and

outsourcing of jobs. The demands for eradication of outsourcing and for decent wages were clearly articulated and gained wide support from the rest of society. Many student formations, for once, collaborated and rallied around a common cause and set of objectives.

The responses of the ruling elite were predictable: the old tired arguments of lack of funds and an underperforming economy took centre stage. The mainstream media ensured that parliamentary parties and the ANC youth formations like the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) received blanket news coverage. Formations like the October 6 Movement and the UCT worker-student forum were hardly heard in news broadcasts. The Union Building meeting of 24/10/2015 saw so-called ➔

➤ student representatives from SASCO meeting with cabinet and university administrators. They did not even bother to report back to the mass of students who gathered at the venue, instead leaving it to Jacob Zuma to present his version of the outcome of the meeting. The constitutional rights to freedom of movement and association counted for little in instances where students endeavoured to occupy spaces (like parliament) where they rightfully should be allowed to raise their demands. Clearly the gulf between our rulers and those who they claim to represent is widening. The road ahead is bound to be one of government and university bosses plotting on how to find ways for “the user must pay” principle to continue to be applied.

University students have legitimate expectations insofar as their present and future roles in society are concerned. They are rightfully demanding that the inter-generational educational problems they are facing be addressed and solved.

MORE ON THE STUDENT REVOLT: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In a well attended parent-support-for-university students meeting held in Cape Town on Saturday, 31st October, a number of issues emerged that are worthy of further interrogation. This meeting was one of many more or less similar meetings across the country, held on and off university campuses. Till now the student revolt has thrown up a layer of student leaders who are very articulate, very organised but also very narrowly focused on their essential demands regarding free education, reduction in study fees and the like. Many are seeking inspiration from past struggles, revisiting the 1976 Soweto revolt, but unfortunately creating the impression that education struggles really only started in 1976. Clearly the onus is on the student leadership to uncover and assimilate the many ideological and organisational lessons this and other countries’ liberation struggles can teach them. Many decades of Afrikaner, liberal and ANC censorship and historical distortions have as yet not succeeded in suppressing the student youth’s clamour for free, meaningful and progressive education.

A key characteristic of student life is the transient nature of the university education they receive. Tens of thousands of students today find themselves in very precarious situations; barely managing to cope with syllabus and physical survival demands. The high drop-out rate at first year level is indicative of this. The individualism, which is a trademark of student existence on university campuses, was over the past decade occasionally superseded by progressive student actions. However now, the imposition of neo-liberal diktats became too much to bear for thousands of poor, needy students. Those students who graduate, and their parents, more in hope than certainty, look forward to the day that they gain full-time

Their political naiveté, however, still makes them cling to the hollow promise of the ANC government that “the doors of learning and culture shall be opened” as encribed in the fallacious Freedom Charter. Progressive and critical political thinking by, and involvement of students has clearly become an important requirement of the time. As it is, there are hundreds of thousands of graduates currently walking the street. Many of the present university students will undoubtedly end up joining their ranks. Their futures are therefore inextricably linked up with their working class and peasantry families who suffer from landlessness, unemployment, underemployment, homelessness and the like. It is imperative that they make common organisational cause with trade unions, worker committees, left radical political organisations and political forums like the Democratic Left Front and United Front. The times call for a heightening in levels of radical political thinking in students’ ranks. ●

employment enabling them to live meaningful lives. The precarious nature of their current and future situations must inevitably drive many to ask questions on what is to be done, by themselves, for themselves.

Many argue that since South Africa is a democratic country, there is no need for involvement of students in direct political struggles. No attempt is made to deepen the discussion as to what bourgeois democracy as opposed to socialist democracy entails. Student youth are bombarded with all manner of escape hatches to use, just to avoid the inevitability of facing up to the real political questions of the day. Business and government leaders implore them to become entrepreneurial; parliament is held up as the be-all and end-all of democracy and the system of representation. The bourgeois media suggests that they must “bite the bullet” until such time that the economy recovers. The sustained global economic slump and how it is destroying countries and its peoples is raised as a fait accompli – that “there is no alternative”. The gains of the Arab Spring revolts are considered to be inconsequential and just a distant memory. The wealth of political lessons to learn from past parent, students and teacher collaboration remain hidden from view. Worker-student collaboration during the 1970s and 1980s remains to be unearthed. Similarly the need to concentrate the many demands flowing from educational, health, housing, land and other struggles into generalised political demands (contained in a progressive political programme) has certainly been highlighted by the current student revolt. Current university and college students, as part of a generation born in the battle for truth can do much to advance the struggle for socialist democracy. ●

THE PLIGHT OF COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE WORKERS IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

"It is time for organisations working in the health sector to unite and arrest the appalling state of Community Health Care services in the Northern Cape"

The two Northern Cape government departments, the Department of Health and the Department of Social Development provide funding to close to 100 Non-Government Organisations annually and these NGOs are subsequently responsible for the total employment of approximately 5000 young and vulnerable people, mostly women, who are classified under the Extended Public Works Program as Community Health Care workers.

In an endeavour to address the high unemployment rate in the country, the ANC government has been using this flagship program since the 2004 election, as a propaganda strategy to absorb out-of-school youth and the majority of the underemployed, who have fallen victims to the high South African unemployment rate.

The Health Care workers are responsible for elementary health care services in their communities, ranging from chronic to the life style diseases (i.e. conducting HIV and AIDS testing, dispensing of Anti-Retroviral Treatment, tracking those who have absconded from treatment and making sure that people living with HIV and AIDS takes this medication religiously). These are important services. Without the Health Care workers, the whole Health Care system will collapse. The question to be asked is: Is the Government taking this sector seriously? The state of this sector, which is notoriously disorganised, leaves much to be desired. There is chronic unaccountability in both government departments in the development of this sector.

The Health Care Workers, the majority of them being vulnerable women, are being exposed to dangerous working conditions. The Occupational Health and Safety Standards are therefore disregarded. Some of them are in danger of contracting tuberculosis and in worst case scenarios, being exposed to HIV and AIDS.

At the health facility level, chronic shortages of staff lead to Health Care Workers assuming most of the responsibilities without the supervision of health professionals. Let us consider that to be a Health Care Worker, you need at most a short course of about four weeks in contrast to the professional nurse who has undergone intensive four year training for a nursing diploma. Just to quote one of the Health Care workers who chose to remain anonymous for fear of victimisation: "Some months, especially towards the end of the financial year we are expected to work for an extended period of time without a stipend, and in most cases we use this money for travelling and in other cases to feed our poor clients".

When the time arrives for the ANC government to report on the progress made towards addressing unemployment in the country, this batch of unskilled and vulnerable youth are counted amongst those whom the government regards as beneficiaries of so-called employment opportunities created by the state.

The only viable solution, we can think of now is for organisations working in the health sector to unite in a form of an NGO forum, as they are not recognised by unions as employees. They can then confront the challenges facing them and stop working in isolation. ●

SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS ONCE MORE

Several towns in the Northern Cape have seen service delivery protests in recent times. These have been taking place with no political leadership dictating the pace or the nature of the struggles. Communities are grappling with a number of issues, which include amongst other things: housing, corruption, maladministration, lack of sanitation and water.

The Lerato Park Housing Project in Kimberley is riddled with a number of problems. One such problem is that beneficiaries of the project, who are people who have been staying in shack dwellings in the area, have been excluded from the list whereas people from outside of the area have already

occupied the houses that have been built. These issues have been brought to the attention of the Sol Plaatje Municipality, but there is no resolution forthcoming.

This is not by accident. The municipal councillors are not performing their duties. They are not visible and in some cases, the community does not even know who the councillor is. What is sad is that the very unproductive councillors have been given computer tablets by the Sol Plaatje Municipality and recently the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) has been advocating for them to be paid the same exorbitant salaries as members of the national and ➡ ➡

provincial parliaments. As things stand, the municipal manager of Sol Plaatje is earning about R2 million per annum and the increases in rates and taxes is only used to fund the lavish lifestyle of the manager and the councillors.

To rub salt into their wounds, Sol Plaatje residents are paying the highest rate for electricity when compared to all municipalities in South Africa. The community of Lerato Park has been labelled “rude” by the Premier of the Northern Cape for simply demanding what is rightfully theirs. She even went further to say if they continue with the protest action, the housing project will be stopped. The community is furious and in some instances did not want to listen to promises being made by the politicians.

The Roodepan community is also up in arms regarding service delivery issues and feel that their informal settlements are being ignored, whilst new ones established elsewhere are being given

attention. They have vowed not to stop calling on the municipality and the provincial government to develop their informal settlement, which includes a block of municipal flats that is a danger to them as a result of structural defects which have been there for years.

These struggles seem to be isolated, but when analysed, there is a connection between all of them. They expose the corruption and maladministration within municipalities. They demonstrate the seriousness of the issues that the communities are grappling with and bring together various elements that would normally not be working together. What is lacking is a principled leadership as opposed to those who are easily co-opted to form part of the oppressive ruling class. This is an opportunity that should not be missed to show the people the interconnectedness of their struggles with the resolution of the National Question. ●

THE AL-BASHIR DEBACLE

The ANC Government has landed itself in a pickle following its failure to arrest the president of the Sudan, Omar al-Bashir who was present in the country for the African Union summit, held in Cape Town early in June this year. It was obliged to do so according to the prescriptions of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to which it subscribes as well as by observing an order of its own courts according to its much vaunted constitution. In many quarters, this is seen as a gross violation of its international obligations and its respect for the country’s courts and constitution. ANC spokespersons have argued that the arrest of Omar al-Bashir would have had very serious political and economic implications in its quest for building the unity of all African states. Bashir is accepted as a bona fide representative of an African state in the AU and should be treated as such. Moreover, the demand for the arrest of Bashir is viewed as another case of bias by the ICC which has failed to demand the prosecution of “Western” war criminals such as George W Bush and Tony Blair for the reckless, opportunistic and ultimately devastating invasion of Iraq and war on its peoples. Not to mention the equally horrific and indefensible acts of Netanyahu and his cohorts in the blockade of Gaza. As true as this is, there is nothing in it to excuse the action of the ANC-led government. It willingly joined the ICC and subscribed to its mandate and was therefore required to carry out its requirements. Worse still, there was absolutely no reason to flout the constitution of the country.

A simple remedy that was open to Zuma

and co. was to insist to other members of the AU that it would be obliged to have Bashir arrested if he set foot on South African soil and that Sudan should instead send another suitable representative to the summit. A strong stand on this matter could hardly have jeopardised South Africa’s standing in the AU as indeed, it bears plenty of the costs of keeping the union going. It could be argued that South Africa was basing itself on principle and not opportunism but one has reason to ask that if the South African government and other African states feel unhappy and dissatisfied with the role of the ICC, then why have they not made use of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights to bring tyrants such as Bashir to book. Unfortunately, we have a cynical and opportunistic clause in its Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights: *“No charges shall be commenced or continued before the Court against any serving African Union Head of State or Government, or anybody acting or entitled to act in such capacity, or other senior state officials based on their functions, during their tenure of office.”* It is essentially the same logic – a selective prosecution of individuals, excluding high-flying heads of imperialist states on the part of the ICC, and the blanket exclusion from prosecution of all heads of state in Africa. Of course, this discrimination does not apply to members of the labouring classes.

Zuma and his ANC are in a dilemma of serving two masters and many seem to believe that the easiest way out is to leave the ICC. But the damage has been done and it is not just ➡

➤ a Zuma matter. After all, Nelson Mandela himself praised another tyrant, Mobutu Sese Seko, former president of the Democratic

Republic of Congo as one of Africa's greatest sons. ●



From Around the World

THE BDS MOVEMENT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE MARCH 2015 ISRAELI ELECTION

Once again the racist policies of the Likud party led by Netanyahu, have been endorsed by the electorate with the return of a coalition of right wing parties to power in the recent Israeli elections. While the mix of right wing parties in this coalition is not quite the same as in the previous parliament, the policies the new government pursues continue to treat the Palestinians in Israel as second class citizens. In the occupied territories, the Palestinians in the West Bank are subjected to army rule and in Gaza, the harsh blockade blights their lives. What was striking in the election campaign was the ever more blatant racism having to be employed by Netanyahu to ensure that his party, the Likud came out on top. The Israelis have not learnt the lessons of the failure of racist policies adopted by other settler colonial regimes to stem the tide of liberation struggle of the colonised. The resistance of the Palestinians to the incursion of the Israeli army into Gaza last year not only inspired further resistance in the West Bank but has strengthened the boycott, disinvestment and sanctions campaign(BDS) against Israel throughout the world.

During the election campaign, Netanyahu blamed a cabal of “foreign money”, the Obama administration and a hostile media for “aiming at ousting him and electing a leftist government relying on Arabs”, whom he charged with “voting in droves”. He also promised the building and expansion of new settlements, declaring that there would never be a Palestinian state while he was prime minister. He flew to the US and made a provocative speech before Congress, to the delight of the Republican right wing, trying to torpedo any deal which Obama might reach with Iran on the nuclear issue. One positive feature of the election was the emergence of the Joint List, bringing together small parties of the Arabs, who constitute 20% of Israeli citizens but had not enjoyed the representation their voting power should have commanded. The list consisted of the main Arab parties and the communist led Hadash. The participation of the list contributed to an increase in Palestinians voting from 54% to 67%. There was a small turnout of Israeli Jews in support of the list, which is far to the left of the platform of any of the other parties.

The fear haunting the Israeli racists, if demographic predictions are correct, is that Palestinians are going to be a majority in a decade and they do not have a readymade solution to “this threat”. As the Palestinians continue to resist land grabbing in the West Bank and suffer the siege of Gaza, Israel is driven to find a more lasting solution to the “Palestinian problem”. What “solutions” are they exploring? According to Moshe Machover, an Israeli socialist living in exile “ There is only one other possibility, and that is to take the territory without most of its Palestinian-Arab population. That means major ethnic cleansing”. This would entail “a massive operation to clear the occupied territories of their two million Arabs”. He does not think this is just speculation as an Israeli military expert in the past mapped out a scenario involving the US for this to occur. In this regard, the linkup between the US Republican right and the new Israeli government is a sinister development (“Searching for a pretext” Communist Platform ,March 22nd Weekly Worker).

Following the failed policies of the PLO colluding with the government of Israel, the US and the Arab leaders in the 1993 Oslo accords, a new Palestinian generation has grown up and initiated new strategies. One of these is the boycott, divestment and sanctions(BDS) movement against Israel, which is shaped by a rights based approach. It has been in existence since 2005 and emerged from 170 Palestinian civil society groups including all political parties, unions, refugee networks, NGOs and organisations representing Palestinians under occupation, in Israel and in exile. The campaign against Israel will continue until it meets its international obligations by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonisation of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the Wall .
2. Recognising the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality.
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.

The Palestinian organisations drew their ➤

➤ inspiration from the Anti-Apartheid movement against the racist South African regime. There are organised boycotts in many countries of Israeli goods. The BDS are pressurising public investment portfolios and pension funds not to finance companies like G4S, a large British security firm, which supplies personnel to run prisons in Israel for Palestinian political prisoners. Academics at universities and artists are campaigning against collaboration with Israeli universities and cultural organisations. BDS also campaigns for sanctions

against economic, diplomatic and sports organisations, which provide a veneer of respectability and material support for Israel's crimes against human rights.

The BDS movement has made big advances in 10 years. It is estimated that Israel has lost at least \$30 million due to the BDS campaigns. As world attention focuses on Israel's policies towards the Palestinians, it is becoming a pariah state. The BDS is playing an important part in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinians for national liberation. ●

CONTINUING STRUGGLES OF THE LEFT IN GREECE

The strategy that had been employed by Syriza during the negotiations with the Troika implied that a change in the political alignment in Greece could set the stage for changes in the Eurozone. There are two incompatible issues that we have seen. The perseverance with the programme that was proclaimed to the people of Greece and to submit to the demands of the troika and on the other hand, the need to consider the true alternative, which is to stand firmly on the position of leaving the Eurozone. For groups on the far left, the programme that has been proclaimed by Syriza is not seen as radical, but rather a moderate one. The dilemma of Syriza is that it has a mandate to implement its programme but does not have a mandate to keep Greece in the Eurozone. The Syriza leadership, in their agreement with the Finance Ministers earlier this year made some concessions on their pre-election commitments not to extend the Troika's bailout programme and to reverse austerity. But this is unacceptable to the Eurozone, which has demanded the full implementation of previous and new measures before it would release additional funds. What is clear is that Syriza has won the elections but it is not in control. The European institutions are forcing the Greek Government to choose between subordination to the lenders or be expelled out of the Eurozone.

There are other groups in Greece who see things differently, that being in Government is not the be all and end all for the working class. These are the groups that remind everyone that a government of the left is not the main aim of the party but instead a transition point leading towards Socialism.

The Greek Government is at the moment isolated and it seems it is being used as an example to other countries, which are facing a similar problem. Therefore it becomes clear that

what is needed is that other countries must also be mobilised so that they can start a Europe-wide uprising to overthrow austerity.

The decline of mass strikes in the 2010-2012 period, which ensured the success of Syriza, has resulted in a lull, while the effectiveness of the elected leaders is being tested. Indeed, Syriza has a very crucial role to play in defending the original positions, which enables the Government to remain connected to the original policies. But this is not enough. It must put in place mechanisms that will attempt to mobilize a mass challenge against the Troika. The resistance to all the internal and international pressures for privatisation is going to depend directly on mass mobilization. All the plans that speak to the above are supposed to be developed quickly because time is running out.

The convincing 63% No-vote against the austerity measures, held on 10 July reflected the sentiment and attitude of the Greek working and suffering majority towards the troika prescriptions. The subsequent signing of another Memorandum (August 2015) and further entanglement of the country into troika financial entrapment by the Tsipras-led government raises the question of the role of the radical left formations in future developments. These formations, as a front of collaboration, constituted the Popular Unity as a political front. They stood in the parliamentary elections held on 20 September but could not gain the minimum 3% threshold required to get parliamentary representation. The Antarsya coalition expressed a willingness to work in and for a progressive front for joint action. With the movement having to rejuvenate itself and elections in Spain looming in November, the road ahead for Europe's radical left holds possibilities for advances, notwithstanding the disappointments suffered. ●

Tributes

MOGAMI JOSIAH MOENG

We salute the life of Mogami Josiah Moeng, a stalwart in the liberatory struggle in South Africa, who passed away on Sunday 3 August at the age of 82 years. Known affectionately as Reggie by his comrades, he played an important role in the Society of Young Africa (SOYA) in the 1950s and 60s. He became a member of APDUSA when it was established in 1961 and fought unrelentingly through one of the most difficult periods in our struggle; assisting members who had perforce to leave the country to go into exile. He engaged in this highly risky work without fear for his own being.

In 1971 Reggie was arrested with hundreds of other members of APDUSA allegedly conspiring against the repressive government of the day and suffered severe torture at the hands of the security police. He was tried with eleven others and subsequently sentenced to eight years imprisonment which he served mainly in the notorious Robben Island prison. On one occasion on Robben Island, a group of prisoners were speaking of their experiences at the hands of the security police. Reggie remarked with words to the effect: "You know I was a fool. I should have told them, to just kill me, just kill me". These were the words of a very brave man – a revolutionary who understood that the primary aim of the police was to extract information from him. But at the same time they would not hesitate to act out of sheer vindictiveness, indeed, as they had killed Mthayeni Cutshela from Pondoland, who had been arrested with Reggie, and many others before.

Reggie was released from prison in 1980 and soon afterwards he set about knitting together members of APDUSA in Soweto and then linked them organisationally with a group of new, younger members in greater Johannesburg. He continued with the work of rebuilding the organisation nationally until in the 1990s, a lack of employment and poor health compelled him to resettle in his family home in Mahikeng. Here, he kept in touch with the organisation until his untimely end this month. Reggie was a committed person who will be remembered for his determination as well as his good humour. His life is a fine example to our younger members who have joined the struggle for meaningful liberation today. The struggle continues. ♦

NOLUSAPHO VIRGINIA TOM

Nolusapho Virginia Tom was born on the 23rd March 1924. She was affectionately known as Aunt Gina by new, young APDUSANS who embraced her as an inspirational mother figure. She was married to Andrew Kekana Tom, a teacher and stalwart in the liberation movement of our country who also served as President of APDUSA. Known as AK by his comrades, he was also respectfully known as Sir Tom amongst the youth.

Due to her husband's involvement in the activities of the organisation, Aunt Gina suffered a number of hardships at the hands of Nationalist Party Government and subsequently the Transkei Homeland Government run by the Matanzima brothers. That did not deter her from supporting her husband and the cause of the struggle for the liberation of the working class and peasantry. In so doing her house in Queenstown was used as an organising centre of APDUSA whenever the organisation had an activity in that area.

On learning of the passing of Aunt Gina we have conveyed our sincere condolences to the Tom family, close relatives and friends. May she rest in peace. ♦

MTUNZI VENA

Mtunzi Vena, popularly known as Tunzi, was born in Middledrift in the Eastern Cape in 1950. There, he completed both his primary secondary education. He was known for his involvement in sport, in particular cricket, both as a student and in local clubs.

After completing his education he proceeded to East London to join the labour market and he worked in a number of industries including amongst others, the textile and motor industries. It was at this stage that he joined the South African Allied Workers Union known as SAAWU, which was a non-aligned trade union operating in the border region led by Thozamile Gqwetha.

In 2009 he joined the Eastern Cape group of APDUSA as a member, participating in its meetings and the central executive meetings of APDUSA. In 2011 he retired and relocated back to Middledrift, where he was organising youth and local teachers to understand APDUSA politics using the news letter and other organisational literature.

At the time of his death he had arranged a meeting of APDUSA Eastern Cape to be held in that area as a follow-up to the work he was doing in that area as well as meeting potential members.

We convey our condolences to his family and friends. We have lost a committed comrade in the vast Eastern Cape region, at the time we needed him most. His memory lives on. ♦

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.

Now available: "The Dynamic Of Revolution In South Africa" – Speeches and writings of IB Tabata, edited by Dora Taylor and published by Socialist Resistance UK. Available from APDUSA or from Socialist Resistance - socialistresistance.org

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

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