

At the beginning of the 1960s the people taught us that it was necessary to break with the strategy of the previous decade and to begin preparing conditions for combining political resistance with armed actions. The recent upsurge has emphasised that, given effective organisation and leadership, the revolutionary energies of the people have a limitless potential. Through their own experience in the recent struggles the people have begun to understand, more clearly than ever before, both the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary way forward in which victory will eventually be theirs through a combination of mass political resistance and organised armed struggle.

Failure on the part of our liberation movement to respond effectively during the coming period will put at risk the present high mood of militancy and lead to a demoralisation which will make it easier for the imperialist alliance to implement its plans for Southern Africa and for Vorster to successfully divert the formidable pressures which have built up inside our country.

Our liberation front clearly faces a historic challenge, and our Party, as part of this front, is called upon – as never before – to mobilise all its strength to help meet it.

Editorial Note:

In terms of the Transkei Constitution Amendment Act No. 3 of 1976 passed by the all-white South African Parliament, the Transkei Bantustan, ruled under a state of emergency ever since the Pondo revolt of 1960, was granted its 'independence' from South Africa on October 26, 1976. To date the Transkei has been recognised by no state in the world except South Africa, and its 'independence' has been rejected as a fraud by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and world opinion generally.

DOCUMENT 133:

'Transkei Sham', statement published in the underground *Inkululeko-Freedom*, February 1977.

Unwanted and unloved by the oppressed people of South Africa, shunned by all the world, the 'independent' Transkei has arrived like a thief in the night.

Matanzima's Bantustan has not obtained 'independence' as a result of the demand or activities of any people's movement. The whole drive for Bantustan 'independence' comes from apartheid South Africa and not from the African people themselves. In fact, the Transkei is the only example in history of a people being forced to accept an 'independence' which was not wanted and never asked for.

Matanzima and Vorster claim the pre-independence elections which returned Matanzima to power were adequate tests of Transkei public opinion. In the very first of those elections, way back in 1963, the Matanzima faction was hopelessly beaten, but Matanzima was pushed into power by the constitution drawn up by

the South African Government which vested majority power in the chiefs—appointed and paid by the South African Government and therefore mostly nothing more than civil servants.

Since then Matanzima has been able to use his power to entrench himself in office and eliminate his opponents—sometimes physically by jailing them without trial, or destroying their homes and driving them into exile. It is noteworthy that the 'independent' Transkei recorded the death of its first detainee, Mr Thabo Mosala, detained in Butterworth under the notorious Proclamation R400. He is alleged to have died 'of internal haemorrhage caused by gastric ulcer'. Another Transkeian also died in detention during 1976, Mr Joyi Twasifene, but no date or details have been made public.

In not one of the four elections held in the Transkei has Matanzima been able to get a majority of the electorate to go to the polls. In the last election, held in September 1976, the main opposition leaders could not get on the ballot because they were in jail under Proclamation R400. As a result, 16 of the 75 elected seats were uncontested. In the remaining seats only 43.45% of the possible voters bothered to vote.

In other words, even if one uses Matanzima's rigged elections as a yardstick, it is clear the majority of Transkeians voted against 'independence', by staying away from the polls. It is obvious to them, as it is to the African people as a whole, that Transkei 'independence' is not the same thing as national liberation. How can it be when the majority of the Xhosa-speaking people live and work outside the Transkei?

What sort of independence can the Transkei exercise when the key posts in its administration, army and security police are held by white South Africans; when two-thirds of its budget is contributed by the Vorster regime; when it has no separate economy and even has to import 90% of its food from South Africa?

PUPPET RULE OR PEOPLE'S POWER?

The whole concept of Bantustan and tribal 'independence' is based on the need of the white racists to divide and rule, for in their opinion this is the only way in which apartheid can be maintained against the opposition of the black peoples. They have devised the Bantustans as a means of side-tracking African revolution!

Therefore, to accept Transkei 'independence'—or the 'independence' of any other Bantustan—is to help promote apartheid, to surrender the claim of the African people to full and equal citizenship in South Africa as a whole, where they have helped to build prosperity.

There may be a few pickings in the 'independent' Bantustans for the handful of bureaucrats and tyrants who will take over the reins of power. A few cabinet ministers will drive around in big black cars, and live in 40-roomed palaces. President Botha Sigcau will get R17,000 a year, Kaiser Matanzima R16,000, his brother George and other cabinet ministers R13,500—plus farms and bottle stores they manage to acquire by corruption.

But the majority of the people of the Transkei will still live below the breadline, slaves to the white-dominated economy, and the capitalist class of South Africa, which will batten on their labour as it has always done in the past. Indeed, it is this special relationship which the Bantustans are designed to maintain. Like the 'Native Reserves' before them, they will remain reservoirs of cheap black labour for the white man's economy. And there is nothing that Matanzima can or will do to change it. An agent of the white man boss, he has already pledged himself to the defence of apartheid South Africa and the West against the interests of the African continent and the whole anti-imperialist cause throughout the world. He is as much a puppet of South Africa as the Saigon clique was of the USA. Nationally and internationally he is on the wrong side of the fence, promoting the interests of the few at the expense of the many.

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 to promote the unity of the African people, and the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the ensuing decades have proved abundantly that it is only through African unity that tribal division can be overcome and national liberation achieved. The Communist Party has always supported the ANC in this objective and the programme of the Communist Party unhesitatingly affirms that the main content of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the African people and the establishment of a state of national democracy in South Africa.

The Transkei and other proposed 'independent' Bantustans are by no means immune from the revolutionary ferment sweeping Southern Africa and the black townships of our cities. These so-called 'homelands' are historically linked with urban protest and struggle, and our people in the countryside have always looked to the workers of the cities and the liberation movement for leadership. Already in the train of the Soweto uprising we have seen signs in the Transkei, Bophutatswana, KwaZulu, the eastern Transvaal and elsewhere, of our people resorting to revolutionary actions.

What can be said with absolute clarity and conviction is that the Bantustans have no future, but the people who live in them (over 7 million) have a major role to play in the liberation struggle for the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of people's power over every inch of our beloved country.

DOCUMENT 134:

Message delivered by a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party to the First Congress of MPLA in Luanda in December 1977.

Comrade President Agostinho Neto, comrade delegates: on behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party we greet the delegates to this historic Congress and, through them, the whole Angolan people. We greet you also on behalf of the scores of our Party leaders and members who can no longer greet you because they have died in action or have been murdered by Vorster's