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FIGHT BANTUSTANS AND BANTUSTAN 'INDEPENDENCE' BOTH FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT

A REAPPRAISAL OF OUR POLICY

The policy of transforming the Reserve system into a group of tribal states is being pursued by the ruling class with greater vigour than ever before. Already two so-called independent administrations have been established in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, and a third is being planned for Venda by 1979. Pressure is increasing to move the seven remaining tribal administrations towards 'independence'. A recent Act of the South African racist Parliament provides a special 'prior to independence' stage for these administrations, in which each can be declared an 'Internally Autonomous Country' with full legislative power over all internal matters, subject to an absolute veto by the racist regime.

BALKANISATION CONTINUES

By 1976 almost half the African people (9.1 million) had been squeezed into the ten Bantustan backyards; these, when finally consolidated, will be thirty-six separate pieces of land covering thirteen per cent of our country's land area. Vorster is on record as saying that all Bantustans, with the exception only of Kwazulu, will be 'independent' by 1983.

The general position of our Party on the question of the Bantustans has been clearly stated. In a number of previous statements ("Unity is the Key" AC First quarter 1973, "South Africa - a Time of Challenge" AC First quarter 1974, "Defeat Vorster and his Collaborators" AC First quarter 1976, "The Way Forward from Soweto" AC Third quarter 1977) our Central Committee has analysed the internal and external factors behind the regime's drive to balkanise South Africa, and so-gain acceptance for its own version of an "internal settlement". This "Internal settlement" seeks not only to confirm the racist minority once and for all, in ^{its}claim to the exclusive right to live and control the means of

production and wealth in 87 per cent of our country's land area, but also to institutionalise the Reserves into permanently dependent, satellite cheap-labour encampments serving the changing needs of South Africa's ruling class.

Consequences for the People

The consequences of this policy are affecting the lives of every African man, woman or child in the urban and rural areas. Mass removals have already been imposed on two million people. Already over 9 million people have been crowded into "homelands"; their basic food requirements, according to a recent government admission, can only be met if agricultural production rises by 1000%. (Star 26 July 1977) Unemployment and underemployment in these areas already runs into millions, while pass law depotations from the "white areas" continue to rise. Legal rights of blacks to work and live in the urban areas have been drastically narrowed, most recently by a law declaring that children born to urban citizens of the so-called homelands (and by law every African is such a citizen) are no longer entitled to urban residence. From the moment "independence" is proclaimed every person who is connected with the homeland by language, culture or descent, automatically loses his South African citizenship, and becomes a "foreigner". This is already the fate of over 3 million Xhosa and Tswana, living, working and most of them born outside the Transkei or Bophuthatswana.

Steps to 'whiten' the so-called white areas continue by various means. By 1976 the proportion of Africans living in the 'white' areas was down to just over 50% from 62% in 1960 (F.N. 17/2/78). People are resettled, boundaries are re-drawn, and the subjection of African people to Bantustan control is extended even in the so-called white areas. The pre-condition for an African to remain in the 'white' urban areas is that he must regard the 'homeland' as his true home and the only place in which to satisfy his or her political aspirations (official statements reported in SAIRR, 1977 pp 378/9). This monstrous historical swindle is being presented to the world by the South African regime as its own contribution to "decolonisation". But its real purpose is crystal clear.

Bantustans Serve the Changing needs of Capitalist exploitation

In our statement four years ago, "South Africa - a Time of Challenge", we pointed out that:

"Like any other ideology, apartheid is an expression of a class political policy. It reflects the interests of capitalist rule, and we must be especially on our guard to separate the rhetoric from the substance. There were no doubt a few in the enemy camp who genuinely dreamt of achieving a 'white' economy in the 'white' state, eventually free of its dependence on black labour. But the real driving force of apartheid is economic. The capitalist class is ever seeking to intensify exploitation and at the same time to keep the black workers in check. As the character of the African working class has changed so new mechanics had to be sought to maintain the cheap labour system. Apartheid in this sense was a continuation of, and a break with the past. Its primary objective was to strengthen and perpetuate the policy of white domination over the whole of South Africa. It contained a special flavour because changes in the economic structure demanded new mechanisms to further this aim."

It is in this context that we must understand current moves around the Bantustan question. With regard to the economy, the implementation of the Bantustan programme means the intensification of the exploitation of the African people. It aims at and results in our increased subjection to the domination of capital, which is ever in search of new ways to perpetuate and intensify its hegemony. || The Reserve system imposed by the foreign conquest to help maintain the colonial status of the African people had outlived its usefulness in its old forms. The capacity of the reserves to reproduce cheap labour power within the traditional subsistence economy was diminishing. The myth that the reserves constituted separate "homelands" was not preventing the steady breakdown of tribal barriers and traditionalism, nor the corresponding growth of an African national consciousness. Especially in the towns, a large black working class developed with a continually growing national and class awareness. This working class increasingly separated from the Reserves both physically and culturally, was emerging as a formidable force in the struggle for the total destruction of racist power throughout our land. || Externally the successful sweep of post-war liberation struggles in many countries, the decolonisation process in Africa and new world forces were giving rise to increasing pressures against South Africa's crudely obvious form of race rule.

Our ruling class sensed correctly that the struggle for ~~the~~ people's power in our country was entering a phase in which the state faced a growing assault from the liberation movement, with a strategy combining national political mobilisation with people's armed force. It is to meet its economic strategy ^{and to} contain the assault from the liberation movement that the ruling class is pursuing its Bantustan policy with such urgency.

Black Collaboration

There is no way in which the regime can implement such schemes without the collusion or collaboration of some Bantustan leaders. Those who have finally sold their people's birthright by accepting 'independence' in their puppet neo-colonial states have taken this step in the full knowledge of its implications. On July 1, 1977 Mangope stated that he was not prepared to negotiate his own people's inevitable destruction, and accused the South African government of "trying to trick us into an independence which smelled of fraud and disgrace.... an independence which will only cater for certain white people's evil dreams of continued Baaskap, privilege and discrimination" (RDM, 2nd July 1977). Yet, only 6 months later on the 6th of December 1977, with a corrupt cynicism he accepted the mantle of office as head of a "state" which consists of 6 separate islands of land, which all the 2 million Tswana in and out of this Bantustan are now forced to regard as their only "home". Both Mangope and Matanzima in voluntarily accepting the deal with Vorster, thus confirmed the notorious 1936 Land Act "boundaries" for the African people; they accepted that people of Xhosa and Tswana origin be stripped of their South African citizenship; and they accepted written agreements for the continuation of the pass laws and other discriminatory legislation for "their" people in the white South Africa.

Those who have been ^{the} ~~its~~ main instruments of this betrayal (like Matanzima and Mangope) justify themselves with the claim that they remain dedicated to a united South Africa based on equality; they suggest that the Bantustans, in the words of Matanzima, give people "a meaningful share of political power" which must precede the "larger aim". ^{PS}

That there is in truth no larger aim, emerges from his declaration that "the separation of races is here to stay" (RDM 14th April 1973); and from the 1977 Transkei Public Security Act which makes it a crime punishable by death for anyone to spread the view that Transkei should be part of a united South

Africa, or for anyone to "harbour or help terrorists". In any case, the idea that the political fragmentation of South Africa could be useful interim phase in the struggle for a united South Africa, is a dangerous illusion. As we said in our 1974 political report:

"the white regime with its 300 years of experience of manipulating black administrations will not so easily be outwitted in a Bantustan-type political x game whose rules it controls. The package which it is offering is on balance, overwhelmingly to its advantage and the actual record of the Bantustan administrations shows this."

Even dramatic manoeuvres like the recent break in diplomatic relations between the Transkei and South Africa, do not deter the racist regime from moving helter-skelter towards the "independence" of the remaining 8 Reserves. Break in relations or not, Matanzima and Mangope still have to go cap in hand to the racist treasury which donates over 80% of their country's budgets, to pay their own and their ministers salaries.

Dangers for the Liberation Struggle

Recently, the Minister of Plural Relations, Connie Mulder, unambiguously spelt out the aim of the government's Bantustan policy to move with the greatest possible speed to bring about a situation in which there "would be no black South Africans". We believe that this is no idle boast. Without an effective strategy to defeat the present process, new historical realities will mature which will stand in the way of the fight for people's power in one united non-racial South Africa. There is the danger that continued balkanisation of our land will negate the most important achievements of the liberation movement, the creation of a common African national consciousness, as the basis for building a true South African national consciousness. The regime wants to erode the concept of one African people as we know it. It hopes that in its place there will develop ethnic, as opposed to national, patriotism based on tribal mini-states.

The existence of independent tribal entities contributed greatly to the first foreign conquest of our land. Now it is seen as the main instrument of the second and final conquest by the very same forces. People are not immune to tribal seduction. Even within the ranks of modern revolutionary movements, including our own, strands of backward tribal ideology occasionally show themselves, and are exploited by careerists and opportunists. It would

clearly be naive to believe that our people cannot be misled or manipulated by tribalist enemies concealed under the same skin colour, language, family ties or tribal markings as their own; and especially when these disguised enemies have been given real powers to administer and control the daily lives of "their" people, including their job opportunities, education, propaganda media, and so on.

It would be folly to ignore the danger signs. It is already clear that the seeds of the Bantustan process are beginning to sprout in a number of areas:

- a) There are much publicised Bantustan "land disputes" designed to bring about some modification or variation of the boundaries set by the 1936 Land Act; the disputants base themselves on the racist "homeland" theory that their people have a right only to that part of the land into which their tribe was squeezed by armed conquest in year gone by. The dispute in connection with East Griqualand and Umzikulu is not only against Vorster but involves mobilisation of the Xhosa and Zulu people against one another. In Boputhatswana conflict leading to many deaths has developed among the south Sotho minority, some of whom claim their "natural homeland" to be in Qwaqwa and not in Bophuthatswana. In the Hamaanskraal district three tribes have succeeded in their demand to join the newly formed Ndebele territorial authority. The Transkei disputes with Lesotho for authority over the Matatiele region. There are border disputes between Lebowa and Gazankulu. All this is the measure of what the ruling class has already achieved in its strategy of transforming African Claims into Tribal Claims - national unity into tribal rivalry.
- b) The old Reserve system failed to prevent the emergence in the towns of an ever-growing and stable black working class, which was clearly becoming the leading force in the liberation struggle. But Bantustan policy is threatening to undermine this process with dangerous implications for our revolutionary perspectives. The regime is moving to create a working class with the right to live and work in the urban areas only as an individual privilege which does not extend to their children; a class of itinerant "foreign" labourers whose fate is arbitrated between Vorster and the authorities of those "independent" tribal entities which have accepted influx control laws. Such a working class will increasingly be forced to compete for jobs and for the "privilege" of living in South Africa ~~being forced~~^{and} to use the "good offices"

and the influence of the homelands authorities like embassies for foreigners abroad. Class and revolutionary national consciousness and the capacity to organise and act collectively ~~will undoubtedly be~~ ^{stand in danger of being} weakened. The most important foundations which makes the proletariat the most potent force for social change - its concentration as a permanent stable collective force at the point of production, will be ~~weakened~~ ^{undermined.} *

- c) In our last statement ("The Way Forward from Soweto") we dealt in some detail with the role of the black middle strata as an important sector in the alliance of class forces in our national democratic revolution. We noted that it is from these strata that the ruling class seeks support and collaborators in opposition to the revolutionary policies of our liberation movement. "Independent" Bantustans lure them with rich perks of political office and with new business opportunities not available to blacks in "white" South Africa. This is designed to neutralise and win them over to accept the main essentials of racist domination in exchange for "independence" in the tribal areas. **
- d) The move towards independent Bantustans also threatens to undo another major achievement of our national liberation movement - the unity of the black oppressed, African, Indian and Coloured. The fragmentation process aims to transform all africans into tribal aliens; if that aim succeeds the Coloured and Indian people will become isolated minorities in a sea of white power, less able to fight back against their own oppression and thus more easily bludgeoned into accepting the kind of fraudulent constitutional arrangements which the government is now preparing for them.

* According to government figures 3,460,067 Africans were registered in employment under the Bantu Labour Act as at 30th June 1976. It has been estimated that already 1,490,000 African men (43%) and 260,000 women in registered employment are migrant workers. These figures include 382,848 Africans from the surrounding supplier states. The number of commuters (i.e. those who travel to work outside the homelands on a daily basis) has increased from 291,000 in 1970 to 634,000 in 1976 (Sources in SAIRR 1977, page 223). Between 1968 and 1975, 171,000 Africans were moved from 'white' urban areas to the Bantustans (Financial Mail 17 Feb. 1978.).

** For example the Matanzima brothers have already occupied extensive farming areas (belonging to the Bantu Trust) rent-free and were in the process of handing over another area to their Minister of Finance, Mr. Letlaka, the one-time PAC leader (Sunday Times 24th July 1977). 151 Africans controlled companies have been granted prospecting mining leases in the mineral rich areas of Bophuthatswana.

The Reserves and the Independent Bantustans

The kind of independence which is now being forced on the people does not give them the right to exercise real popular sovereignty over their lives. Basically, South Africa remains what it was - a racist/capitalist state, structured politically on a special type of internal colonialism; the economy remains undivided, exploitation knows no internal frontiers and the Racist state apparatus remains dominant except that it now partly assumes an internal neo-colonial form. In substance, the 'independent' tribal entities will have less room to manoeuvre than the most dependent of Africa's neo-colonial regimes. // At one level, therefore, the whole Bantustan programme can be viewed as a continuation by the ruling class of the very process which led to the conquest and its aftermath; it can be seen as an attempt to adjust such previous mechanisms as the Reserve system, segregation, ethnic divisions, urban areas legislation, etc., now seen by the regime as insufficient for the perpetuation of the oppressive and exploitative system. // But at another level, however sham the independence is, it has consequences which in many vital respects differ from those which flowed from the old Reserve system. It is, therefore of great importance to grasp the qualitatively new situation which is in the process of being created by the adjustments which the ruling class have introduced and which it is swiftly implementing with all the resources at its disposal.

In this connection we note that:

- a) Urban areas legislation (beginning with the 1923 Urban Areas Act) always made black urban presence a privilege and not a right. 'Independent' homelands given added legal and administrative substance to the treatment of Africans as "temporary foreign sojourners" in the "white" towns.
- b) The Reserves always served to justify the treatment of Africans as second-class citizens with no claim to political rights in the "common area". The 'independent' Bantustan have finally deprived them and their children of even second-class status as citizens in the land of their birth and turned them into outsiders who need a passport (the Bantustan travel document) to enter any part of "white" South Africa.
- c) The Reserves were always partly run with the help of tribal leaders who became civil servants and Pretoria's instruments of indirect rule with very little real power. But, the Bantustan administrations are, in terms of the

fascist Status book, legally independent of Pretoria, vested with full legal powers to make or repeal any laws, to control the daily lives of their people, and to exercise full ^{legal} authority over the army, police and other instruments of state repression.

- d) The Reserve system always reinforced ethnic division as an aid to racist domination. However, "independent" Bantustans are formally no longer enclaves within a unitary system, but appear as tribal "States" claiming international recognition as such, working for the exclusive allegiance of all their tribes-people and using real legislative powers to blackmail them to accept a disastrous retreat from their claim to citizenship in all South Africa.

Thus although the counter-revolutionary essence of the "homelands" policy has have been emerging over a long period of time, the actual acceptance of 'independence' marks an important watershed and creates a new reality. It is urgent that our movement respond adequately to protect the future of our revolution which is threatened by the consequences of this new form of colonial divide-and-rule.

The fight against Vorster "Independence"

What should be the main aim of our movement on this question? It should be to do everything in our power to prevent further tribal fragmentation of South Africa - that is to oppose the move towards "independence" in every possible way. What are the immediate implications of this approach?

In the first place, we must aim to mobilise the mass of our people both inside and outside the Bantustans to reject the tribal 'independence' unconditionally and instead to engage in mass struggles against it and in support of the main aims of our revolutionary perspective for South Africa as a whole. In the second place, it is our duty to create the broadest possible front of all groups and organisations which genuinely oppose the 'independence' programme as a betrayal of the peoples interests, regardless of whether or not they accept every aspect of our own revolutionary strategy.

This does not mean that we should stop exposing and criticizing those who spread illusions about such questions as the prospects for peaceful change, or those who undermine attempts to extend the economic and military isolation of the racist regime. But it does imply that, on this vital question of the break up of South Africa, people such as Buthelezi who take a positive stand

on this question, must be welcomed as strengthening our broad front. Those of them who use their positions in the Bantustan administrations to mobilise their people against independence must be encouraged. We must not be reluctant to engage in dialogue with them in order to strengthen this broad front and debate our differences with them on some of the vital issues in a non-hostile manner in the full view of the masses. If we do our work effectively, the people will be the ultimate arbiters; they will come to see the dangers of misguided and reformist policies, such as call for "alternative strategies of struggle" or for imperialist investment in the Bantustans which will break down South Africa's economic isolation and encourage international recognition of the Bantustans.

Some Wrong Tendencies

As a guide to revolutionary practice we must examine some wrong tendencies which have shown themselves in the recent past; and we must pay special attention to the elaboration of new tactics for those areas where independence has already been accepted.

- a) Apart from a bald condemnation of Bantustans, and attacks on the sham nature of the independence process, we have done little to elaborate forms of people's resistance to it, especially within the Bantustans which now contain just on half of the African people. As a result, Politics in the Bantustans have remained the preserve of tribal elites in the administration, who set the pace and day-to-day policies, often against the interests of the people. This is helped by the fact that they exercise a monopoly of legal organisation within their region. Not enough has been done by us to try and establish a leading role for our national liberation movement, the starting point of which would be the elaboration of detailed guidelines for the people.⁺ Politics in the Bantustans must no longer be left as the preserve of the "traditional" leaders. We must ensure that our policy is continuously placed before the people,

⁺ We noted in our last report ("The Way Forward from Soweto") that the relatively weak response from the countryside during the Soweto upsurge reflects a low level of rural liberation organisation. Apart from at schools and the tribal universities (which in any case have a substantial portion of pupils from urban areas) the last decade has seen relatively little evidence of the type of mass resistance in the countryside which was characteristic of the early stages in the struggle against Bantu Authorities in the '50s.

through our own organised presence as an independent vanguard as well as through our participation in a broad coalition of patriotic forces. We must look for whatever opportunities there are for legal political activity, and we must find ways of engaging ourselves in this area as well.

- b) Boycott and "absolute non-collaboration" obviously have their place in the struggle against unrepresentative institutions, and the recent community council elections in Soweto has shown as effective application of these tactics. But a mechanical application of these tactics in the Bantustans can leave the field open for domination by those who are most ready to sell their people's birth-right. Administrations in the Bantustans have come to exercise real powers of the sort described above; and those who have refused to accept independence have used those powers as thorns in the side of the racist regime. Whenever the people have a voice at election time and within the existing political organisations, they should be mobilised to reject the collaborators and to encourage those who genuinely seek to use their positions for struggle against the whole Bantustan programme. The aim of our liberation movement is to strangle the Bantustan process, and to do so calls for more flexible tactics than has been the practice up to now. Participation in elections on an uncompromisingly anti-Bantustan platform can be consistent with our aims, while on the other hand a mechanical adherence to "non-participation on any account" can undermine our aim.
- c) We often fall prey to the temptation to lump all the Bantustan leaders together, or sometimes even develop a special hostility to those Bantustan leaders who dig their heels against independence and who claim to follow the lead of the ANC. It is sometimes said that they are even more dangerous than the others, even more likely to mislead the people, just because they appear to be progressive on some important questions. This is clearly an untenable position for any revolutionary movement.

If a leader becomes popular through mobilising thousands of his people against "independence" he is, whatever his intentions, generating positive revolutionary energy. The main enemy is the regime, and those collaborators who go along with its evil plans. But there is clearly a difference between a Lennox Sebe who supports "independence", grovels to the white regime by making South Africa's chief policeman General Gert Prinsloo a councillor of the Ciskei ("the highest honour that can be given to a man not a chief"), who opposes the release of our

prisoners from Robben Island, and someone like Buthelezi who describes the acceptance of independence as "an act of treachery", whose Inkatha election manifesto incorporates many of the demands of the Freedom Charter and who insists that "no part of South Africa belongs only to the whites". The leaders of Kwazulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu and QwaQwa who have so far set their faces against independence are clearly distinguishable from those who have already taken, or are about to take the final plunge towards tribal servitude. The question of whether they will persist in their positive stand does not depend only on the depth of their personal commitment to real liberation; it depends chiefly on, and will only be assured by, the organised pressure from the mass of the people.

Sharpen tactics in the Anti-Bantustan Struggle

In order to involve the masses in the struggle against fragmentation it is necessary to place concrete tasks before them and to mobilise the broadest possible front against the racist fragmentation of our land. Amongst these tasks are the following:

1. To struggle against accepting "independence" whose implications have already been dealt with above.
2. To use all means, including legal platforms in the Bantustans themselves, to ^{defeat} ~~every~~ every aspect of the regimes Bantustan policies.
3. To demand in the Bantustan the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation including those laws (the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act etc.) taken over from the Vorster regime, which illegalise our liberation movement and made it a crime to advocate its policies. Such repeal measures in the "Internally Autonomous Countries" may well be vetoed by the racist regime; but a mass struggle for their repeal by the Bantustan law-making bodies will, amongst other things, help the people to identify and expose the real opponents of liberation. It will be an act of confrontation also with the racist regime.

It is sometimes argued that to make demands on the Bantustan administrations is to recognise their legitimacy. This argument is as unsound as it would be claim that the demand for the right to strike and the recognition of African Trade Unions in South Africa generally, recognises or endorses the legitimacy of Vorster's Parliament. If demands for the repeal of repressive legislation can be enforced through the strength of the people, our cause would obviously benefit.

4. The struggle for land must be removed from the idea of "amending" the 1936 Land Act. The Act-all its boundaries - must be abolished. Claims which are based on the tribal homelands idea, even if they depart somewhat from the boundaries set in the Act, accept the division of South Africa and the historic conquest of the greater part of it by the white settlers. The struggle for land ^{must} take in the length and breadth of our whole country. Mass mobilisation, including mass acts of land occupation and of resistance to resettlement, must start on this premise, not on acceptance with revision of the racist authorities' "tribal boundaries".
5. The Bantustan administrations must be pressurised to reject unconditionally all measures which directly or indirectly deprives any African of his South African citizenship or the right to live, work or engage in business wherever he likes. Bantustan documents which are merely tribalized versions of the passes must be fought as a means to help work Vorster's Influx Control laws in "white" South Africa. The Bantustan administration must refuse to allow unwilling people to be deported to their areas, and must refuse to collaborate with the regime's resettlement programmes. We must mobilise the people against any arrangement with the regime which forces them into the tribal backyards.
6. The people must be mobilised to speak out against international recognition of the Bantustans, and against calls for "homeland" investment which evade the economic boycott of South Africa. The reformists argue for foreign investment on the grounds that "only our own people suffer if there is no investment to improve the economic conditions in the Reserves". It is the very argument used by the racist regime itself against boycott to preserve their economic structures and their capacity to resist the liberation struggle. The people can not allow the false arguments of some of the Bantustan leaders to dilute international pressures against the racist regime and its tribal creations. Indeed, it is these pressures which have already forced the regime to make retreats in the minor area of so-called petty-apartheid.
7. New bonds of struggle must be forged between all the communities in the different Reserves. Joint action and organisational cooperation cutting across tribal boundaries and engaging all the black oppressed in the urban and rural areas, must be encouraged.

8. All of what is said above applies fully to those areas, like the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, which have already opted for independence. But in their case additional factors are involved. The laws which are now in force in these territories have all been passed by their legislative organs; they have voluntarily retained a considerable body of Statutes of the Vorster Parliament. But in theory the tribal parliaments are sovereign and none of their legislation can be vetoed. They have legal control over their police and military apparatuses, even though they are in essence satellite regimes, whose existence helps to perpetuate existing relations of oppression and exploitation in the whole of South Africa. Vorster's economic and military strangelhold stands ever-ready to assert itself to ensure that these "independent" tribal administrations continue to play their allotted role in the new pattern of race domination. That is why Vorster has reacted to Transkei's recent "diplomatic" gestures as if it were the pranks of a naughty child.

But this does not mean that our revolutionary tactics can ignore the changes being carried out within these territories. It remains our duty to exploit these changes in a way which will deal blows against the whole Bantustan concept while mobilising the people in those territories to struggle for people's power in one united South Africa. We must, of course, do this in a way which does not reinforce the false argument that "independence" is a useful or desirable phase towards this fundamental aim.

We must raise the demand, backed up by mass action, for the complete freedom of our liberation movement to operate legally in these territories - such a decision is within the Bantustan authority's legal powers. In order to project itself more favourably to the people, the Transkei has already dropped the formal ban on the ANC, although propagation of ANC basic aims remains punishable by death. It is surely in the interests of our revolution to take every advantage of the possibilities opened up by this provision even though it has been adopted for purely demagogic reasons. A cry must also be raised for the end of detention without trial and other forms of repression which the territories have copied from Vorster's security laws.

In short, the most effective way of striking damaging blows at the whole Bantustan concept and of exposing the true role of the collaborators is to engage the people and some progressive public organisations in militant political struggles inside as well as outside the Bantustan under the broad direction and inspiration of our liberation movement

Guided by the main strategy of liberation through mass political mobilisation and armed struggle with the end of creating a single democratic state, we must develop specific tactics relevant to new objective developments. Thus, in this area of the Bantustans, we must develop forms of struggle which also take into account the fact that the racist regime has been forced to pay a price for its attempts to fragment the African people, and that is a certain fragmentation of State power. These changes in the legal and administrative structure create new dangers for the liberation movement but at the same time also new opportunities for popular struggle which did not exist before, and which require new flexible tactics on our part.

It is, above all, our liberation front, headed by the ANC which is the vanguard force which can lead our people to full liberation in one non-racial South Africa. We must strengthen our presence in every part of our country. Our revolutionary struggle recognises no boundaries within our country. It is, and must remain, grounded on unity in political and armed action of all the black oppressed amongst whom the main force is the working class in alliance with the rural masses.

SOUTH AFRICA IS ONE!

ALL OUT AGAINST BANTUSTAN "INDEPENDENCE"!

DESTROY THE BANTUSTANS FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT!

SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT!