

We need to transform the resentment of the rural people into a bold offensive against the enemy and its bantustan puppets. Abject poverty, landlessness and hunger have gone on a rampage in the bantustans. This is not a result of a natural disaster but a racist policy to exterminate the black people in South Africa. Coupled with bantustan chiefs' imposed taxes on our people, their livestock and huts, rural life sinks below the poverty datum-line.

There is little organised mass political activity in the bantustans. On face value, one may easily conclude that the rural population has succumbed to this existence. But this is not so. The tiny pockets of isolated resistance can not be neglected.

Faction fights in Msinga District in KwaZulu have been capturing the headlines in many commercial newspapers inside South Africa. In one incident three policemen were killed while a river police patrol was ambushed by tribesmen. In another incident a white farmer, Neil Alcock, was ambushed and killed. Before his death he made a revealing account of these feuds. »The fighting is largely an expression of frustration by people who have been deprived of any access to a livelihood«, he said. He pointed out that before the people were removed from white farms and dumped at Msinga, things were relatively peaceful.

### LAND ACT

These fights are a direct consequence of the 1913 land act which sought to deprive the African majority of any access to land and condemned them to a slave existence in only 13% of our country. It is clear that the main question behind these faction fights is land. Through a policy of forced removals which has brought death and devastation in Mogopa, Wendolin, Driefontein, Msinga, people find themselves scraping for existence in barren lands

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The people of Lebowa under the threat of starvation are forced to conduct »cross border raids« into adjacent white farms for water and grazing lands. One white farmer describing this situation said he is at war, its either him or them -- meaning the people of Lebowa.

### PEOPLE'S WILL TO LIVE

These isolated incidents, of struggles to survive resulting in unwanton anger, highlight the burning issues confronting the rural people. Though they have not openly manifested themselves as political acts of resistance, covertly they are rich in political content in that they are struggles for land. They are struggles to survive against an unjust system of racist colonial domination.



# NEED DLD NSIVE

Mzwandile Booii

Despite all talks about reform, the real life of our people in South Africa is a true reflection of what the apartheid gimmick is all about. Presently, more than three million people have been condemned to the brink of human existence — the bantustan and resettlement camps. These dumping rural stans are a graveyard for the unemployed, the sick, the impoverished, the handicapped and the aged.

As Babra Rogers writes in her book, «South Africa's Bantustans», landlessness can mean no income, nor food. How the rural population survives with no income and livestock would be a mystery still to be solved. To us this can be no mystery at all — it is the people's will to survive.

It is our duty as democratic and patriotic forces in our country to infuse this will with resilience and determination to struggle for a free democratic South Africa. It is a task that has to be tackled now. The momentous achievements of the past years which culminated in the formation of the United Democratic Front must be extended to the rural masses and draw them into fighting organisations.

## STRATEGIC MILITARY ZONE

Rural areas have been as early as 1973 designated as strategic military zones in the racist white paper on defence. Thus, it is not surprising that a few years later, General Fraser of the SADF Joint Combat Forces noted: «The objective on both sides in a revolutionary war is the population itself. Military tactics are well and good, but they are really quite useless if the government has lost the confidence of the people among whom it is fighting.» This view was reiterated in 1978 by the racist deputy defence minister when he said, «We must secure our border regions, otherwise the white heartland will contract» Carrying the argument further, the minister described these rural stans as a ring of steel which would serve as the first line of defence. This strategy means the setting up of protected villages which will also serve as military bases like in Zimbabwe, and as is already the case in Namibia. This is the situation we must guard against. The SADF is bent on using rural people against the national liberation movement.

In 1978 when the bantustan puppets were taken on a tour of Namibia, puppet Ntswanisi remarked that his impressions were not so much the military aspects but the civil action programmes in the northern areas. The programmes are currently underway in the northern Transvaal and Natal. SADF personnel posing as teachers, doctors, and agricultural advisers is already extensively used in Gaza





The Bophutatswana Defence Force. SADF's cannon fodder

nkulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KwaZulu. Remarking on the programmes, an officer of the Natal Regional Command, Brigadier Lloyd, who runs the campaign to »win hearts and minds» notes: »If the rural population in the rural areas does not show loyalty, goodwill and co-operation, we will have to move them out of the critical areas and resettle them.»

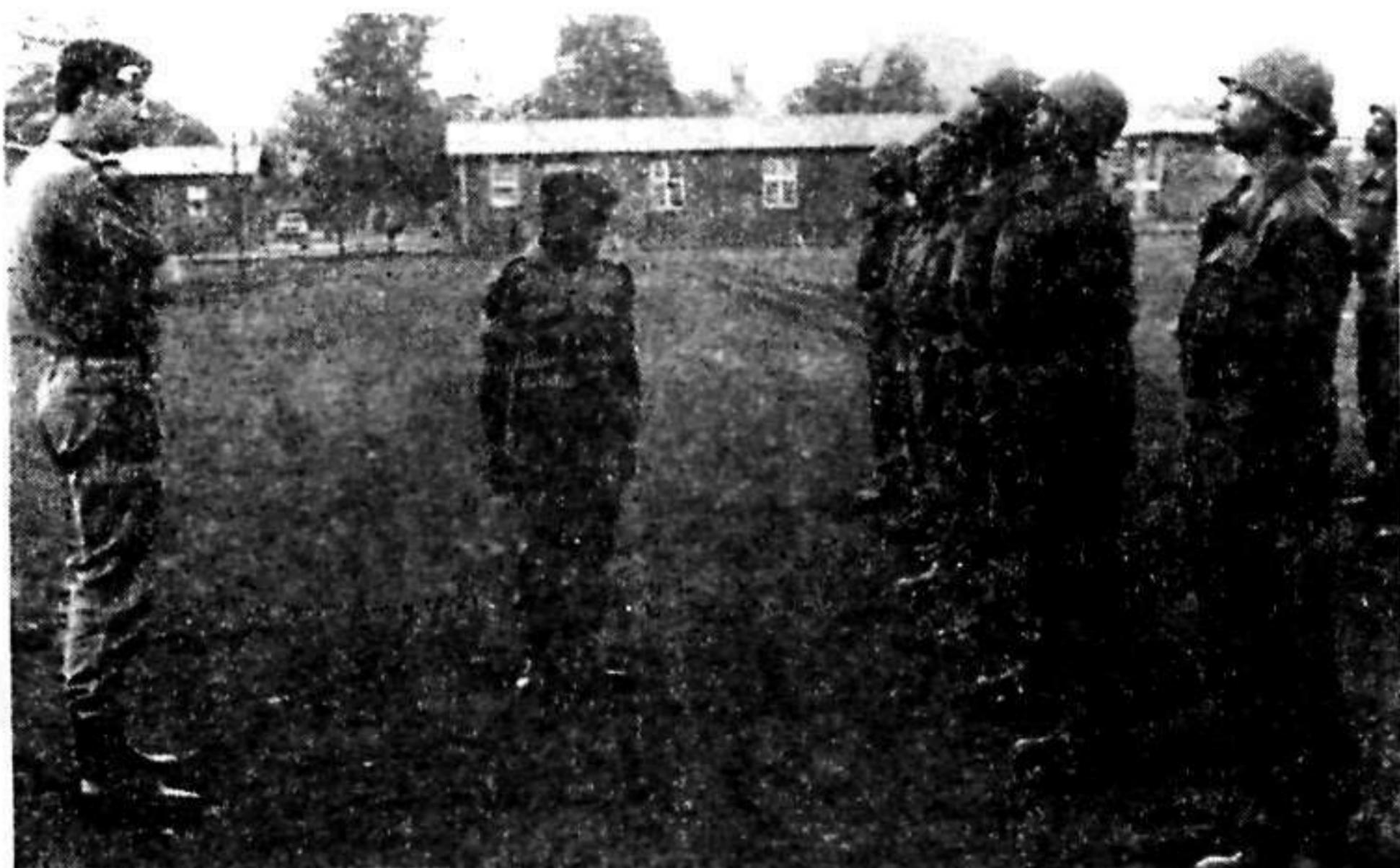
### BANTUSTAN ARMIES

A select breed of bantustan thugs, the bantustan armies, are bred by the racists as an extended arm of the South African Defence Force. Added to these, there are also territorial forces like Battallion 21 which are watchdogs of racist interests. Bophutatswana, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu and KwaZulu are again on the priority list. According to racist generals, these homelands are located in strategic vulnerable areas.

Battallion 121 of KwaZulu trained at Dukuduku falls directly under the Natal Command, while Lebowa and Gaza-

nkulu fall under the Northern Transvaal Command of the SADF. Pretoria men are seconded to all independent bantustans as military and security advisers. When the Transkei Defence Force was established, Pretoria gave it Brigadier Phillip Pretorius as a military adviser, while Bophutatswana was supplied a minister of defence, Brigadier Hennie Riekert. When a bantustan becomes »independent», it automatically becomes a signatory to the racist non-aggression pact similar to the one signed with Mozambique.

The scope of SADF military collaboration with the bantustan armies gives a sour dimension to the unfolding liberation struggle in South Africa. Bantustan armies comprising of black youth are used as insulation of the white laager and as cannon fodder in the South African Defence Force against their brothers and sisters in our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and SWAPO's PLAN. Of the total SADF forces deployed in the opera-



The kwaNdebele Defence Force. Slaves willingly defending slavery.

tional areas, Kenneth Grundy in «Soldiers Without Politics» writes that about 40% are black soldiers, whereas they account for only 15% of the SADF Permanent Force.

#### OUR DUTY

As a people's army, we must be sensitive to this dangerous development. The superiority of our politics over the enemy and justness of our course must make an indelible impression on these unfortunate soldiers who are the youth of our country. It is our duty to ensure that these soldiers realize that their place is within the ranks of their own people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In a situation where a soldier of our people's army finds himself confronted by our own people in the SADF, the immediate solution will be a shoot-out. But we must realize that we are dealing with a political problem. It is a situation of a slave who willingly defends his poverty and impoverishment at

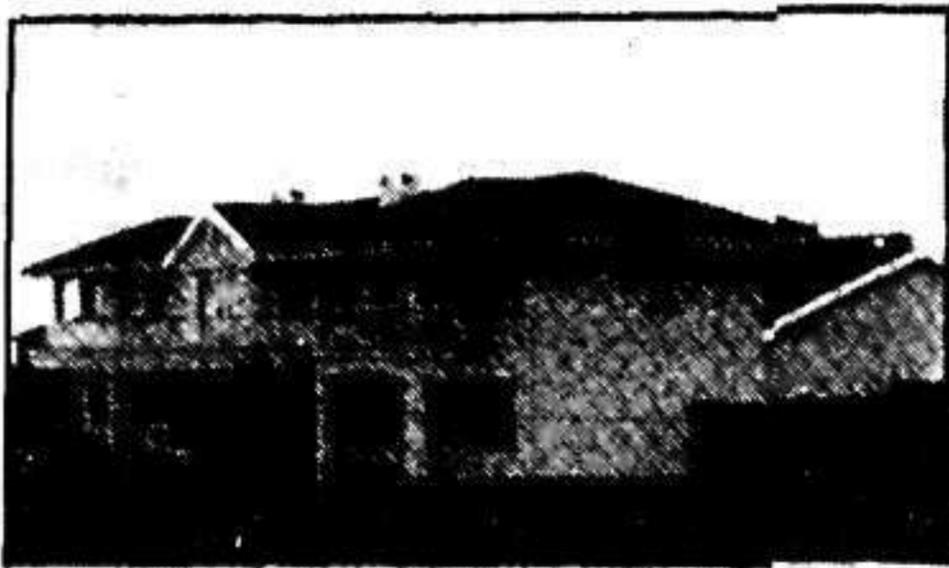
all costs, even with his life, a situation whose solution cannot be achieved in a combat situation, but through painstaking politicisation of the rural masses.

It is our desire that we must at all costs avoid that the escalation of our armed offensive should assume the form of blacks fighting against blacks. At the same time this must also not be interpreted to mean that certain parts of South Africa are immune from the people's armed offensive.

One will find it baffling that the budget of Qwaqwa and KwaNdebele, two of the poorest »homelands«, added together are eleven million rand less than Gazankulu's R85 million. Gazankulu is bordering with Zimbabwe. Coming to Lebowa, this homeland lies in the area of Louis Trichardt and Pietersburg where there has been increased guerilla action. Lebowa's budget is R19 million, and is the highest recipient of all non-independent stans.

The contrast between the luxuries of the puppets and the poverty of the people is glaring. In this situation the defence of the »hard won independence« is the defence of these luxuries of the puppets. It is the defence of the hand that feeds them with inflated salaries, the defence of apartheid.

No amount of rhetoric can ever defend this humiliating position of a bantustan chief to our people. His future lies in the perpetuation of the very system that he boldly proclaimed a »break with through independence«, the maintenance of pass laws, the continuation of forced removals and condemnation of our people into resettlement camps. This clearly shows an inextricable link between the bantustans and the apartheid colonial system.



Sebe's Mansion.

The struggle against homelands is the struggle against colonial subjugation of the black majority. Umkhonto We Sizwe as a people's army has a special role to play in this offensive. In the rural areas our people are trampled

upon to a state of apathy and fear. Political statements are a crime and political slogans a taboo. Umkhonto We Sizwe needs to inspire these people and restore their confidence through careful attack and the destruction of well-selected targets. This is the true foundation of a bold and all out offensive against the homelands and for people's power. It is only among the people that this political seed can sprout into a formidable revolutionary wave.

Despite the existence of isolated political actions, political organisations exist in very few places in the bantustans. We must make an all out effort to harness these isolated incidents into an organised all out resistance against bantustans.

The African National Congress and its entire membership, including the democratic organisations in their entirety, need to address themselves to the scourge of impending »independence« of more bantustans that is sweeping our country. Our voice has not been very effective in this regard. In the January 8th Statement, the Commander-in-Chief of our army, Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo called on us to render the enemy control over us impossible. This is possible! The Pondo revolt in 1962 is a vivid example of our people's determination to render enemy control over us ineffective. The Pondo people attacked and killed puppet chiefs who were installed by the racist regime to rule them. This must be the fate of the bantustan puppets.

**WITHOUT UNITY WE ARE WEAK,  
WITHOUT ACTION WE REMAIN  
OPPRESSED!**