

shall never be free as long as this monster of Pretoria is still in power. As Comrade President Oliver Tambo stated:

"Mozambique will never grow. Zimbabwe will never. For as long as there is oppression and racist domination in South Africa, we shall not know independence..."

These are the achievements and problems that our continent is facing on the 18th Anniversary of her Freedom Day. It goes without doubt that one day the sun will rise when the exploiters of African wealth together with their fascist boer watchmen shall be routed and destroyed by the people and the "effective political Union of African States" shall be formed as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah once said.

BANTUSTANS - Past and Present

- STEVE DLIWAYO

It is now almost three decades since the Pretoria fascist rulers have been forcing our resisting people to accept the genocidal bantustan scheme. Each successive Nationalist Party government has consistently maintained this policy. Under the pressure of the mounting struggle by our people led by the African National Congress against the entire apartheid system, the fascists have had to change their terminology. During the "fighting fifties" the apartheid regime moved from Bantu Authorities to 'Self-government', in the 70s they moved to 'independence'. What is common to all these labels is that they are all misplaced, and intentionally so. Furthermore all Nationalist Party governments have consistently maintained the fascist colonial stand of "keeping the kaffir in his place". This is clearly demonstrated by the grim reality of the bantustans.

THE INDEPENDENCE FRAUD

No matter from which angle one views the bantustan scheme, it remains a big fraud which cannot be camouflaged by any

means. Under the Bantu Authorities scheme which preceded the bantustans, the chiefs were appointed by and took orders from the fascist Pretoria government. The Commissioner-General, a Nationalist Party government official, was the supreme chief with powers to appoint or dismiss African chiefs. Under the present system the criterion for election (a farcical affair) to the so-called homeland government is loyalty to the racist policies of the Pretoria government, the machinery for giving orders being the Department of Bantu Administration and a string of 'advisors' from Pretoria.

The recent affair in which the Matanzima puppets made noise about their objection to granting of 'independence' to Ciskei on the grounds that the people of Ciskei, like those in Transkei, are Xhosa-speaking, is one piece of evidence which shows clearly that even within the narrow confines of the bantustan politics the policies of Pretoria are a miscreation.

In another squabble between the racist masters and their puppets, the racists refused to hand over Kingwilliams-town to Ciskei as part of the 'independence' plan telling their stooges that if that would happen the people of Ciskei would be denied the job opportunities which the presence of white farmers and businessmen in the areas create.

The basic truth of the South African society defies all constitutional manipulation, sloganeering and manoeuvring. South Africa is one country, with a common economy and for this reason the basic demands of its oppressed black majority - political and economic independence - can only be met in a united South Africa. The formation of the African National Congress to unite our people and the growing unity of our people, including those in the bantustans, in fighting to destroy the entire apartheid system and build a democratic united South Africa in which all its people, black and white will live as "equals, countrymen and brothers" leave no room for fraudulent schemes like the bantustans.

A C C O M P L I C E S

The puppets who run the show in the bantustans are accomplices in perpetuating the internationally condemned crime of apartheid. They are getting rich at the expense of our people. They are the ones who own big tracts of land and hotels. In payment for their grisly job of keeping our people in these death-camps, the Pretoria regime is giving its bantustans stooges fat salaries, the source of which is the blood and sweat of our people. In addition these 'leaders' are imposing heavy taxes on our already impoverished people. These petty-

bureaucrats, like their racist masters have so degenerated in their treachery that bribery and other similar scandalous activities have become their norms. It is not surprising that honest patriots like Chief Dalindyebo Sabata, who has been forced into exile, are victimised for refusing to be used against their own people by the fascist oppressors. The bantustan nincompoops are employing the same repressive policies as the racist regime as could be seen in the persecution of the N d e b e l e people by Mangope, the harassment of opponents of the bantustan system through repressive measures like Proclamation R400 of Transkei.

THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION

The land of our people was grabbed by the greedy British and Boer colonialists leaving our people with no means of subsistence except working for a pittance as contract labourers in the industrial centres. For all practical purposes the basis for our people's attachment to the bantustan areas has become so minimal that to a great extent it is the reluctance of the Nationalist Government and the bosses to build them houses where they work, to live with their families that forces them back to the bantustans on the expiry of their contracts. To



make matters worse, the racists are forcefully removing thousands of our people from the industrial areas where they have worked and lived with their families for generations to the bantustans. All this is done to satisfy their arrogant fascist

wish which the architect of this genocidal 'homeland' system Verwoerd expressed: "... South Africa is a white man's country and he must remain master here".

This arch-fascist Verwoerd, outlining his designs even went further to say: "The Bantu in the cities are not distinct from the B a n t u in the Native Reserves... the urban Bantu are visitors in white areas..."

It is this extremely racist trash which the Botha-Malan fascist regime is following with such fanatic fervour. They have even rejected as "unscientific" the findings of their own Human Science Research Council because it disclosed, on the basis of a secret survey, that the overwhelming majority of Africans have no real links with the bantustans.

It is clear that the Nationalist Party government want to strip our people of all citizenship rights. All demands by our people will be ignored with "Go back to the bantustans!" But our people are not begging anything from the racists and are fighting for what is rightfully theirs. Tricks will not save apartheid.

ECONOMIC VIABILITY

Only recently a government appointed commission on Ciskei, the Quail Commission, reported: "We consider independence as at present understood to be an unattractive option at this time." (This is nothing new!) Some of the reasons given for this conclusion were:

- In terms of size and economic viability the Ciskei would rank among the world's least endowed states. (Ciskei or any other bantustans are not and could never be states - Ed).
- ...South Africa is changing: this is not the time to risk cutting itself off from the prospect of gaining its rightful share of political and economic benefits within South Africa.

George Quail even said: "Had this debate taken place earlier, the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda would not have been proceeded with."

In fact this and many previous commissions on bantustans or any issue that concerns the plight of our people under apartheid, are a luxury which the racists can afford at the expense of our exploited people. It requires no commission to

know that the so-called homelands are economically unviable. Our people in the bantustans are virtually landless and unemployed. This was the position right from the onset and it is deteriorating with every passing year. Over 70% of the 'homelands' income is received from the racist regime as part of the racist republic's budget as well as from the starvation wages of the migrant workers through heavy taxation. With this type of situation our people are forced to be a supply of cheap labour for the mining, manufacturing and farming industries in 'white' South Africa.

The fascist rulers, in spite of their loud-mouthed sermons of leading the bantustans to 'independence', are in fact opposed even to anything that would minimally influence the economic situation of the bantustans; e.g. the incorporation of Richardsbay, Kingwilliamstown to Kwa-Zulu and Ciskei respectively. We can see that 'independence' is merely a slogan used to conceal the real intentions of the racists - genocide. There is just no way of making a living in the bantustans. They are death-camps! The death of more than 50,000 children from hunger is one clear indicator of the economic situation in the bantustans and the intentions of the racist oppressors.

PUPPET BATTALIONS

One of the main aims of the Pretoria nazis in creating these bantustans is the creation of human shock-absorbers. This is increasingly becoming clear as the struggle of our people led by their vanguard movement, the African National Congress, escalates inside the country and as the Pretoria militarists step up their suppression of the Namibian people's struggle for independence and their aggression against the neighbouring African states in a bid to install puppet governments in some and force others to support the apartheid policies. In 1975 the 'Transkeian Defence Force' was formed, in 1977 the 'Bophuthatswana National Guard' came into operation. This was followed by the formation of more puppet armies in the remaining bantustans.

These puppet armies, created under the guise of independence as expressed by Piet "Wapen" Botha (then Defence Minister) in 1970 when he said: "If the Bantu wanted to build up a defence force, he should do so in his own eventually independent homeland," are an integral component of the SADF strategic deployment. Between 1974 and 1979 a total of approximately 12,000 black troops were trained and deployed by SADF, most

of them on a permanent basis. Two thousand of these were from Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The most indicative development in this direction is that the 'Bophuthatswana National Guard' has been established under the wing of the SADF's North-western Command. In fact all the bantustan armies' activities are directed from Pretoria.

The tactic employed by the Pretoria fascists - using a section of the oppressed as parapets for its soldiers - will not yield the desired results. The defeat of the Smith regime and the escalation of the armed liberation struggle in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and its military-wing, PLAN are fine examples.

C O N C L U S I O N

The bantustan scheme and the entire apartheid system is becoming more repugnant. In the same proportion our people's resistance led by the ANC against this genocide is mounting. That is why even the imperialists who have openly stated their intentions of investing in the poverty of the bantustans, as can be seen in the frequent visits paid to the Western countries by the bantustan puppets, cannot openly recognise the bantustans. What remains is for our people to make it impossible for the stooges to run these 'homelands', to forge unity right across the confines of the individual bantustans and combine their struggle with the actions of the working class and the entire urban population. This way we will be able to weld our forces into a giant steel-hammer capable of crushing once and for all our common enemy, the fascist boer regime of Botha and Malan.

"TO US BANTUSTAN MEANS THE HOME OF DISEASE AND MISERABLE POVERTY, THE PLACE WHERE WE SHALL BE SWEEPED INTO HEAPS IN ORDER TO ROT, THE DUMPING GROUND OF 'UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS', DELINQUENTS, CRIMINALS CREATED ESPECIALLY IN TOWNS AND CITIES BY THE SYSTEM. AND THE PLACE WHERE OLD PEOPLE AND SICK PEOPLE ARE SENT WHEN THE CITIES HAVE TAKEN WHAT THEY HAD TO GIVE BY WAY OF STRENGTH, YOUTH AND LABOUR. AND STILL TO THE DAY OF DEATH, WHETHER IN CITIES OR RESERVES, WE ARE TENANTS ON 'THE WHITE MAN'S LAND.'"

- CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI -