

**REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS SEMINAR**

**Venue:** MOSCOW

**Date:** 17 -22.3.1987

**Delegations:**

**ANC: Head - Z. Pallo Jordan**

Dan Cindi

Norman Levy

Pascal Ludidi

Tessa Marcus

Jeffrey Marishane

Ivy Matsepe

Francis Meli

Max Sisulu

Zola Skweyiya

**SOVIET: Head Vassily Solodovnikov**

Apollon Davidson

Irina Filatoia

Ida Kouklina

V. Goncharov

V. Gorodnov

G. Lisenkov

Lev Rytov

V. Shubin

G. Smirnov

I. Blishchenko

REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS' SEMINAR held in MOSCOW from 17-22 March, 1987.

Introduction

1. The seminar was a bilateral exchange, organised through <sup>the Soviet</sup> AAPSO by ~~the~~ the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the ANC around the theme "The Struggle for National Liberation and The Implementation of the Freedom Charter".
2. Prior to the seminar an ANC delegation had been to Moscow to discuss proceedings and the approach to the seminar. In the subsequent period the two preparatory committees were in limited correspondence over the content and organisational proceedings of the seminar.
3. On arrival, the delegation was met by our hosts - AAPSO as well as a representative from the Soviet social scientists' delegation.
4. An initial meeting between the delegation heads finalised proposals and proceedings, and these were put to the seminar for adoption. It was agreed that:
  - a) all sessions would be jointly chaired
  - b) all sessions would be recorded on tape and rapporteurs would also take notes. Taping was done on the understanding that all proceedings would only be made to a very select audience, unless otherwise agreed. This included future use of papers prepared by our delegation. For our part, the transcripts of the tapes, the report and the papers would be made available to the NEC and subsequently and with their approval to ANC social scientists.
  - c) the first five sessions (2½ days) were to be devoted to the subjects covered by Phase I - The Struggle for National Liberation (Attached Appendix I). The second five sessions (2½) days were allocated to cover the topics under Phase II - Implementing the Freedom Charter (Attached Appendix II). The two blocks of work were broken by a trip to Leningrad at the invitation of the regional AAPSO committee and the Leningrad City Council.
  - d) topics covered by Phase I would be led by Soviet social scientists with ANC as respondents; the topics of Phase II would be led by ANC social scientists with the Soviets as respondents.
  - e) the closing session would be allocated to discussing future cooperation.
5. The ANC delegation had prepared written papers. The Soviet social scientists presented talks from notes. For several reasons, but above all else because of the assumption that our documents could be quickly reproduced by our counterparts, only one complete set of documents were presented to the organisers. This was a serious drawback in the discussions because our counterparts had very little time to consider their content. They only received them on Friday. Nevertheless, they devoted considerable time and energy to assimilate our ideas and to raise questions in discussion.
6. After the main paper was presented and replied to, the discussion was opened to the floor where participation was intense, lively and full, despite the limits of time and the problems of not being able to circulate the papers in time.

Proceedings

7. Opening remarks were made by Comrade Kolindarov on behalf of AAPSO and the Soviet people. These were followed by brief introductions and the presentation of the delegations by delegation leaders - comrades Solodovnikov and Jordan on behalf of the Soviet delegation and ANC delegation respectively.

On behalf of AAPSO, Comrade Kolindarov stated that the Soviet Union viewed the meeting of Comrades Gorbachov and Tambo as very significant and that the seminar was deemed and represented an important development in the history of Soviet relations with the ANC and the people of South Africa. It was hoped that the seminar would lay the basis for broad and longterm scientific cooperation. He also pointed out that missions of the ANC and S'VAPO were to be opened in the SU this year. He wished the deliberations every success.

On behalf of the Soviet delegation, Comrade Solodovnikov stressed that Soviet scientists attached much importance to the seminar. They felt it gave them an opportunity, through face to face contact, to look deeply into the problems of liquidating Apartheid as well as to closely analyse the nature of the SA revolution. The long tradition of South African studies started by Potekhin continues through specialists in the Institute of African Studies. However, their keen interest and scholarly work was hampered by the fact that SA was geographically distant and politically closed to direct scientific research. That was why such a seminar was particularly useful. He stressed that the questions which concerned them and the views they held were given in the context of an understanding of close cooperation and full support for the ANC and the national liberation movement.

On behalf of the ANC delegation Comrade Jordan expressed our sincere appreciation for the opportunity this seminar provided us to develop and continue the longstanding cooperation between the Soviet people and the struggling and oppressed majority in South Africa. He pointed out that the seminar was taking place not only on the 75th Anniversary of the ANC, but also on the 60th Anniversary of one of the most important visits paid to the Soviet Union by a representative of our struggling people - ANC President, Josiah Gumede, who came to the Soviet Union on the 10th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution at the invitation of the Soviet people. He stressed that the seminar was taking place in conditions of a new situation in South Africa, a situation punctuated by successes scored in the battlefield against a stubborn and well-armed enemy; successes which would not have been scored without the consistent support of the CPSU, AAPSO and the mass organisations of the Soviet people. In taking this opportunity to discuss current problems and future prospects, Comrade Jordan stated that we did this not because we "take instructions" from the CPSU, or because we are incompetent, but because we feel we have something to learn, we feel we have something to teach, and most of all that we have an unswerving commitment to our struggle and the liberation of our people.

Both sides introduced the members of their delegations. (Appendix 2)

## The Sessions

8. The presentation on the historical heritage was given by Comrade Davidson. He pointed out that the most important thing about the past is how the heritage of history can be used to advance the struggle today. This means that it is necessary to recreate the history of resistance and great heroes; to record the history of cooperation between different peoples; and to learn from the enemy as well. For him the educative and international importance of the experience of the ANC included: 1) the fact that it was the first major political party set up on the entire African continent and in its image all other people in British empire colonies set up parties; ii) the ANC was not based on ethnic principles and has never responded to white racism with racism; and iii) it has never adopted a position of isolationism. The Freedom Charter is the most internationalist document in the history of the national liberation movement in Africa. It is also a remarkable national programme of unity.

8.1. As respondent, Comrade Heli emphasised a few historical facts. He pointed out that the history of the South African struggle predated 1912 and the formation of the ANC. However, 1912 marked a major advance, it was the dawn of African unity, a unity of hitherto ununited tribes and the base on which the unity of all sections of the oppressed has subsequently been built. The next significant historical advance came in the late 20s when President Gumedé attended the International Conference of the People of Africa and Asia out of which came the first ideas of a two stage theory, an idea which developed into the Black Republic call advanced and adopted by the CPSA. Since its formation in 1921, the CPSA and the ANC's relations were not smooth. However, the shift in understanding represented by the idea of the Black Republic and therefore a two-stage revolution proved to be a major breakthrough. Relations between the two organisations developed and matured into a solid alliance forged in struggle.

8.2. This raised the following questions:

8.2.1. What is the assessment of the historian of the role of the armed struggle in the NLM? (Solodovnikov)

8.2.2. How did the split in the ANC and the emergence of PAC affect the NLM and what are the consequences today (Solodovnikov)

8.2.3. How do you assess the Anglo-Boer War? Was it an imperialist war fought against a rightest national liberation opponent or a clash between two imperialist nations? (Solodovnikov)

8.2.4. Is there a contradiction between stressing the things which are unique and historically specific in any particular struggle and an internationalist perspective? What is the relation of a particular history to history in general? (Filatova)

8.2.5. To what past traditions do reactionary modern politicians appeal - cf Inkatha, PAC etc. (Filatova)

8.2.6. What inspiration and lessons can be drawn from Kenya, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other African countries? (Filatova)



8.2.7. Since culture is a serious ideological weapon and the historical experience tradition of supporting multi-racialism important, what position will South Africa's culture have in a non-racial republic? (Gorodnov)

8.2.8. The South African revolution is at its first stage - i.e. bourgeois democratic: a) what will the role of the SA bourgeoisie be in the future state and revolution? and b) what is meant by the Second Stage of the revolution and what is the alignment of forces that can be anticipated?

c) what is the alignment of forces at this stage of the struggle? (Solodovnikov)

8.2.9. What is the ANC doing in the backward parts of the country? (Solodovnikov)

8.2.10. Can traditional chiefs in opposition parties not lead rural resistance? (Gorodnov)

8.2.11. What positive role can NAFCOG play in resolving one of the most pressing problems facing the oppressed - i.e. housing? (Gorodnov)

8.2.12. Is the notion of internal colonialism (colonialism of a special type) still valid? If so, could we envisage a time when it would not be? (Filatova)

These questions were answered by different members of our delegation. (For details see Seminar Transcripts).

The Soviet scientists expressed a

a general rejection of the notion of "third force". It was felt that it had no validity, that there were two camps, those who were supporters or temporary supporters of the regime and those who were in opposition.

9. Comrade Ida Kouklina led the discussion on Relations With Political and Public Organisations. She pointed out that the situation in southern Africa - the situation of the '80s - is new in that:

a) the majority of forces in SA and beyond are unequivocally against apartheid;

b) the process of polarisation and consolidation of political forces is much more active and rapid; and c) the dynamic politicisation of the broadest popular masses and the drive towards popular self-government is proceeding apace. The central discussion is therefore on the influence of the ANC on

different groups. The question of influence is inseparable from the question of unity. Since complete unity is absent, the ANC has to determine its

allies - those with whom it has major similarities; those with whom there are only secondary differences and those who are irrevocably against the

popular forces. From reported sources it is possible to calculate that at least 10 delegations have come to the ANC HQ between March '85 and July '86.

TNCs, big business, religious bodies, students etc. are all talking with the ANC. This, she said, raised three questions:

9.1. Why shouldn't relations develop with PAC and Inkatha? Is their status as political enemy determined a priori? Can new steps and compromises

not be found? How do you propose to find a solution to Inkatha and Buthelezi?

9.2. If unity must be achieved at all costs but not at any price, as you say, are there political forces a) with whom this must be achieved? and b) what is the significance of armed struggle? Can the armed struggle be used as an unchanging instrument at all stages of the struggle?

9.3. And are the legal instruments established by the international community being used sufficiently by those who support the struggle?

Her own response to the problems she posed was that unity with the trade union movement had to be achieved at all costs and at any price; that there

was an urgent need to explain and elaborate the role of armed struggle far more, expressing doubts as to whether all possibilities of raising the understanding of the political role and significance of armed struggle, and not just armed actions, had been exhausted: and that there was a need to convene an international tribunal on the Crime of Apartheid to expose fully its violation of human rights and isolate the regime further.

Her presentation was followed by a series of questions.

- 9.4. Can armed struggle evolve into a means of seizing power? And what is the influence and contact in the police and army of the ANC? (Smirnov)
- 9.5. Which classes will take power? (Lisenkov)
- 9.6. Which white forces are being isolated? (Lisenkov)
- 9.7. What are the different tactics amongst the youth in urban and rural areas and within the rural areas? (Filatova)
- 9.8. Are there any institutionalised methods of dealing with Inkatha?
- 9.9. What is the significance of the Zionist Church? Can it or its followers be won over by the NLM?
- 9.10. What is the significance of the "Russians" and of vigilantes in general? (Gorodnov)
- 9.11. Is there any difference between the social base of the ANC and the UDF (Rytov)
- 9.12. What measures are being taken to overcome the distrust of the Indian population and to expand the influence of the ANC among this group? (Rytov)
- 9.13. From these discussions it is possible to tackle in greater depth the question of armed struggle and the political influence of the ANC in future sessions. It is necessary to consider the possibility that the situation might arise where the ANC starts talks with the regime. What would be the alignment of forces? Who would be the allies of the ANC? It is advisable to anticipate and to analyse this scenario. (Smirnov)

(See transcripts for ANC responses)

10. The third session under Phase I focused on international relations. Comrade Solodovnikov, in introducing the topic, pointed to the achievements the ANC had scored on the international arena. Amongst these he noted the UN Arms Embargo; many UN, NAM and OAU resolutions against apartheid; the formation and growth of the anti-apartheid movement in most western countries; the establishment of ANC missions in more than 30 countries throughout the world; a general recognition that apartheid is not just an internal South African issue but a problem of concern for the international community as a whole; and the generation of support and solidarity amongst African countries neighbouring SA.

However, he pointed out that the front line states were faced with a predicament borne of the fact that ~~their~~ their support for the ANC brought them under direct and intense fire from Pretoria - either through direct military attack or through economic and political destabilisation. He felt the only solution for them, as for the people of SA, was the complete elimination of apartheid. He pointed out that the OAU and UN had recognised the right of the South African people (as led by the ANC) to use all or any means, including armed struggle, to overthrow the apartheid system. If western countries applied sanctions seriously the apartheid regime would find itself forced to hold genuine negotiations with the ANC. In his readings of US developments on the sanctions question, without exaggerating their significance, he felt they marked a recognition by the US administration that the SA problem cannot be solved without the ANC. Furthermore, they also possibly meant that pressure

would be brought to bare on Israel, the one country which openly maintains direct military links with Pretoria.

In relation to Soviet foreign policy he pointed out that the USSR opened a consulate in SA in 1942 which was closed in 1956. He drew attention to a series of provocative reports in the western media alleging links between Apartheid SA and the USSR. These he said were completely false.

In

10.1. Commenting on this presentation, Rytov pointed out that not all member states in the OAU supported the ANC and that therefore there was a need to distinguish between the positions taken by the front line states and such countries like the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Kenya etc. when it comes to their links with the apartheid regime.

10.2. Comrade Butiboa pointed out that whilst in the past most western countries ignored the ANC the position today is different. What are the main trends within the western countries in relation to the ANC? Are they attempting to win it over, to neutralise it or to divide it?

10.3 What measures can the ANC, OAU, NAM take to convince the FLS that the problems arising from the struggle against apartheid are temporary and will be resolved and compensated by accelerated development after the liberation of SA? (Gorodnov)

10.4 What influences can be brought to bare to win King Mswati of Swaziland over to the ANC? (Gorodnov)

He added that he disagreed with Comrade Solodovnikov's assessment that the Namibian problem would only be solved with the end to apartheid in SA., pointing to the meeting of German speaking Namibian businessmen and SWAPO as a significant development. (Gorodnov)

11.

This session brought the first phase of discussion to a close. It was generally agreed that many of the issues raised would be covered in the topics of the second phase.

12. The topics covered by phase II, began with a discussion on the Resolution of the National Question. Comrade Jordan introduced the paper

He pointed to the specific features of the national question namely, the fact that the ANC identifies the South African racist state as essentially colonial although coloniser and colonised share a common territory. This set of relations is commonly referred to by us as "colonialism of a special type". As such, it makes out struggle an anti-colonialist national liberation struggle, which for all its specific features has the same objectives and is motivated by the same aspirations as those waged in other countries. Comrade Jordan went on to outline the relation between national oppression and capitalist exploitation and how the formation of a white power bloc around the dominant white capitalist interests led to a particular conception of the 'nation' amongst the ruling elite.



For them "the nation" was the white minority. The black majority of South Africa were just a mass of colonial subjects to be used and discarded as was deemed necessary. In sharp contrast the concept of nation which has been the driving force of our struggle during the past 75 years has been inclusive, dynamic and liberatory. Whilst this concept has never

had a single source and has been forged in the exchange between different schools of political thought and achieved in struggle, it has been uniform in its determination to abolish colonial relations, to establish democracy and to secure the right of self-determination. The founders of the ANC set the tasks that the national liberation movement would have to assume in order to fulfill its historic mission. On the basis of African unity the ANC would have to unify the South African people and act as the mid-wife of a new nation - a nation of South Africans.

He then went on to outline how the struggle for this new nationhood has evolved. The ANC stands for "one country, one people, one government - a government of the people of South Africa". We stand for a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa where sovereignty is vested in the will of the people. Such a conception of nationhood and the "nation" makes room for the cultural diversity of the South African people. A democratic South Africa, based on the Freedom Charter enshrines the right of national groups to equal rights and to cultural expressions through art, language, religious practice etc. Their specific practices however, remain part of the South African nation in the making, not something separate. He lastly, looked at the approach of Marxists to the colonial and national question over the past century.

Prof. Davidson, as respondent raised the following matters. He said no matter how difficult the national problem seems, in practice it is much more difficult. Old antagonisms can be revived with new and even greater vigor. It is easy to take good decisions but difficult to implement them.



Practically national and ethnic feelings are very tenacious. They are closely intertwined with different kinds of dissatisfaction and they act like a sponge for every tension.. Should the Zulu perceive himself as a South African, a black or a Zulu? How does the ANC provide for respect for each of these qualities. Resolution of the national question requires the abolition of discriminatory laws, but practically inequalities will persist for years to come. The problem of the SA nlm is the same problem of other countries - i.e. without the resolution of fundamental social problems the national question cannot be resolved. Policy makers should carry out an inventory of prejudices between different peoples of SA and make the culture and traditions of peoples known to others. (Davidson)

<sup>12.1</sup>  
~~12.1~~. The best definitions of nation and national question are useless if they don't take concrete conditions into account. The notion of nation as South Africans and nation as Africans - what do these mean in the SA context? Do they contradict one another? (Gorodnov)

<sup>12.2</sup>  
~~12.2~~. Is there a consolidation of the Zulu national group in Natal and KwaZulu? and to what extent does this process contradict the integration of Zulus into urban areas, should it be going on? (Gorodnov)

<sup>12.3</sup>  
~~12.3~~. Would separate cultural development be one of the means of resolving the national question in the future? (Gorodnov)

<sup>12.4</sup>  
~~12.4~~. How is the language question to be resolved? (Gorodnov)

<sup>12.5</sup>  
~~12.5~~. There is a need for political and legal guarantees for ethnic minorities such as Indians, Coloureds and even whites (Rytov).

<sup>12.6</sup>  
~~12.6~~. Regarding minority guarantees: overstating and overestimating the experience of the USSR viz. the African reality. It will confirm existing prejudices and anyway who is to be considered the minority? (Filatova)

<sup>12.7</sup>  
~~12.7~~. Formula of protecting rights of minorities dangerous. In SA and southern Africa government by the will of the majority. The question is what majority? How is the majority defined? Dangerous to pose the question from a narrow national point of view. Need to make the notion more precise if we talk in class or social terms. The social and political majority in a bourgeois democratic revolution is different from that in a people's revolution and in a socialist revolution you are talking about another majority. (Smirnov)

<sup>12.8</sup>  
~~12.8~~. In principle the matter of guarantees is badly posed. Legislative solution but there is more to it than form. What is meant by the right to speak your own language? How can this (and other rights) be ensured politically, legally and economically? How can it be ensured in practice?. (Smirnov)

Report cont., ...8/

12.9 The question of elimination of apartheid - to achieve the solution there is a need for compromise. One needs to make concessions to whites. Otherwise it leaves the armed struggle - and that is problematic. (Solodovnikov)

### 13. Nationalisation of the Monopolies, Industry and Banks

The main paper was presented by Comrade Max Sisulu. Speaking to it he pointed out that the Freedom Charter, which envisages the destruction of apartheid in the economic sphere through the transfer of the monopolies to the ownership of the people, socialisation of agriculture and the redistribution of the national wealth, is regarded by our people as a minimum platform and a starting point for change towards a new, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The paper aimed to look at the question of transferring mining, financial and industrial monopolies to public ownership and establishing popular control over the commanding heights of the economy. In reviewing the extent of South African monopolisation where <sup>found that</sup> by the mid-'70s 6 groups controlled the mining industry, 6 dominated the financial sector and 5% of manufacturing companies accounted for 63% of turn-over in the sector; 5% of wholesale and retail firms accounted for 69% of turnover and 76% of turnover from transport was concentrated in 5% of firms in the sector. By 1985 four monopolies controlled 80% of the companies listed on the Johannesburg stock exchange - these were Anglo American Corporation (AAC), SA Mutual, Snalaam and Rembrandt. He then pointed to a trend to deregularise and privatise of big business. 25% of manufacture is in the hands of the state and by promoting this process the extent of control of private monopolies would increase even further. Already the AAC is the largest SA conglomerate and the largest South African based multi-national corporation. In looking at the question of transferring SA monopolies to the control of the people in the last resort it is a question of "what should be done with Anglo?". Looking at the contribution of monopolies through tax to the economy, although the top ten companies control 70% of South Africa's wealth they contribute a feeble 18% of the taxes collected by the state.

In looking to the future and the transformation of the economy, comrade Sisulu pointed the enormity of the task of reversing 3 centuries of brutal oppression and exploitation in a relatively short space of time. He pointed to the need for a step by step approach including the identification and prioritisation of those sectors of the economy and domestic and foreign monopolies which will have to be taken over by the state; the drawing up of a time table with different stages for the take-over and transformation process; the creation of institutions of democratic control; training personnel to run nationalised enterprises and elaborating a national economic plan.

It was stressed that nationalisation should be considered first and foremost as a qualitative process and not simply a quantitative expansion of the state sector. And that nationalisation without proper planning and adequately trained personnel can be worse than counter-productive. There are different kinds of nationalisation, and indeed nationalisation is not always in the workers' interest.

He then went on to concentrate on the mines and finance institutions as the priority sectors for nationalisation in the economy, spelling out their importance in the economy and therefore the impact that such action would have.

Respondent : Prof Smirnov

Stresses that the attainment of longterm goals would take time. For every stage of the process it is necessary to have a strategy! Everything is conditional on access to power and the character of the future government and therefore it is difficult to make accurate forecasts.

For all the difficulties of taking power it is no less difficult to retain power i.e. to work out a policy which will correspond to popular interests. The transition from monopoly capital to public ownership is not only a socio-economic perspective, but an economic one which must ensure economic development. If nationalisation does not ensure it, what steps need to be taken? in the short term there is need for preparatory work, in the long term goals have to be set and a strategy for attaining them has to be worked out.

Nationalisation not a one-off act but to be carried out stage by stage. It is a process which will be influenced by the character of the revolution, the seizure of power and the stages of the revolution. It is a serious and difficult task. Right after seizure of power services and structures have to be set up and managed. It requires personnel committed to the regime. It is necessary to organise the social orientation of these activities. State monopoly property must be retained, <sup>and</sup> strengthened.

Nationalisation of private corporations - the priority is not the mining industry but the banks. Necessary to seize the central bank and secondly, to nationalise commercial banks. Apprehensive about the nationalisation of the mines since without personnel it will only be a formal move.

Transitional period:

i. taxes and price controls

ii) workers control in capitalist corporations

iii) constant training of personnel and the replacement of old personnel

iv) a living wage

v) accounting to the state by private companies

This will prevent failures when nationalisation is undertaken and will allow it to be properly carried out . (Smirnov)

- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.1. What are the dynamics of African, Coloured and Indian capital? What is its role in the production of national income? it is possible to say that South Africa has no monopoly or medium-scale capital in the hands of Africans? (Solodovnikov)
- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.2. To what extent has Botha's reforms stimulated black capital? (Davidson)
- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.3. The differences between Afrikaner and English capital pose the possibility of different strategies of nationalisation. (Gorddnov)
- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.4. Is the sale of foreign capital to local capital strengthening local capital? What effect is it having on the local social structure and local African enterprise? (Filatova)
- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.5. Is there a rationale behind decentralisation which can be used by the popular state under ANC control? (Lischenko)
- ~~10~~<sup>13</sup>.6. Nationalisation not mandatory in all situations and sectors. Not to assume nationalisation of the TNCs over night. SA is organically linked to the world economy. Circumspection on these issues should be maximal and resolution on this issue should not be precipitated. Nationalisation does not necessarily mean immediate expropriation. Some industries - especially the banks - need to be nationalised. Great caution is needed. (Ulyanovsk)

The view of the the delegation was expressed by Cde Levy.  
Since we are not in control of the political clock, the level of caution must be gauged against the demands and aspirations of the people. Monopolies control - most of capital investment

- education and training
- marketing
- research and development
- international networks

In other words their stranglehold is formidable. If any headway is to be made this stranglehold has to be broken and therefore cautionary restraints to avoid mistakes made by others will of necessity be reduced.



that given the relative urban bias of the content and composition of the main thrust of the revolutionary forces it is essential that a realistic, unromantic concept of the issues at stake in the countryside are raised and integrated into the general approach and framework set up for transformation.

Prof. Smirnov was the respondent.

He noted that the land and agrarian questions were more complex than nationalisation of industry because these problems affect wider sections of the population. Land questions cover more than <sup>the</sup> agrarian question - it covers the right to use all natural resources. Agrarian question is about the land, but it is also about the organisation of production. There are two approaches to land distribution:

a) nationalisation of all lands and mineral wealth and the subsequent distribution to private and collective owners or

b) the scaling down of the scope of land ownership and redistribution.

Recession of agricultural production more dangerous than industrial recession because it will immediately affect the whole population including higher unemployment and food shortages.

Compensation is a political expedient which may or may not be necessary.

A central question is the form of organisation of agricultural production.

The need to - identify land stock

- the degree of landlessness
- avoid mechanical redistribution
- solve commodity production
- establish the principle of redistribution

(Smirnov)

~~14.~~ 1. Is there a peasantry in South Africa? (Shubin)

~~14.~~ 2. What is the type of land use in the bantustans?

Given the migrant labour system is the demand for land or for work in the urban areas?

Is it possible to transform the bantustans into small-holding farming areas?

(Filatova)

~~14.~~ 3. What is the official view of the agrarian question under the current regime? (Kouklina)

~~14.~~ 4. Should the new republic adopt a different strategy to agricultural monopoly? (Kouklina)

~~14.~~ 5. How the question of property is settled will depend on the social forces that come to the fore. Two stages of revolution: bourgeois democratic and socialist. ANC doesn't talk of this but talks of socialisation a priori i.e. no transition from national revolution to the socialist revolution. Necessary to consider options based on the FC.

(Solodovnikov)

~~14.~~ 6. To what extent will the implementation of the FC affect the capitalist economy. (Kouklina)

~~14.~~ 7. Nationalisation of land and all natural resources very fundamental. A lopsided approach can generate very serious political opposition. What

#### 14. The Land and Agrarian Questions

Discussion next focused on the land and agrarian questions. The main paper was presented by Comrade Tessa Marcus.

She pointed to the importance of successfully resolving the land and agrarian questions in the struggle to fundamentally transform South African society and to eradicate the deadweight of oppression and exploitation of colonial capitalism. These two questions are closely intertwined but they are not identical. The land question is essentially about redressing the historical injustice of African national dispossession. It is about restoring land rights in the countryside and in the towns to the black majority. The agrarian question in turn, is about the use made of agricultural land and the creation of production relations which meet the food needs of those who work the land <sup>and</sup> those who live in the towns, as well as the demands made on the sector from manufacture and the national economy as a whole.

Although the national democratic revolution cannot completely solve these questions, the solutions found in this stage of the process of transformation will have a direct bearing on the prospects for future advances. The land and agrarian questions are also national questions. There are not "two agricultures" with different solutions, nor is there a "bantustan land question" and a general land question.

The first part of the paper concentrated on contemporary relations of ownership and production in the countryside. Comrade Marcus highlighted the extent of concentration of land and production ownership. Not only is land almost completely owned by whites in general - of 85,7 million ha of agricultural land outside the bantustans - the black majority had access to or owned a mere 0.8%; but very few whites actually own land or farms - some 60 000 landholders or less than 2% of the white population. And amongst these there is further concentration of ownership and control. In 1983 6% of farmers produced 60% of gross farm income and 30% of farm units produced 75% of gross farm income. The sector is also characterised by the presence of major monopoly companies, including AAC and Gencor, considerable interchange between the sector and manufacture and a considerable overlapping of ownership and control between sectors.

Increasing mechanisation coupled with changes in ownership and methods of production has altered the structure of the labour force. Increasingly production in the sector is carried out by a migrantised and casualised labour force, with "full-time" employment being concentrated in a small group of workers living on the farms. Child, female and prison labour is still extensively exploited. Indeed, it is possible to conclude that the exploitation of farm workers has intensified as the sector has become more capital intensive in production and as mining and manufacture has penetrated ownership and control.

Turning to the transformation process, she pointed out the need for a step by step approach, highlighting the advances as well as the limits of each successive stage in altering landed relations. Changing the law is the first step but it would only lead to minor changes in land ownership given the concentration of land in private hands. Nationalising land is essential if any transformation process is to begin in the sector. But nationalising land does not mean nationalising commercial agricultural enterprises. This is a far harder process and it will meet far greater opposition. In short, the first steps towards resolving the land and agrarian questions would involve the repeal of all racist legislation; public ownership of the land and public ownership of monopoly holdings in commercial agriculture. She then went on to look at the different demands for land and the means of democratic control and administration that would be required, in a future liberated country, *concluding in a cautionary note*

Report cont., 14/

## 16.6. Transformation of the Apartheid State

Main paper: cde Zola (see documentation)

Respondent: Igor Blishchenko

Can't talk of a socialist legal system at this stage, only a national democracy which must preserve all the foundations of bourgeois democracy. For a unitary state to account for national and ethnic specificities, through the one-man-one-vote (omov) system must be a pluralist democracy. There are two possible options:

a) a 2 chamber system - one with omov, the other with equal representation of all ethnic and racial groups. The chambers do not have to be equal, with the balance in favour of that in which omov is practiced. or b) a president and council of ministers. The president elected by omov and the ministers by parliament. The ministries would include a ministry for nationalities.

The constitution is an absolutely priority issue

There must be no forced removals - i.e. forced integration and a section of the constitution must be devoted to the rights and liberties of man.

(Blishchenko)

### 16.6.1. Regulations of political parties by law and general practice.

Parties should also produce regular reports of their activities for the state

Parties and organisations formed on a racial basis should be banned.

Electoral law

16.6.2. Electoral law can either be equal, universal and secret ballot or a proportional majority based electoral system. Since the ANC stands for the political majority therefore advocates proportional system.

## 16.7. Future Foreign Policy

Main paper: Cde Dan

16.7.1. What solution will an ANC government have to land claims on parts of present-day South Africa which may be made by Lesotho and Swaziland?

(Davidson)

16.7.2. Will the entrance of a democratic SA into SADCC and PTA not undermine the existence of these two regional bodies? (Kouklina)

16.7.3. What is ANC's assessment of the possibility of western intervention in the revolutionary process before and especially after the seizure of power? (Solodovnikov)

#### 16.8. Social Upliftment of the People

##### Meeting the Needs of the Working People

Discussion on these papers was very limited, primarily due to time pressures but also because the papers presented by the ANC delegation were not available in time for adequate digestion by our Soviet counterparts.

#### 17. Closing Session

This was devoted to future cooperation. Suggestions included:

- a) the need for continued and on-going contact between Soviet and ANC social scientists;
- b) the need to explore avenues of cooperation between students, graduates and Soviet scientists, especially to encourage SA students to take up topics of research which are needed by the ANC during the course of their studies. The Lumumba university offered post-graduate studies on relevant topics for ANC students.
- c) the possibility of the next meeting being held in Lusaka as guests of ANC scientists.
- d) Specialised contacts between scientists from the various disciplines which will allowed for in-depth and more focused discussions.