

## POLITICAL REPORT BY POLITICAL COMMITTEE

For P.M.C Received from Zuma via the PresidentIntroduction

Report follows closely the Political Statement discussed at the CC meeting in 1983 and makes the following points:

1. Current crisis of international capitalism
2. Economic crisis; spurious talk of recovery; friction between USA & rest
3. S.A. economy
  - a) decline of ec. growth rate from 8% in 1980 to -1% in 1982 & expected -3% 1983
  - b) inflation at 15% higher than in western countries; likely to continue because of structural problems & war economy
  - c) balance of payment account: deficit of 1982 converted into surplus in 1983 because of rise in gold price from -300 to around 525 US dollars; decline of exports
  - d) skilled manpower shortage ; strategic position of black workers
  - e) concentration of economic power: three groups (A.S.C., Sanlam, Barlow Rand) control 73% of share values in Jh. Stock Exchange. Another 4 control 7 % between them. Top 10 companies have combined turnover of R15 000 mil. + - nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of annual output of goods & services
  - f) big business & big govt. - monopoly capital has linked with govt.; Afrikaner & non-Afrikaner capital have joined hands as in campaign for 'Yes' vote in Referendum: important sects of capital & influential journals supported govt. NP has become a middle class party with big bourgeois backing

## 4. Economic Development &amp; 'peaceful change'

Oppenheimer argues that ec. growth has greatest potential for peaceful change meaning gradual withering of overt discrimination, cooption of black middle class into state structure, creation of reformist t.u. movement. By 1980 black share of personal income had increased from 25% in 1924-70 to 40%, the rest going to whites. From 1960-80 proportion of ~~blacks~~ whites in popln remained at just short of 20 % Structural ec change is giving blacks greater power outside parliament. Trade unions canalise discontent & make relations easier for industrialists. Giliomee argues that growth will depend on blacks working the capitalist ' political system (S.T.17.4.83) Prof Sampie Terblanche writes that SA have a single integrated economy & needs a pol. system that will enable black groups to increase their claims on integrated economy (ST 10.4.83)

Conclusion: ruling capitalist class has broken old class po. party alliance; apartheid increasingly incompatible with socio-ec devlpmt (see breaking of monopoly of white miners); Nats being forced to adopt bourg reformism

## 5. People's Response

Mass defiance & the State machinery: strikes (Datsun plant at Rosslyn)

- a) Squatter issue: resistance at Crossroad; demolition of 'shacks' on Rand; Lamontville defiance; Sebe's action against bus commuters in Mdantsane
- b) Education crisis: Trfloop demos; student boycott in Soweto; riots of school pupils in Vryberg etc: large scale protest demos when 3 ANC comrades were hanged

## 6. Political Crisis of Ruling Class

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### i) Constitutional Proposals & Urban Africans

They are jected by all sections of oppressed & even some white ruling class members  
Only most backward collaborators have given some support

Charles Simkins (UCT) estimates:

9.4 m. Africans in 'common area' in 1980 of whom 3.4 m. lived in metropolitan area,  
1.9 in smaller urban area & 4.3 m. in white rural areas.

Influx laws do not stop people coming to cities. Arrests under pass laws nearly  
doubled in past 2 years from 108 000 to 206 000 in '82. Increased migration from B/stans  
due to poverty of B/stans. Est that 34 m. Afr will be living in cities at end of C  
Human Science Research Council estimates that nearly a million Africans will move to  
white cities & towns p.a. between now & 2000

Our slogan: better prison in cities than death by starvation in B/stans

### ii) Legislative indecisiveness

Failure to impose influx control bill; withdrawal of Orderly Movement & Settlement  
of Black Persons Bill; abandonment of 'quota system' in white universities; govt  
decision to abide by Rikhotso judgment affecting residential rights of workers with  
10 years continuous employment by one employer or 15 years continuous employment with  
different employers

### iii) strains on manpower

Recent report of public services' inability to collect taxes, watch insurance cys,  
issue passports, audit accounts effectively - because of shortage of personnel caused  
by white monopoly of services & war in Namibia

### iv) Destabilising S.A.

Aims: a) prevent ANC from acquiring bases in neighbouring states  
b) destroy progressive govts in these states & substitute puppet govts: statements  
by Dr Peter Vale (SA Inst of Int Affairs - Sunday Express 5.6.83), Magnus  
Malan, Van Zyl Slabbert (ST 6.6.83), Simon Jenkins (Economist - spl report) -  
16.7.83: SA aggression is 'amoral & brutal', military rather than political  
perspective: raids on Matola, Maseru, Maputo; backing for Unita, MNR, LLA, sab  
sabotage of Luanda, Beira, Cabora Bassa; manipulation of transport links,  
trade agreements, migrant remittances'

SA will not allow progressive left govts along its borders even if ANC & SWAPO were  
not present in frontline states

## 7. Realignment of Forces

### i) Right wing groups

Afrikaner capital has come of age. Afrikanerdom is split. Tendency continues.  
Broerbond is split & almost helpless. SABRA has rejected constitution & is in line  
with Conservative P. which meets with growing support in BB. Right wing victory in  
Waterberg election further solidified the split

Split must be viewed against sluggish SA economy, its inability to subsidise lower  
class whites, drop in living standards of poor whites, scarcity of skilled workers,  
& threat to Afrikaner parties by penetration of big capital. In long run future  
of white workers lies in alliance with progressive forces

### ii) Black reactionary alliance

Matanzima calls in Jan for fed. against whites, Indians & Coloured (RDM 15.5.83)

Gatsha & Matanzima also in Jan call for black unity as strategy towards liberation Strategy requires non-independent homelands to refuse independence while independent states oppose const changes leading to confederation July meeting of 6 Eban leaders (Matanzima, Phatudi, Buthelezi, Ntsanwisi, Mphepu) who call for united & non-apartheid SA (ST 17.7.83) Gatsha attacks ANC at 9th National Conf of Inkatha & accuses it of being led by ideological puritans along Marxist lines (RDM 26.6.83). Formation of UDF was a defeat for Inkatha. Massive 'Yes' vote for constitutional reforms also defeat for Gatsha who organised reactionary leaders & shared platform with PFP but liberals deserted him & voted for Botha

### iii) Black middle class

Ruling class grooms blacks to serve as buffer against revolutionary class alliance Moses Maubane (Manager of Black Bank) calls for growth of black capitalist class with fundamental rights & full ec. integration (RDM 28.4.83) It was exclusion from 'decision making' of African middle class that led to sharp opposition to new constn from sections of capitalist class

Unity Movement's Cape Action League attacked UDF for including middle class Western Cape Traders Asscn

Large scale black ec advance not possible while race laws prohibit land ownership & freedom of movement - Sam Mottuenyane at Nafcoc annl conf (FM 8.7.83) Rise of black middle class & their struggle against restrictive laws will assist NLM

### iv) T.U.movement

Sweeping changes in labour field little more than recognising situation already existing. Black unions & strikes continue to grow. Black unions break new ground as on mines where for first time in history of industry Chamber negotiates agreement with black miners union

CCAWUSA negotiated agreements that also benefit white workers (RDM 26.6.83) At Kellogg, Springs, white workers apply to in Sweet, Food & Allied Workers Union of Fosatu & signed a petition black workers had drawn up on a work dispute Similar application made by white workers as another East Rand plant (RDM 13.6.83)

Feasibility committee set up to consider new TUFBI. Some very serious weaknesses in more progressive unions. Weak structure & poor adminstrn Limited personnel often used for political gatherings; little is done to build solid union structures at factory floor level. Hence fear that these unions will lose identity in a federation Stronger unions want dominant say. Very unlikely that the new fed will take off More likely that stronger unions will come to understanding at expense of weaker but more progressive unions. SACTU's input will be very useful

Some unions including FCWU refuse to join UDF. David Lewis reasons: UDF is multi-class. Historically wrong, his view would rule out alliance of unions with progressive classes for limited goals. In due course workers will support the correct line

### v) Third Force

Azapo & BC, Neville Alexander & U.M. group, PAC & 'workerists' - those who initiated National Forum & launched manifesto of people of 'Azania. Saths Cooper claims that BCM under direction of Azapo is 'vanguard of people's struggle' to expel foreign settler (Post 19.2.83)

National Forum formed after TIC decided on UDF. Some groups in Third Force acknowledge ANC's vanguard role but refuse to surrender separate identity - argue they must first build a 'power base'

National Forum & its Manifesto is based on a wrong interpretation of SA & false

programme for a 'socialist' Azania. They call for an independent working class leadership but nowhere indicate what it is. They reject a working class party with a scientific class ideology like the SACP. Alexander is a social democratic opportunist

They speak of 'racial capitalism' - thereby repeating liberal argument that capitalism needs only to be de-racialised, or BCM argument that working class movement is the same as black people's struggle for liberation

There is a shift from ethnicity to class in ranks of Afrikaner bourgeoisie. Much of capital in SA is owned by Japan. To give capitalism a colour is like the Nazi attack on the Jews

Third Force is divisive & sectarian

#### vi) Progressive Democratic Forces

##### a) UDF

Culmination of mass resistance since 1980 school boycotts, 1981 Anti-Republican campaign & anti-SAIC boycott campaign

Escalation of armed struggle has made the ANC a key to the solution of the national question, established its vanguard role in the revolution, & made all strata of the 'opposition' recognise our leadership role. In addition it has stretched the enemy's limited resources & deepened its crisis

Attempt to coopt Coloured & Indian middle classes, thereby creating a 'buffer' zone, is not sharing of power but joint responsibility to run racist state

Mass support for UDF & NLM went beyond expectations of some activists. Election of 3 presidents - recognised leaders of ANC - place the most revolutionary organisations in the main stream of opposition

Are we willing to devote the bulk of our resources to home front; failing which we may lose the momentum

State may try but will not succeed in clamping down on active resistance as it did in early 60s. Bold & dynamic leadership & mass action are needed. Unity & solidarity is not finally the means of struggle but the end of struggle

##### b) Youth organisations

Youth Congresses recently formed in PE & Soweto. Similar action taken in CT, EL, Jhb. Moves are being made to launch National Youth Congress

##### c) Mushrooming organisations

A symptom of fermentation. They spring up from far right to the left. Some old organisations like TIC have been revived. Some like Black Sash have moved closer to democratic position

All genuine oppositions accept our role as vanguard of the NLM. Events like the Koeberg attack or the Pretoria attack fill the media with ANC & its role

#### 8. Weak Link in the Chain

Enemy is strong as a military force & politically weak. Hence the need to mobilise for a massive political assault on the state. We must increase the mass resistance by 10 or 100 fold. Attack the enemy in the whole field of influx control, pass laws, squatters, removals, education, housing, transport, low wages

Hit economic targets: multinationals, storage depots, fuel pipe lines, transport. Military attacks must take place in areas of mass resistance. Engage enemy with modern weapons. Devastating blows will disintegrate the state's apparatus

## 9. The Year Ahead

New challenges. Masses increasingly take initiative & attack. Increased repression & deeper economic crisis lie ahead

We must plan ahead of the enemy. Devote maximum energy & resources to home front to ciunter the new round of repression & mount a massive political assault that will lead to seizure of power by the people & a free, democratic state

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