

THE 'FINAL SOLUTION' GOES SOUR

The racists once boasted of the bantustan 'final solution'. Then, the grand strategy seemed to be in place, with well-paid and docile puppets, African armies and police forces ready to do and die for the master, and a population squashed under the jackboot. But, like a magician unable to control his spells, the regime today faces a severe crisis. From above and from below, the bantustan system is under attack.

This crisis is to be seen, above everything else, in the popular revolt in most of these areas. Mass demonstrations, strikes, bus boycotts and other actions are the order of the day. Democratic organisations are being set up or revived, in spite of what these administrations decree.

What also gives these uprisings their added significance is the impact they have had on the bantustan functionaries. In KaNgwane, Lebowa and Transkei, the caretakers are questioning the order of things. They seek to identify with the forces of democracy. Hundreds of chiefs are finding their place in democratic structures. In Bophuthatswana, patriotic soldiers rose up and temporarily removed the tyrant from power.

It is in this context that the signs of defiance within the bantustan administrations should be seen. As it unbends, apartheid capitalism's 'surplus population' is shaking from their slumber even those whom the regime sought to use as defenders of white domination. This is the understanding which should inform the tactics we employ, the basic guidelines being to place absolute trust in the masses.

At the same time, we must skilfully bring to the theatre of active struggle those forces which are shifting away from the regime. As the crisis of the system deepens, the regime's retreat will become more and more disorganised. Its actions in an attempt to defuse anti-apartheid pressure will throw its mass base and functionaries into confusion. Many will start to doubt the worth of it all. Those with a glint of patriotic feelings will more decisively move towards the broad liberation movement.

These developments have a direct bearing on the issue of political power. Our immediate objective should be to further weaken the regime's local organs of government. This will be achieved by means of decisive mass action combined with deliberate political work within enemy structures. We must ensure that fewer and fewer of the regime's employees obey Pretoria's orders.

To this end, we cannot afford to be rigid about alliances that could emerge out of this process. At one

level are those bantustan functionaries who identify and consult with the MDM. Such forces rightfully belong to the anti-apartheid coalition which is emerging out of struggle. At another level are those who have started to take some tentative steps. We should act jointly with such forces on those issues on which we agree, and win them over to the camp of democratic forces.



Funeral of King Sabata Dalindyebo

But we should guard against a number of possible errors:

- to base our approach on speeches and declarations which are not backed up by concrete action;
- to be so mistrustful as to underplay the potential for us to win over these forces;
- to concentrate all our energies on attempts to win over such elements at the expense of mass organisation and mobilisation; and
- to act in a manner that would endanger the possibilities created by the positive attitude and actions of some of these forces.

In each concrete case, we must weigh up the situation and work out concrete programmes: to intensify the all-round offensive and to broaden our ranks. In the final analysis, it is the liberation movement and the multitudes it leads who should determine the agenda.