

- (i) Wherever you stay or work, constantly preach the idea of a single, united South Africa.
- (j) Organise the youth and students against Bantu Education, separate colleges, and their right to demand in what medium they must be taught, by whom, how, where and what to be taught, and to demand free, compulsory & proper education.
- (k) Organise complete non-participation in the so called border wars of the fascists. The oppressed people must refuse to help Vorster in his military adventures against the people of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Now is the time to organise units of the ANC where they do not exist. There is no alternative to the policy of the African National Congress and its programme, the Freedom Charter.

The struggle goes on! Amandla! Matla!

2. STEP UP-CAMPAIGN AGAINST BANTUSTANS AND ALL DUMMY INSTITUTIONS !

"Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

(from the FREEDOM CHARTER, programme of ANC)

The rejection by the ANC and its allies in the Congress Movement, of separate institutions like Bantustans, C.R.C., S.A.I.C., is well known. The above quotation from the Freedom Charter, which is the revolutionary programme of the ANC, spells out clearly the SA we want to build after we have destroyed the white fascist state. It clearly stands opposed to the Bantustan devices set up by Vorster's regime of terror to divide us into weak ethnic groups which can be controlled and dictated to. This tactic of "divide and rule" is an old weapon of colonialists and oppressors to perpetuate the subjugation of those they rule against their will. To this end, the South African racist regime uses the Bantustans to destroy the national unity painfully built up by the ANC over the years. The unity in struggle of the oppressed has always caused nightmares and fear for the Pretoria dictatorship and has led the dictatorship to ban our organisation, to murder, jail and banish its cadres and leaders.

The offer of phoney independence to the Bantustan traitors-Matanzima & Mangope-is a hopeless attempt to divert the people from the path of revolutionary armed struggle as advocated by the ANC and its allies. The Bantustans are so designed as to foster a narrow local nationalism based on tribes, which surrenders the people's birthright to the whole of our country. The separate pigsties or pondokkies being offered to these Bantustan puppets encourages petty rivalries, territorial jealousies and inter-tribal conflicts among the various Bantustans. It is a real case of Vorster throwing a dry, meatless bone to the dogs so that they can fight for it amongst themselves. Even the faction fights among Black miners can be directly attributed to the Bantustan scheme. One can imagine what joy there is in the corridors of Pretoria, with Vorster-Botha-Treurnicht rubbing their hands with glee as they begin to see their schemes bearing fruit.

Never meant to be really independent, the Bantustans are designed to be reservoirs of cheap, unskilled, migratory, contract labour; they are dumping grounds for all those rejected as 'redundant' by white industry; they are concentration markets for cheap, shoddy goods produced by the so called white part of SA. With SA economy starved of foreign cash, the Bantustans are serving as advertisements to attract foreign imperialist investment in SA, taking advantage of the low wages and huge profits from the sweat and toil of the African masses. Further,

the Bantustans are geared to create, in a sinister B.I.C. experiment, a collaborative class of Black capitalists who are prepared to sell their Black brothers to the White rulers for a few crumbs. That would then set a stage for new favourable conditions for colonialism, that is neo-colonialism-where the African masses will be oppressed by whites but indirectly through the Pretoria boot-lickers in the Bantustans. The main aim

of the neo-colonial oppression is counter revolutionary, that is, counter to (against) the revolutionary aspirations for real and complete freedom, cherished by the people.

Also, the Bantustan puppets are supposed to perform a special reactionary role by undermining the liberation movement and the true leaders of the people-the Sisulus, Dadoos, Mandelas, Goldbergs, Tambos, etc. That is why we hear their master's voice from the Sebes, Buthelezi's & the rest telling lies about the African National Congress or the South African Communist Party. For their counter revolutionary role, therefore, the Bantustan collaborators are rewarded with fat cheques, palatial houses, big cars and South African passports to enable them to travel abroad and chant choruses in praise of their white boss, Vorster.

From the above it is abundantly clear that the Bantustan leaders are willing agents for the oppression of Blacks by the White state. They are traitors to our cause and must be exposed as such. They rule with the help of Vorster's murderous Special Branch and BOSS, they rule with the help of Vorster's brutal prisons and banishments.

At a time of sweeping revolutionary changes in Southern Africa, at a time when real political and economic power is in the hands of the people in Angola and Mozambique, and when freedom fighters in Namibia and Zimbabwe are delivering decisive blows against the South African occupation and Smith's settler minority, we must not only reject but work tirelessly for the destruction of the Bantustans and all institutions of white minority rule.

Forward to a new, united, single and democratic South Africa!

3. ORGANISE, ORGANISE, ORGANISE

Because of the Terrorism, Suppression of Communism and other repressive acts, it has become virtually impossible to organise openly any meaningful opposition by the oppressed blacks to the rule of terror in the country. Vorster's government employs a wide network of the Special Branch (SB), Bureau of State Security(BOSS) informers and pimps in order to intimidate people and make it difficult to organise resistance.

The African National Congress refuses to submit to the terrorist methods used by the fascists. It has chosen to fight back and continue the struggle underground.

In order to be effective in this underground type of struggle, it is very important to master new and better methods of organizing, which will make it difficult for the enemy to find out our activities and thus reduce our effectiveness.

AMANDLA-MATLA ill, from time to time, bring to your attention techniques of underground struggle. The following is the first in a series:

(a)Set up a small cell of not more than five-the fewer the number, the better in order

to be able to check any leakages. Before setting it up, study very carefully the background, character, habits, political thinking, reliability of each person you want to select into your unit. Such units can be set up at places of work, in the townships, villages or schools.

(b)The existence of such a unit or cell must not be known, except strictly by its

members. Loose talk, boasting and publicity must be avoided. Every activity you want to engage in, must be carefully thought out and well planned. This helps to avoid mistakes and blunders. Members must always be on time for all tasks.

(c)Start regular political discussions on the events inside and outside the country,

and on policies and programme of the ANC. For your discussions,