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3 . THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE FHN AFRICAN ET CPNG 55 (P.A.C.:

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3 We intend to. In an exploratory and diagnostic manner. discuss

' the Economy: Function of the Far African Congress. The

hypothesis is that the people will consent upon the

that will prevail after the change of the State term in a

I:)5 important to note that the F.A.C. has not produced what

might be considered a comprehensive economic policy document and

is positive. as products of a wide consensus within its membership

I v and relevant constituencies. It is also too early to send a

telegram to the enemies of true African liberation as to the

specific economic policies that the P.A.C., as an important

member of the National Liberation Movement in Azania. intends to

pursue after being given or after assuming political hegemony or

leadership in the country.

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FUNDAMENTAL F'F:ECEDENT

CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCEPTUALISATION

. we have already stated that F'.A.C. is. an Important member of the

African Liberation Movement in Azania. The strengths and the

weaknesses of the P.A.C. with respect to the attainment of a true

liberation of the African people have to be understood within the

context of the African Liberation Movement as a whole, the

strength and weakness of the oppressive European settler South

African State, and the internal capacity possibilities of F.A.C.

as an organisation.

A political party or organisation or movement can only conceive

of developing an economic policy if it can control the

Government. the executive hand of the State. and the State

itself. Our conceptualisation of the State is that. of an active

role of relative autonomy subject to the interest of prevailing

economic forces and other societal forces. We do not, therefore,

take a pure Instrumentalist view of the state. This view

conceptualises the State as a tool of a dominant economic class.

. Here the state has no power of end by itself, but that of the

dominant economic class for which it is a tool. At the same time

we do not share the pure liberal position that conceptualises the

. State " as a neutral arbiter of social conflict" (David

L Yudelman, 1984). The state is also not being conceived as being

. totally autonomous. The State can, depending on the composition

of the economic and political forces, play an important economic

and political role contrary or in support of the economic base.

The degree of freedom to do so: however, determined by the

relative strengths and weaknesses of the forces dominating the

economic base and those controlling the State. Three degrees of

freedom exist nevertheless.

With the Azanian situation the nature and functionality of any

economic policy by a liberation party or movement are predicated

upon the form of political change that could have taken place

before such a policy is implemented. Will this change lead to

the political power of the liberation movement or

party to enable it to formulate an actionable economic policy?

Our discussion is thus both diagnostic of the nature of change

that will take place as well as underlying the fact that the

ETTICBCx 01 any economic policy will be contingent upon the nature of the change that would have taken place.

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STRATE61_FURMULATION

In discueenng economic policy we are in the realm of strategy tormulation and executlon. In the discu5510n of any strategy the following steps are necessar :-

1. The specxflcatxon of the typclal form the political economy oi the new State and society should take. '
2. Envxrohmental analysis that helps to validate or invalidate the statement of aspirations and ideological values #upresenteu by the specifacatxon oi the preferred polltlcal economy OT the new state and society.
3. Strengths and weaknesses analysis of the proponent movement or organlsatxon. This is done in relation to the currently dominating forces.
4. The development of feasible but challenging objectives.
5. The formulation of requisite strategies, polncxes, procedures and rules. . '
6. The creation of requisite institutional forms to execute the strateglc programmes for the attainment 04 the preferred goals and ultzmatly to bring about the idealised politlcal economy.

We shall, therefore, discuss our topic within the above anchore concepts oi strategy formulation and implementation.

IHE P.A.C.s MISSION POSITION

The P.A.C. stands for a political order and economy that wall represent the economic and political interests of all Africans ln Qzania within the definition of an African which is based on loyalty to Africa and Azania, personal and recognition by others as being an African and being ready to live and partlcipate in socno-politxco-economic processes under the African majority deciSJDn parameters. The production and dietribution relations within this political economy must be non-exploitatgve. No member, group, or section of the society eould subjects other members, groups or sectlons of the socxety to economic exploitation and political oppression. The resources of the country, as democratic rights, belong to the horn and unborn members at the freed society. These resources will be used to enhance the quality of life for all at different periods in 6%; future.

Since the quality of life of a nation, of a people, is determzhed by the quantity and quality of goods and servlces (including cultural servxces) produced and distributed in the society, the used of national and state resources shall be developmental. accumulative, reproductive. restorative and equi-beneficial. The economit goals. strategies and policxes of the P.A.C. will be legitxmated by the efficacy with whxch they are capable OT attalning the MISSION POSITION of the party or at least their capacity to achieve the MISSION as approximately as possible subject to prevailing constraints societally and globally.

ENVIRONMENTAL ANQLYSIS

Under enVIronmvntul analyb)& we shall dlLCUSb the tharacternetxcs of the South African economy (thereby its strengths and

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weaLneese; , the possnble outcomes of a negotiated politxcal settlement and the typcal chaFacteristbcs of the polxtncal economy of the country.

The Characteristics of the South Afrlcan Econom'

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The South Afrzcan ernnomv ls capitaliutlc and is dumlnated by local private and state captal and by amperiellsm takang the form oi equxty ownersth of productxve fxrms and the provision of fxnanCial captal to the prlvate and state corporatxons. Since about 1984 the South Afrzcan capitalist economv has been experiencng crises. The capitalist industrles ln occupied Hzanxa have playea a major role in bringing about thexr own demise. Thexr uncertainty absorbtion or reductxon strategies to ensure continued profitability have led tko oligopolism and generally monopoly capitalist structures. These xEBhdlti6nE have been generally brought about through take-overs and mergers, both horizontally and vertically. Dligopolistic competition has for all practical purposes replaced a atomistic competxtion in occupied Azania. The State has alga not been a spectator in thxs concentrationist thrust. - As part of the Boer strategy to use their political control of the state for the advancement of the Boer Volt, in competxtxon against Anglo-American-Jewish capital and as a reactxon aoaxnst trade and military embargoes, the Boer controlled government has created its Own stateeoligupoly-monopoly sector.

Under ollgopollstlc market structures prices cease to play the function of balancxng supply Tend demand. Prlcee remain either relatively fixed or have an ever increasxng bias. The olngopollstlc sectors of economy would normally show faxed or rlsing prices even in periods of recession; this leads the economy to stagflationary crisis. In the face of declxnng demand, output is restricted (leading to low capacity utillsation) and prices continue to rise further dampening the rise oi effectiVET demand. Such conditions lead to low or no capital, investment and loss of jobs by workers. To maintain protitability the rate of exploitation for those retaining thexr jobs'is increased via the so-called higher productivity schemes and rationalisation programmes.

What is lmportant to note is that an economy domlnated by olngopolistic market structures lacks built-in mechanisms to put the economy on a better track again. The actions of the olxgopolists merely deepen the crisis. The polnt we are making here is that a perfect market economy does not exist an occupied Azania. Growth possibilities in this economy will depend on xnterventions by external forces: the State or new investment thrust.

The second major characteristics Ol the South hfrxcan ecovomy 15 its orientetlon to serve a manorxty Of the population. It has developed without and in spite of the majority of the hfrxcan people. The etonomy has grown, but not developed. The :implzcations of thne characteristlc are as follows:

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- (a) The African people lack the skills that are requxred to run t he ec onomy
 - (b) The bulk of the African people are either unemployed or underemployed or poorly remunerated, thus reoucung the sate of the domestic market. By the 19705 the European settler market has been relatively saturated.
 - (c) As currently structured and operated the South Afrncan economy is inre zble o4 meeting the neees of all the members

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 Airlcan economy reli
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 control.
 platinum,
 Iona) markets have
 The manufacturing sector grew at
 part of an Import-substituting strategy and was provxded ;
 with heavy protection by the State Since 1925. The recentle E
 Jmposed Import restrxctions have increased the cost at i
 capital nonds and materaals by abnut 501 tompared to what 5
 Other competxtors pay. L
 ?. The South Afrlcan economy depends on the economies of the j
 capitalist west. on the exportation of t ' f
 Intermedlate commodities such as coal. iron. steel '
 copper and the agrlcultural goods. Its mayor
 technology and capital goods are Imported.
 4. Foreign debt capital has been '
 Investment capital
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 (printipals and A
 to 192 of the countrys totrl exports in F
 1987. This made S.A. e indebtedness to be typical of the 5
 Third World 5 position. '
 For the- year ending 1988, international
 bllllxon of South
 nfrzcats US\$
 remainder
 bank! held uss 14,9 1
 21.2 billion debt. The' ?
 companies,
 . October 13
 Instxtutaons, and
 a. 1989). The distribution as (a
 who 15 owed what WdS as follows:
 U.K. 27.67
 U.5. 16.92
 France 13.72
 West Germany 3,12
 Swatzerland 11.42 ' '
 Japan

Other countries 8,57

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q. The level of the

influenced by net

capital outflow

debt servicing. Gold

billions at the end of

Monitor had this to

lowered by gold and

2.8 in 1987, 1.4 for the

country's gold

not associated with

and foreign reserves were R5,37

in October 1989. The Old Mutual

says: "the number of

foreign exchange fell from an average

in the first nine months of 1989.

foreign

Economic

monthly imports

This is

the lowest in the 29 year period commencing 1960" (F.M.

October 1989). . .

5. For the last two years the average growth of the South

African economy has been around a

30 per cent and the

is reported that

about 2.5 per cent,

the per cent. The

rate of urbanization

increasing by over 1.

It is estimated that

need, by year

manufacturing sector the

job now cost about HJBo 000 (The Citizen

in 1990). About 51 per cent of adult

population is reported to be illiterate according to

Dr. Hoimeyer of University of South Africa

(Sowetan January 18, 1990).

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2 000.: R50 billion. And in the

the creation of a new

The Possible Outcomes of a New

the new

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It should be mentioned at the outset that the need to reach a

// "political settlement"

as not to liberate Africans but to

liberate the European settlers and

their State from serious

problems. Unless some political settlement is reached

the standard of living

will seriously

the interest in

threatened; the

the political settlements

the European settlers and their imperialist friends are likely to

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Negotiated political settlement is bound to

fit to the bulk of the African people in the

is threatened;

of foreign financial and

country.

The negotiated political

entrenched economic

to co-opt the African

system

settlement is

interest of the European . .

n petty bourgeoisie and e ' ' lztes to the 5lde of . the "system" or the "new" state. In the negotiating table ; Afrzcan are going to be divided into: main polltncal L organisations (P.A.C., A.N.C., B.C.M., AZAPD. etc.), the _ Bantustan leaders, leaders of civic organisation, 'and possibly 3' ' the Trade Union Federations. The A.N.C. may Jncorporate U.D.F. 3 and M.D.M. By decree these entities will be made to represent P some political opinion supposedly different from others. Neither will refuse this position. It will also be the white liberals to operate both thhin the (in organic terms) and within the U.D.F _ This wzll lead them to ' negotiatzng table. 'the scale either in _ favour of A.N.C. It should be remembered thhout economlc power vza the redistributio natxonal economxc resources to the African h and restoration of people will be

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meaningless. This is where the _R.N.C. will Vdiscover that the European settlers. be they liberals, Communists or Conservatives will not be ready to part with acquired economic resources and privileges. irrespective of their political rhetorics. The African liberation movement will not be allowed. through diVide and 'rule tactice, even to eifectively control the government. let alone the State; ' The European settlers will protect their economic interest, if need be. with their army and the police force which will remain intact and on the Sioe oi the European settlers where they belong after all.

The economy oi the country is in such a mess that African rulers during the so-Called post-Apartheid South Africad,8tate, will find it very di#ficult to handle. This time they shall be held responsible. This reaHiy was even expressed by the head of the Anglo-Amerricah econohic empire, Mr. Gavin Relly. The FinanCial Mail of July 21, 1989 reports on Rellyls statement as follows:-

"The total abolition of apartheid will not in ItSElt prove a cure - all for our economic malaise. The dangerous rate of population growth; the entrenchment of racial elites. particularly in rural areas; the sheer cost of redressing historical imbalances of privilege - these problems are common to "developing" countries and will endure beyond the moment 0% political accord. Added to the mounting costs of redressing historical inequalities, and the persuasive power pressure groups on the Treasury, there remains the problem of 5.9.ls international debt - which means that we "remain bound to' repay capital on a scale that makes a mockery of the internationax communityis claim to have the welfare okf Africa at heart, and its aim to bring about a material and sustained improvement in living standards."

ETRENGTHS AND WEAFNESSES ANALYSIS

Having gone through baSlC environmental analysis we are gonng to merely highlight strengths and the weaknesses of the Liberation Movement in general and P.A.C. within that movement. we shall start with the weaknesses.

weaknessqg

1. The liberation movement has failed to overthrow the South African State through revolutionary MEans. The military force of the State is intact and is there to protect the political and economic interests of the European settlers.

2. The liberation movement does not have a strong military presence either in South Africa or in the neighbouring States to promote and protect the interest of the Atricans: especially their economic interest.

Q. There are a number of constraints that face the liberation movement with respect to ownership 0% the economy and the management of the economy and its industries. We shall list a Tew of such constraints.- '

1. weaknesses of the African Constituents

The liberation movement and its .Africah constituency lack the necessary technical, professional and managerial hhow-how to run the economy of the country.

11. Ownership of Ecggpmiq_gggets

The African people have no land to talk about and it is reported that ericans own about 5% 04 the countryls

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Q CDhBSJVE African VDLCE and movement for the sole interest of the african people is lacking due to years of suppresseo political activities and the invasion of the African political movement by European settler lileFals of all shapes. The fighting and political capacity of the African people has not been appropriately mobilised.

The nfriEan states are tired of "waging war" with South Africa. The increasing African indebtedness to international Financial capital makes the continent an unreliable long-term ally to the struggling Rfrican.people in occupied Azania. The former allies of the African liberation movement are faced with their own domestic problems as well as their own regional and global interest. The african liberation struggle has been taken out of their agenda and priorities.

The liberation movement has, in the past, excelled in squandering revolutionary opportunities. Reliance on external m15510ns ef the liberation involvement has undermined local initiatives by the Azenian people to liberate themselves. The external missions have used the African people in Azania as their instruments, principally for international publicity. . The development of local political leadership has been dwarfed or has always been made to depend on ratification er blessing by and of the leadership in the external missions.

The African workers have tended to appendix their political struggle to the traditional political liberation organisations. Their politics. have not stand on its own right and, thus, in politicel-terms their fortunes stand or fall with the fortunes of the nationalist political organisations.

The strengths of the African liberation movement can be given as u:

The capacity of the economy of South Rfrica and the limited logical outcomes of the negotiated political accord are going to mobilise the African people at a level unheard of before. The old political leadership of the African Liberation movement is, by and large, going to die with the abortive negotiated political settlement. In fact both the de Klerk's government and the leadership of the African liberation movement will face the same demise.

As a result of the process leadlng to political negotiations and the outcomes of such negotiations the political struggle is going tor be hume-based and directed. The full revelutienery'cepecity of the African people in Azania is going to be realised as a result of the limited outcomes of the political settlement.

It is going to be very difficult for the South African government tn reverse the steps it has taken, no matter how limited these are. The South African Government has only one direction to move to give in as much as possible. This, of course, will depend on how the African people will be mobilised end the degree of political opportunism to be exhibited by the African political leadership.

The Bantustan political experiments are crumbling and the ruling petty bourgeoisie and bureaucrats are not geing to survlve the workers and peasant uprisings which is likely to be supported by some segments of the security forces.

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— .. In all, the past cannot be re-made. The political situation
" 1 x has possibilities for all, in a .manner that is new in the
hietoru of occupied Azaniati The liberation movement is
I going to be a beneficiary to this situation.
Any action by an armed rightist European settler community
3 against the nfrican people will be met with the highest
3 revolutionary might of the African people. It will be the
most revolutionizing action on the part of the African
people.

5. The africah workers have become highly mobilised
politically. This is att a level unknown in pre-
independence Rfrica. ' '

. The most important thing to "consider, with reepect to the
g e political dispensations taking p ace in occupied Azania, is that
whatever will be the outcome of a negotiated political accord the
Africans sooner or later will be the benefiCieries. The quality
of such benefits will, of course, depend on the political skills
of the leadership of the African liberation movement.

THE ECONOMIC POLICY

. in discussing the P.9.C. political and economic Hissionk we have
already said that, according to this political organisation, the
use of natural and States resources should be developmental,
accumulative, reproductive, restorative and equi-benehicial. The
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African economic interest must move to ascendindkin he country
as soon as pDSSible.

The economic policg of the P.A.CJ is going to be corrective of
economic injustices as well as being developmental. we should
remember the following constraining factors: because of its
relationship with international capital as well as dependence on
gold the economy of the country can be effectively destroyed by
hnstik.imperialist forces; the African liberation movement does
not have an army to protect and promote economic policies that
will be considered highly unacceptable to local and internatiqqgie
capital; we still face the danger of being manipulated to r J
i into tribalism or regionalism or provisielism; we need an
i opportunity to develop our skills to effectively run the economy,
2 etc.

we should also be aware'that due to eligupolistic structures of
, the economy the market forces are incapable, on their own, to
3 bring about economic gcunditions a5 spelt out by the P.A.C.'s
7 political and economic MISSION. Entrenched privileges cannot be
. removed nr unearthed by pure capitalist market forces. The
i built-in. economic, political, technical, professional and
I managerial imbalances between the European settlers and Rfrican
; indigenous people make mockery of any reliance on 3 so-called
competitive market economy. There can be no competition between
the strong and.the weak. Under capitalism the flow of economic
resources is in the direction of the economically stronger
segment of the society. The Boers in the early history of the
country understood this very well. They gained the political
control of the State and organised their economic activities
guided by Rfricaner nationalism supported by the State. Pure
; market forces would not have brought Boers where they are now
i with respect to capital accumulation and in relation to the
Angln-Americen capital.

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aeete. Africans lack both
productive capital.

111. Backlog 1
money - capital and
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' the country

as owners rather than wage/salary employees.

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It is estimated that African business undertakings
contribute less than 1% to the Gross Domestic Product
of the country (NAFLOC Conference Report. 1987).

(b) Entrepreneur.

A small business consultant estimated that in 1987.

only 22 of the African population
(small Business Consultant, 1987)

(c) Directors

Only 0.52 of the companies listed on the Johannesburg
Stock Exchange have "black" directors (NAFCUC. 1987).

(d) Business Graduates

In 1985. Africans constituted 3.72 of graduates in
Business, Commerce and Management Science diplomas and
degrees awarded by 16 universities and
(African Law Review, Vol. 1 No.2. May 1987)

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The legal constraints to African participation and
ownership of economic wealth have been numerous and
have been represented by different general and specific
legal instruments. The following are but examples and
are not exhaustive:-

(a) Black Administration Act of 1927

(b) Group Areas Act

(c) The Community Development Act of 1966

(d) Influx control

(e) Land ownership by Africans

(f) Land Use Regulations

(g) Machinery and Occupational Safety Act of 1983.

are entrepreneurs

the country

The typical Operational forms that legal constraints
have taken against the African people include:--

(a) restrictions with respect to the type of business
that can be undertaken by Africans;

(b) places where business undertakings can be operated;

(c) the type of people that can be employed (racial
lines) and the type of products that can be produced by
Africans:

(d)

(e) sources of Finance, the right: with
business sites, etc.

Other constraints included restrictions imposed by
white local authorities such as those imposed against
African hawkers; the use of African local authorities.
considered as puppets of the system by Africans. to
process business licence applications from
entrepreneurs: levies by regional
accompanied by bureaucratic red tape.

African

services councils

The control of the State is not going to pass to the
liberation movement through negotiated political accord. To
a greater degree. it is the government that the liberation
movement is likely to have relative influence
operations.

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In spelling out the salient attributes of the P.R.C. economic policy we shall stay off then would like as well as emotive jargon. Even the weaknesses of the African liberation movement discussed above, and given the characteristics of the South African economy, the P.R.C.'s economic policy is /should be as follows:-

1.

The effective localisation of the ownership of the economic resources of the country and as much as possible, and as soon as possible, in order to minimise the role of international financial capital in the economy of the country.

There will be need for the active participation of the state in the economic activities of the country. In its economic activities the State will aim at achieving the following:-

(a) the redistribution of economic wealth in favour of the indigenous African people;

(b) to start new, economic activities meeting the P.A.C. political and economic Mission discussed earlier on;

(c) to act as a countervailing force against entrenched capitalist and market forces that act contrary to the P.R.C.'s political and economic-MISSION.

(d) to effectively promote and protect the fast increasing ownership of the economy by the indigenous African people; Ind

(e) to control and command natural and economic resources that are key to the achievements of the P.R.C.'s political and economic Mission; A

(f) the relocation and location of industrial economic activities for the benefit of all the regions of the country.

The massive promotion of business firms that will be owned-individually and as well as co-operatives by the indigenous African people. The P.A.C. does not wish to promote an illusion that the State can, alone, develop the economy of "the country or start new economic organisations.

To promote the acquisition of managerial technical and professional skills by the African people through the following avenues:-

(a) owning and running own-business units;

(b) provision of training and development services;

(c) ensuring the promotion of Africans to managerial positions in all the sectors of economy.,

The de-commodification of the Land. Land to be redistributed for use by all Azanians. The size of each unit will be determined by the intended use of that unit; the degree of prevailing landlessness for use by the citizens of the country; the need to achieve economies in the use of the land; the need for environmental protection or reversal of environmental degradation; the needs of the future generations, etc. Compensation to those whose land will be taken shall be guided by added invested capital and the payment will be in the form of interest-bearing Government bonds.

Further privatisation of economic units owned and run by the existing state shall not be encouraged unless it will be expansive of the P.R.C.'s political and economic MISSION.

A lean civil service establishment will be preferred subject to the demands arising from the political and economic role of the State.

The State corporations will, subject to broad developmental and redistributive needs of the State, be run autonomously by professional managers whose rights and obligations will

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be constitutionally and legally specified and guaranteed. within the private sector firms, the workers will have the following rights which will be constitutionally and legally protected and promoted.

(a) To participate, through their representatives, in all the investment and financing decisions processes and in order to play this role effectively to have access to all relevant information;

(b) Certain percentage of the company's equity capital shall be held by workers;

(c) Through shop-floor based decision making processes workers shall, elect persons to represent them in the management team of the companies and who shall thus be managers accountable to both top management and to workers at a shop-floor level. a

(d) Workers representatives shall be members of Board of Directors.

within the State's corporations workers will have all the rights as described for the private sector companies except that of equity ownership. This will be a general position. But in some states corporation the state will not own 100 per cent of equity. The remaining equity will be owned by workers.

The State will, initially, help in the financing of part of the equity participation of the workers. A very strong and politically autonomous workers movement will be promoted. But initially, the workers movement will operate within the africanist movement to be discussed later on.

Efficiency and effectiveness in the running of the economy of the country will be highly enforced. Politics and political favours will not be allowed or tolerated to undermine these imperatives. P.A.C. stands for a highly disciplined nation with respect to the use of economic and other natural resources of the country. P.A.C. will not canvas for political favours from any segment of the society at the expense of the above imperatives. P.R.C. has no interest in ruling over starving people. If our economic policy fails to deliver the goods the P.N.C. will be ready to be removed from political power necessary in running the affairs of the State.

Decentralisation of economic activities shall be promoted through State economic activities, supported local initiatives and supported relocation of economic plants. Concentration of assets in individual firms will be discouraged and if not heeded will be legally proscribed. Self-sufficiency in food production and other basic necessities of life is an important goal.

Innovative technological development will receive massive state support. Research institutes will be given all necessary support by the nation as a whole. Researchers shall be adequately rewarded.

To support economic endeavours, well considered and executed manpower development programme will be established.

Education of school children shall emphasize technical education, science, management and administration. In addition subjects aimed at developing cultural assertiveness of the African people shall be part of the curriculum. The country will be the one of scientists and technical people not philosophers. Skilled manpower will be an honoured resource of the State and society. Teachers, lecturers and instructors will be adequately and preferentially rewarded.

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So will medical doctors, nurses and technicians. The health of the nation shall be of supreme priority.

A massive technical training and management education programme of the unemployed will be launched as soon as possible to enable such people to be employed or self-employed. The informal sector will be promoted up to a level. To act as a countervailing force against monopolies and the exploitative activities of oligopolists, and monopolists, and in the state corporations a strong consumer movement will be mobilised and supported by legal instruments. Consumers will have a right to take effective action against a company charging exploitative prices for shoddy products or services and failing to locate its distribution outlets at a convenient place for consumers. Small enterprises and co-operatives will be required to form purchasing co-operatives as well as marketing units in order to improve their bargaining positions against oligopolistic sellers and buyers.

Adult education programmes will be launched to declare war against illiteracy, ignorance, and disease.

Every African family will be properly, and with dignity, housed.

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The organisation and the leadership of the African people for economic emancipation or for meaningful political power acquisition can either be under workers (proletariat) movement or a nationalist movement. There are, however, certain weaknesses of each of these mobilisation areas or agencies. The workers movement at the present moment might be divisive of the African people on ideological grounds. The level of political, technical and managerial development of workers is not necessarily above that of other segments of the African nation. The leadership of the African workers still owes allegiance to the nationalist leaders. The Africanist and nationalistic movement might dwarf the development of a radical workers movement. The petty bourgeois group within the nationalist movement might exhibit its typical vacillation at the expense of P.R.C. political and economic MISSION spelt out earlier on in this paper. The petty bourgeois might be co-opted by the European settler capitalists against the interest of the African people as a whole and the African producers of wealth and civilisation. The P.A.C. recognises and accepts the potential leadership role of the working class. With such weaknesses as discussed above what is the P.A.C.'s choice?

For the next five (5) to ten (10) years an Africanist and nationalist movement is considered the best vehicle for the implementation of the Economic Policy of the P.R.C. During this period the working class and revolutionary intellectuals will be expected to develop their political and ideological ascendancy both within the nationalist movement and the country as a whole. To the Africanist national movement the representative organisations or sub-movements will be affiliated, thereby, constituting the national movement as a whole.

These representative movements or sub-movements will include:-

(a) The workers movement

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(b) The peasants movement

(c) The antirprhnwurs movement including the cnaoperntivn movement

(d) The various plUfHHlenBl movements SUCH as decuurs, lawyers, accountants, management, engineers, selentists, architects, teachers, nurses, etc.

(a) Thn hnnmlmnr mnvnmnt

(f) The youth movement

(9') The Church movement. and

(h) The Unmens movement.

It is a considered postium ef the P.R.C. that an Africanist national movement will be an important vehicle to mobilise the material and intellectual energies of the African people with less initial emphasxs of class differentiation. The P.n.E. government will, accordingly, work closely with this umbrella mnvumnt to achieve its economic poliCiee. Such a movement will gulde against the manipulation of the African people into regional, provincial and tribal interest groups; it will work against the disruptive effect of antagonistic class conflicts among the Rfrican people. The P.R.C. recognises the fact that the current European settler capitalist workers and pettg bourgeoisie, whether in the right, centre or left 'of the political spectrum will form themselves into a solid blue to protect their economic privileges and to undermine whatever political gains the Africans would have made. The africanist national movement will represent but a step in the long Journeq of the African people to achieve political and economic control of their country with the workers finally playing their deciSive role to end economic exploitation for all times. The africanist national movement is not an end in itself. It takes into account the current weaknesses of the'efrican liberation movement; the strengths and weaknesses of the European settlers; the characteristics of the South African economy and general political economy; the position of the South African economy within the international division of labour; the strengths and weaknesses of the African working class, etc.

' CONCLUSION

In cenCIUSiDn, it is useful to remember that the South African economy is in bad shape and has weak structural Characteristics. we should also be aware of the weaknesses of the liberation movement and the fact that negotiations are essentially there to bail out the beleaguered South Rfrican regime, and to pre-empt whatever successses that the Rfrican liberation mvovement is likely to achieve. "Successful" political negotiations will enlg provide minimum opportunity for the African liberation movement to continue to struggle for true political and economic independence. It does also appear that the negotiation stage 15 unavoidable. what is important is not to make the African people t6 have too much expectations out of it. But to make them aware that whatever positive outcomes that can be scrapped out of these negotiations should be scrapped, but onlg as means for further struggling.

The economic policies of the P.R.C. have to be constructed within the above realities. Furthermore, the execution of these poliCies will require a very strong Africanist national movement and a relative high control of Government and the State. This is

what de Klerk and others would like to
mobilisatlun should, therefore aim
haVJng an effective c
national moyement that will work with the Government to promote
3 ' First of all the african politicaj and economxc advancement. we
5 are 90lng L0 be manlpulated
along reglonal, tribal and other
linguistic heels. we should never consider ourselves
these lines.
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to be non-
tgpes will
Luptive role wlthzn
_ liberation struggle. The opportunitg
represented by the unbannng of the polltlcal organlsations
should be effectlvaly and tlmely utilised. Thls opportunity is
not QDJng to be there for a long tme.
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