

Extended Executive Meeting U.M.S.A. December 1988.

Speech delivered extempore by I.B. Tabata, President of U.M.S.A. on 30.12.88.

### The National and International Situation.

The world of yesterday has sunk into oblivion. The world of today is struggling to maintain itself. The world of tomorrow is struggling to be born.

An approach to our political problems in general should be a historic one, within the framework of history knowing that it has a past and it has to have a future. It is not a question of the wisdom of anyone, it is a historical necessity. A system comes into being, fulfills itself and then becomes inadequate.

Capitalism emerged from a previous system which could no longer satisfy the needs of the population. Towns grew and industry developed. Today capitalism has reached its highest point - imperialism. It cannot satisfy the needs which it itself has created. Capitalism must have a pool of unemployed labour. This pool today is increasing and has become intolerable. Capitalism has outlived itself.

Education. When capitalism was developing it sought to give education to the population as a whole. Today education is being limited. Those who receive it become fewer and fewer. The large proportion of the population will remain illiterate. Without education a person cannot be fully rounded. Technology has reached the stage where it requires much less manual labour than in the past. Therefore education must be given only to those who develop technology and run industry. This is a sign that capitalism has outlived itself and must be changed. Every system when it changes requires violence. Violence is therefore a necessity for changing the system. Whoever is opposed to violence is against change. The liberals and priests are opposed to violence. But we are born in violence and live in violence. The ruling class use violence to maintain the system. Whoever is opposed to violence is opposed to the revolution.

Amongst the oppressed the A.N.C. is against the shedding of blood. They will only use violence against a building.

It is impossible to have a revolution without the shedding of blood. The amount of blood shed during the revolution is far less than the amount of blood shed prior to the revolution. As an example consider the number of babies alone dying needlessly every day under the present system, one every 20 minutes.

Only a revolution can change this system. You can judge who are your friends and your enemies by their attitude to the revolution. The world has reached a stage where change must come.

### Socialism.

Unemployment is not necessary for this system. We look at a particular system and can find out what is necessary and what is not necessary. In the West

everything is changing for the worse, even education. Under socialism if things become worse leaders will be kicked out not because people under socialism are wiser but because it is injurious to the system.

It was ludicrous that bourgeois leaders such as Nixon could truthfully accuse a socialist country of lacking democracy. For a socialist country to run properly it requires an extension of democracy. For capitalism to create maximum profits, a minimum of democracy is required

South Africa. In South Africa we must talk about what is necessary. It has become a necessity to change the system just as it is necessary to change the system throughout the world. This is more urgent in South Africa's case because it is a backward country and Europe sucked the blood of the colonies including South Africa and the Blacks suffered more than the people in the developed countries. The urgency for change in South Africa is therefore greater. The reformists are our enemies. What is necessary is a change of the whole system.

We have our own programme and policy. Our opponents have settled on the Freedom Charter. Now they say they have improved it. The new Freedom Charter is a reply to our criticism. Slove in a pamphlet he has written entitled "The South African Working Class and the National Revolution" which was published about the same time that the new A.N.C. Freedom Charter came out, states "WE stand for one united democratic South Africa based on universal adult suffrage".

If you examine the A.N.C. you will see that they have not changed a bit. We criticised the A.N.C. for having accepted the policy of multinationalism and Bantustans which is in keeping with this policy.

In 1978 we predicted that imperialism would mobilise the anti-apartheid committees behind the A.N.C. while the liberals were preparing Buthelezi to take part in the negotiations as a spokesman for the Blacks. We said then that the agenda could be nothing else but multinationalism. The question we raised was whether the A.N.C. would agree to discuss multinationalism or would it reject it on the basis that our citizenship is not negotiable.

The truth of the matter is that the A.N.C. has not changed. Although it says that "it stands for one united" South Africa based on universal suffrage that the new Freedom Charter states "The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transferred to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution". This is a return to Bantustanism. How do you have a democracy and hereditary rulers simultaneously. The Whites, the Coloured people and the Indians have no hereditary rulers. Only one section of the population, the Africans, have these chiefs. A chief can only be a chief of a particular tribe which occupies a specific area of land. The A.N.C. wants the Bantustans, the rule of the Matanzimas, Buthelezi and Sebes. They can now have a dialogue. South Africa has to move, it cannot stand still. When the A.N.C. comes out clearly that

- (1) it does not believe in violence and that
- (2) it is in favour of the rule of the chiefs. There is nothing in common between us and them.

(1) is meant for the liberals and (2) is meant for Betha and his extreme right wing.

The intellectuals are trying to get a kind of system which embodies the federal system of Betha. Under this system the Blacks will be given a vote based on property and educational qualifications. Only a few Blacks will be able to invest their money and interlock with finance capital. This will be less than 5% of the Black population. Nobody says a thing about the land which is the basic problem. How many people will have the money to buy the land? The petit bourgeois in the leadership of the A.N.C. true to their colours are working for themselves.

Discussion.

A. Back home A.N.C. has a great deal of support among the masses. Their supporters believe that when the A.N.C. take over, the Bantustans will be dissolved.

B. That is why you have to be there.

C. It is the power of the imperialist press that makes the masses believe that the A.N.C. are going to solve their problems by dissolving the Bantustans.

D. Is there not a contradiction between the apparent socialist goals of the front-line states and the investment of multinationals in their countries?

E. The front-line states need to develop industrially. You cannot build socialism without industrialisation. In Zimbabwe the government have established a code of investment which prevents multinationals from repatriating all their profits. The state participates with multinationals in joint ventures. Imperialism needs us just as we need them.

F. S.A.D.E.C. countries must open railways. Imperialism can only operate in vast economic spheres. Dominant group Anglo-American. Responsible in Botswana for 2/3 of foreign exchange and 40% of revenue.

Zimbabwe at independence Anglo-American controlled 82% of companies. Provides 40% of foreign exchange.

There are political reasons for investment of multinationals in S.A.D.E.C. countries. Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary of Britain said "we are working to encourage the growth of democracy and liberalism in countries very different to ours but not impervious to change" In South Africa repression offered them untold riches. But now repression is jeopardising their profit making abilities and ultimately the survival of capitalism. Anglo-American controls 1350 companies. The value of its assets is 98.8 billion. The assets of the South African state are slightly less than the latter figure. Four major conglomerates in South Africa control 81% of the shares on the Stock Exchange. Anglo-American contributes 50% of the world's gold and 50% of South Africa's foreign exchange, although gold production represents only 10% of gross domestic product.

1990 is the period where money will be made more from technology and less from raw material.

South Africa does not possess the educational system to support a major technological environment - hence the vulnerability of the economy. South Africa's population is growing at 3% per year but its economic growth is less than 1%. Unemployment rose from 2 to 4 million.

Escom. 13% of Escom power stations have been stopped. Investment in machineries and new factories falling. Growth in unemployment. Explosives and chemical industries if shut down could bring economy to standstill due to dependence of much industry and agriculture on these industries.

B. The population was aroused in 1975. This was the time where we should have ridden the wave. But it had to fail because there was no party. It was a minor form of 1905. Even though we did not get anywhere, a step forward had been taken as we had an experience we had not had before. The failure of imperialism to push the South African government to negotiate with the A.N.C. has exposed congress in the eyes of the population.

In the future no matter how much imperialism can bring the A.N.C. up again it will never reach the heights that it reached in 1985 period. Imperialism will try again next time but it won't succeed.

A crisis cannot sustain itself forever. The militancy of the population will go down. We will continue plodding away without easy success because people have just gone through this very trying period. There will be a lull. The process of maturation is taking place amongst the people. Next time we will be in a position to be considered a factor because we went on when there was a lull. We should not expect easy miracles. The A.N.C. will never reach the heights it achieved in the previous period, as the population have learnt from their experiences. During this period it is an achievement just to maintain ourselves. Even if you don't grow, maintaining yourself is a success. The results will be seen in the next upsurge. That is why in my review I brought in the world in general and South Africa as part of it. There is going to be an upsurge in

Europe itself and our country will be part of that upsurge. The fact that Russia was backward did not mean they would be the last to have an upsurge. The fact that South Africa is backward doesn't mean that they will be the last to have an upsurge. It is highly unlikely that Zimbabwe can achieve socialism without a socialist revolution in South Africa occurring first of all.

The lull period will not be too long.

C. The defeat of South Africa in Angola adds weight to this argument. South Africa can no longer externalise the war. Now she faces the internal enemy and that is the war she cannot win.

B. The revolution in South Africa won't be determined by what takes place in South Africa alone. During the N.A.M. conference the whole question of the linkage of the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and Cuban troops from Angola was raised. Cuba and Angola had nothing to do with Namibia and South Africa, but the U.S.A. introduced this linkage for a purpose. U.S.A. wanted to establish a precedent that no country in this region can have a pact with someone outside the region without the consent of the U.S.A. While South Africa has been defeated by the Angolans I do not think that South Africa has given up altogether. South Africa has a nuclear bomb which she developed with Israel's help. However, it is useless in a South African civil war. She may use it externally in regions where Blacks constitute the majority of the population and there are very few whites. South Africa may try to subvert Angola via Zaire.