

# THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (APDUSA)

## THE WHITES-ONLY REPUBLIC

The herrenvolk have at long last achieved their "Whites Only" Republic. They see themselves as standing at the entrance of the Promised Land of milk and honey, a heaven on earth. They have worked hard and long preparing for this paradise. With fanatic enthusiasm and tireless ingenuity the Broederbond has been working out their master-plan to ensure their dominant position for all time. They have bent all their efforts in an attempt to close every loophole against any possible floodwaters. Taking up a heroic posture, Verwoerd sees himself as standing alone and bravely unfurling before the faithful the banner of herrenvolkism in South Africa against what he calls the tide of world humanism. The ramparts of this herrenvolk paradise bristle with monstrous instruments of war trained, not outward against an external enemy, but inward in readiness to exterminate anyone who should dare to threaten the ordered bliss of their Valhalla, so carefully laid out according to the masters' blueprints.

They are at this moment ringing themselves round with all kinds of elaborate legislation designed to meet every contingency. As if their police force were not already armed to the teeth, with all the necessary legal machinery behind them, they must now proceed to pass a new draconian law enabling the Minister to call out the army at any time and use it in conjunction with the police force. Under this law they give themselves drastic powers over the entire population. They can shunt from one place to another or concentrate in any one place any section of the population; they can commandeer private or public property with all the force of a declaration of war — and all without actually declaring a war. They can surround a Langa or a Sharpeville with the army and put it under the conditions of martial law, with all its rigours and brutalities, without the need to declare a state of emergency. In other words, in the new herrenvolk Republic the authorities will have the right to suspend law. And any Black man or woman who in any way falls foul of the Minister or any of his underlings can be lodged in jail indefinitely, without trial. Imagination boggles at the prospect of the plight of the people placed at the mercy of the power-drunk chiefs and Bantu Authorities in Bantustans, and their Coloured counterparts in Colouredstans, as well as those in Indianstans.

The South African herrenvolk is not original in its visions of a White paradise. The Portuguese Republic has created in Angola a model herrenvolk State. There the African people exist under conditions of a hell upon earth. A government-appointed commission of enquiry has revealed (in a suppressed report) that the oppression of the Black man is so great, the conditions of living so appalling, the wages so low, that the population is being decimated. They, too, have a Native Affairs Department and almost its sole function is to comb the village and supply labour to the various herrenvolk concerns. The report states: "Settlers call on the N.A.D. with written demands for 'supply of labour', which they hand in without embarrassment. This terms 'supply' is used in the same way as if they were buying goods" . . . "The population flees *en masse* and deserts the land and its homes, and the territories become empty." Consequently there is a shortage of labour and the N.A.D. resorts to forced labour. In their desperate recruiting drive they do not hesitate to use physical force, torture and all sorts of unscrupulous methods. One notorious practice is the getting of contract labour, which is "based on the despotism of a Native chieftain." It involves "the herding of people for supply to the employers through the N.A.D." Such contracts are carried out "in conditions under which one exports animals . . . the idea that the native is a beast of burden still prevails." The people are terrorised by this system, since they know that "they die at the rate of 20 to 30 percent." So

cheap is human life that men die like flies on a job, some employers losing as much as 35 per cent of their labour, but with a callous indifference they simply call on the Native Affairs Department for further supplies.

So shocking was the situation that even a member of the Commission was moved to comment: "The situation is more grave than that created by pure slavery. Under slavery the bought man, acquired as a head of cattle, was regarded as an asset by his master . . . Today the Native is not bought — he is simply rented from the Government, though he may have the status of a free man. His master could hardly care less if he falls ill or dies, as long as he goes on working while he lives." In that country "only the dead are exempt from forced labour." (London Observer: 29.1.61). Thus the paradise for the Portuguese herrenvolk turns out to be a charnel house for the Africans, a vault for the bones of the human dead.

The South African herrenvolk visualises under the new Republic the same manner of dealing with the local non-Whites. This is clear from the body of laws already passed and those in process of being made. Isn't the Bantu Authorities system designed precisely to enforce this pattern? Aren't the chiefs part and parcel of the labour recruiting machinery of the N.A.D.? Isn't it they who comb the countryside for every able-bodied man to feed the Government's labour conveyor belt, until the villages are denuded of all males except the children and the aged? Isn't job reservation to reduce all Non-Whites to menial labour and thus confine the whole population to the "lower orders"?

Now a few years of this system in the Portuguese territories in Africa resulted in a frightening picture of human devastation. The whole population was maimed. For destitution breeds deformities both physical and spiritual, sickness and death. According to the Report, "more than 35 per cent of the male population in the working-age group are unable to work, due to physical incapacity. . . . And infant mortality is as high as 60 per cent". It is significant that Louw, Minister of External Affairs in South Africa, sees in the Portuguese Government a staunch ally, a worthy brother in the laager, in defence of what he calls "White Christian Civilization" in Africa.

This, then, is the grim prospect facing the Non-Whites in South Africa. This is the real meaning of their Bantustans, Colouredstans, etc. In effect, in spite of all their grandiloquent phrases, the elaborate blue-prints for a "Whites Only" Republic turns the whole country, through the Group Areas Act, into a White Group Area with pockets of Non-White labour reservoirs strategically placed here and there to serve the needs of the White masters. Each reservoir of labour, whether it is called Bantustan, Colouredstan or anything else, shall have its own "Bantu Authorities" and all that that means for the population.

## STRATEGY OF BETRAYAL

After the herrenvolk had stripped every section of the Non-Europeans of all political rights, reduced them to a common denominator and neatly placed each group in its own racial pen, they began to make promises to each group, provided that it accepted its own kraal. The Africans were promised unlimited economic development and special financial assistance to the enterprising Africans in their own area. The Coloured people were offered the same bait and in addition promises of "representation by their own people" in Parliament and the Senate came from all sorts of quarters. These extravagant promises alternated with dire threats against those who dared to oppose Government policy.

This two-pronged policy of the herrenvolk has reaped rich political dividends for them and has caused havoc in the ranks of the Non-Europeans. The intellectuals and the budding business men swallowed the bait, line hook and sinker. All of them, ranging from the so-called *extreme*

left wing to the centre and the extreme right wing, have of late shown a unanimity of purpose that has produced the strangest political bedfellows. The technique that has produced these results at such heavy cost to the people is very interesting.

Let us briefly examine, for instance, what took place among those who regard themselves as the spokesmen of the Coloured people. The various sections of the herrenvolk geared their respective *protégés* into action. The United Party placed its Press at the disposal of an R. E. van der Ross, who is the spokesman for the T.E.P.A. and S.A.C.P.O. group. He is also acceptable to all that group of Coloured intellectuals who are veering towards the Liberal and the Progressive Parties. From the high forum provided by the United Party, Van der Ross is able to propound herrenvolk ideas through a Black mouth. He tells the country that the Coloured people are different from the Africans and form a separate group. He condescendingly grants the African the right to be as prejudiced against the Coloured man as against the White. In other words this suave gentleman is peddling the old moth-eaten ideas of racialism, while giving them a new, glossy finish. In addition to this, he prepares the minds of the Coloured people to accept a deal from the herrenvolk at the expense of the Africans. And he asks the latter in advance not to blame them when they accept the offer. In spite of all protestations to the contrary, this agent of the herrenvolk accepts for himself and his fellow intellectuals the status of a second-class White or an appendage. That is why he accepted a loaded vote for the Non-Whites.

The Nats. of the S.A.B.R.A. type, for their part, have given their *protégés* a newspaper called "Banier". So satisfied are the masters with the work of their docile scribes and stooges, that they actually supply the paper to Coloured schools as reading matter both for teachers and students. These lackeys themselves concoct and administer the dope to the children. The production of this newspaper has the effect of drawing the intellectuals together. It is a centre or meeting ground of people of different political ~~shadings of open C.A.C. men, T.E.P.A.-ites, members of the T.L.S.A., and S.A.C.P.O.~~ The paper gives them a sense of belonging together. They have visions of welding themselves into what they call a "Coloured nation" in which they, the intellectuals, will be consulted as the representatives of the Coloured people—and will live on the fat of the land.

Then there are those *protégés* cultivated by the Broederbond. These are the most backward elements among the Coloured people, the die-hards, the "pure" Colouredists, the racialists of the old type, whose racialism is as rabid as that of their masters. They seek to unite the *Eievolk* exclusively with its *eie taal, eie kultuur, its eiesoortigheid*, and in opposition to all other groups. They are to be found in the Union Council of Coloured Affairs, the Kleurling Volksbond and the Onderwysersbond. This is the material that provides the counterpart of the Bantu Authorities among the Coloured people.

Now we come to the more politically sophisticated, that section that once belonged to the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.). These are the renegades who, having plotted their way up and captured the leadership of the Anti-C.A.D., turned round and throttled that once-proud body which stood in the forefront of the fight against herrenvolkism. These renegades are the more dangerous because they have learned the art of bamboozling the people with political sophistry. As a price for acceptability to their new masters, they had to destroy every single organisation that belonged to the Anti-C.A.D. They had to blot out every memory of the past achievements of the Non-Europeans since 1943.

Long before the herrenvolk used the open mailed fist against the people, the discredited leaders of the Anti-C.A.D., smelling danger ahead, began to disengage all along the national front. Without consulting the people—in fact acting behind their backs—they withdrew the National Anti-C.A.D. from the Unity Movement. They sent some of their number to the Conference of the All African Convention, in December, 1958, to wrench the Coloured sector from it. Cynically they covered up their tracks by a campaign of vilification against the leadership of the N.E.U.M. With an ingenuity peculiar to the sophis-

ticates, they shouted accusations of racialism while themselves fostering racialism of the lowest order. Every organisation of the African people, from the Cape to the Mediterranean Sea, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, was decried as tribalist, Africanist, Nationalist and all sorts of ugly names. Long before the Belgians in the Congo had the brazenness to lay their hands on Premier Lumumba, our local renegades centred round the "Torch" were demanding his blood. They could not find words strong enough to blacken him. They lumped him together with the Kasavubus and the Tshombes. But, while thus vilifying all the oppressed without exception, they were remarkably silent about the crimes of the Belgians. And when the imperialists finally murdered Lumumba, then the same renegades in company with President Kennedy, General de Gaulle, Prime Minister Eyskens of Belgium and the rest beat their breasts in lament for the dead.

Fully a year before the explosive events of Sharpeville-Langa and Pondoland, the intellectuals on the Coloured front were gathering their forces together. For the first time in many years both the T.E.P.A. and the T.L.S.A. held their conferences in Cape Town. These were conferences that will long be remembered by the oppressed as laying down the basis for a series of treacheries to come. T.E.P.A. had given notice in advance that it would provide a platform for officials of the Coloured Affairs Department. That year the T.L.S.A. got from the City Council a grant of £100 for its reception. The city fathers had seen fit to welcome back this body that had of late "tempered its wildness". On this occasion the presidential address devoted quite a piece to the vilification of the leadership of the Unity Movement and the All African Convention. Although the Press publicised the fact that T.E.P.A. had not only opened its doors to the officers of the C.A.D. but had overtly presented them to the public and given their blessing to the Department of Coloured Affairs, yet the T.L.S.A., which met for several days, did not utter one word of criticism of this blatant act of the agents of herrenvolkism. They turned a blind eye to these sinister goings-on under their noses and instead fixed their baleful gaze on the distant horizon, denouncing the sins of real and imaginary Africanists from here to Cairo. Although everybody knew that the C.A.D. was being used as an instrument for robbing the Coloured children of education, closing the universities to them and establishing bush colleges, the Teachers' League of South Africa throughout its conference strangely refrained from concentrating its attack on the Coloured Affairs Department. They discussed Coloured education as though it existed in a vacuum and avoided linking it up with the socio-economic and political position of the oppressed in South Africa. They proceeded to prescribe pusillanimous methods of fighting, such as would be acceptable to T.E.P.A., C.A.T.U. and The Transvaal Indian and Coloured Teachers' Associations, etc. They carefully avoided any method of defending proper education for Non-Europeans that would involve drawing in the masses and coming into collision with the C.A.D. and its lackeys.

By this time the Teachers' League of South Africa had come under the pernicious control of the same renegades who had usurped the leadership of the Anti-C.A.D. It, too, had become truncated and reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. It, too, was being whipped into line and made to retreat from the Non-European Unity Movement. The way had been paved for the bogus unity in the Coloured front. The soil had been prepared, making it possible for rank weeds to spring up to choke all that had been arduously and patiently sown by the N.E.U.M. The whole concept of the principled struggle based on the Ten-Point Programme and Non-Collaboration with the oppressor had to be smothered in the pestilent fumes of opportunism, racialism and collaboration. Without the connivance of the deserters, who still spoke in the name of the National Anti-C.A.D. and the T.L.S.A., it would have been impossible to delude and disarm the people into a state of unpreparedness while the C.A.D. and its agents moved in to establish themselves.

These, then, are the baneful results of the treacheries of the renegades. These are the ramifications of the strategy of betrayal perpetrated by the intellectuals in retreat. It was they who made it possible for the old C.A.C.-men to

come out of their graves and stalk the land.

So far have the deserters, these bankrupts, retreated from the politics of liberation that they now stretch out their hands to destroy the organisations in the African front. Here they use a unique technique. They steal the names of organisations and in order to create confusion issue documents purporting to come from them. Ever since that day in the Banqueting Hall, when they called in the police against members of the All-African Convention and the police granted them the right to call themselves S.O.Y.A. (Society of Young Africa), they have been playing havoc with that organisation. It was under the name of S.O.Y.A. — as we learn from the "Torch" — that they called themselves to a secret conference in Cape Town in December last. Instead of coming out as the official leadership of the National Anti-C.A.D. and calling a conference of all the organisations affiliated to it, together with many other organisations of the Coloured people who are looking for an opportunity to express themselves on the urgent questions facing them and the rest of the Non-European oppressed today; instead of giving the Coloured people an opportunity of re-emphasising their total rejection of the C.A.D., of the grotesque conception of Colouredstan, of Coloured education, bush colleges, etc.; instead of affording them the chance to re-iterate unequivocally their support of the principled Unity of all Non-Europeans under the N.E.U.M. and declaring their solidarity with their fellow oppressed in Pondoland, the whole of the Transkei, Zeerust, Sekhukhuniland and all other rural areas where the herrenvolk have let loose their armed forces — instead of doing all these things, the renegades came together to plot against the organisations working in the African sector. There they hatched their diabolical plan of cloaking themselves in the mantle of the Convention and stealing the name of its well-known publication, "The Voice", using that famous organ to stab the Convention in the back. The fact that the venture will be still-born does not mitigate the crime.

It must be said that all these tortuous machinations are foreign to the Movement. Indeed, they savour of the mentality of the *agent provocateur*. In all the confusion that these deserters have sown, they have made one thing quite clear to the herrenvolk, namely, that there is no longer any link between themselves and the Convention, whose leadership is at this moment languishing in jail in the Transkei or else in exile. To make doubly sure that there is no mistaking their position, they have started a campaign of vilification in an attempt to isolate the imprisoned men, to make it difficult even to raise funds for the support of their families. The Government chiefs of the Bantu Authorities could not find better allies than these sophisticates in their hounding of the A.A.C. leadership.

The activities of the intellectuals in retreat in the recent period supply valuable lessons. The people must learn to recognise the treacherous moves and manoeuvres of those who wish to turn their backs on the principled struggle of full democratic rights for all. The petit-bourgeois who constitute the leadership have special interests which dictate their political methods and actions. Their position in society makes them fearful of losing their special privileges. It makes them prone to evasions and compromises, in a word, opportunism. At all times they seek to avoid direct action and are incapable of a bold, uncompromising, principled stand. Their stock-in-trade is to sow confusion, while giving a semblance of activity. The Coloured intellectuals who have of late been parading as the leaders of the people, whom they were deserting, cannot escape the accusation that they are responsible for the parlous state of affairs on the political front today. Their actions, in the sum total, add up to the strategy of betrayal.

As we have said, it was the renegades who made it possible for the old C.A.C.-men to come out of their graves and stalk the land. But a political climate, like an infectious disease, spreads once it has been established. Once the C.A.C.-men were resuscitated, their counterpart, the skeletons of the old Native Representative Council, were bound to rise up and rattle their bones. They, too, encouraged by the successes of the C.A.C.-men and their hangers-on, and by the fact that the Government has imprisoned, banned and banished the leaders of the All African Convention and outlawed the Congresses, feel

called upon to enter the stage and perform their *dance macabre*, their dance of death, a ghastly frivolity, in the face of the desperate plight of the oppressed Non-Europeans of South Africa.

#### A.P.D.U.S.A. IS BORN

In January this year the Executive of the N.E.U.M. called the leadership of the Movement to a Conference in which the national situation was frankly and exhaustively discussed. All the weaknesses were thoroughly probed and the reasons for past failures ruthlessly exposed.

In reviewing the national situation it was found that one of the most striking features in the country at present is the state of lawlessness, which is a direct result of the policies that the Government has been pursuing. The Broederbond, which is lacking in understanding of theory and statecraft, is in control and hits out blindly. Their Government has set in motion blind forces that lead to anarchy in the State. We see, for example, how one branch of the State, the police force, has declared war on another, the judiciary. You have the spectacle of the police arresting magistrates. This lack of order, this lawlessness, is spreading throughout society. The police harry the population. Even a magistrate had to comment, for instance, that the indiscriminate shooting and killing of people in Pondoland was quite unjustifiable. Neither the officer in charge nor the men have been brought to book for the crime. The chiefs operating the Bantu Authorities have been granted firearms to use against the population and gangsters can with impunity roam the countryside burning up the houses of those who are opposed to the Bantu Authorities and so-called Rehabilitation schemes. All this shows that the Government itself is precipitating forces that must lead to the disintegration of the State. As a result of Government actions the whole population of the oppressed has lost respect for the law. In recognition of this fact, the Government itself has demonstrated that it can rule only by means of a state of emergency.

All this is evidence of a state of crisis in the country. But society abhors lawlessness and must seek in some way to resolve it. The State cannot meet the natural longing for order in the minds of the people. At such times society is in a state of flux; people are receptive to ideas, since they themselves are looking for a way out. That is why we see all sorts of political panaceas being offered. All sorts of political parties and new mushroom groups are clamouring to capture the ear of the people. The Progressive Party, the Liberals, the old defunct N.R.C.s and the C.A.C.-men, the N.I.O. (the Natal Indian Organisation) and even the United Party and the S.A.B.R.A. wing of the Nationalist Party, all are busy vying with one another for the attention of the Non-Europeans.

There is a battle going on for the minds of the people. This is the most critical time in the life of a nation, when the fate of a whole people hangs in the balance. That is why the more conscious elements among the politicians, the Liberals, are at this moment galvanised into action. It is precisely at such a time that we must consciously intervene. We must redouble our efforts and take our ideas, policy and programme to the people. Ours is the only programme that will resolve the situation to the benefit of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. We have our arsenal in the form of a set of ideas clearly formulated. We have our policy of Non-Collaboration with the oppressor. This provides a sharp line of demarcation between the genuine fighters for liberation and the many compromisers and opportunists, the wolves in sheepskins. We have our programme, the Ten-Point Programme, demanding full democratic rights for all, irrespective of colour, race or creed. We have our specific organisational form, the federal structure, which is suited to the time, since it caters for the diversities in our society. All these remain good to this day. But what is seriously lacking is the mass organisational support of the people. We lack the channels for bringing the people into this many-roomed house of the federal structure.

The deserters, the petit-bourgeois intellectuals, have destroyed many of the organisations which we had hoped would draw the people into the federal structure. This revealed the inherent weakness in the composition of our Movement. We never succeeded in drawing in the workers and peasants to take their proper place in the leadership.

The leadership was top-heavy with intellectuals and the budding merchant class. That is why at the first sign of Government attack, many of these bodies could be destroyed.

When the Unity Movement was formed in 1943, the plan had been to gather the many existing organisations into a federal body. The stress then was on ideas, the new ideas that had come into currency during the war, the ideas of freedom and equality of all men. The plan was to reach the largest possible number in the shortest possible time. Instead of arduously building up a new organisation with a new outlook, we adopted the plan of politicising the existing organisations and impregnating them with the new ideas. Many of the organisations born under the old conditions — some of them created specifically for bargaining — could not continue to exist in the new environment. They died a natural death. Then there were those organisations controlled by the intellectuals, who have now deserted. These, too, have died away.

The question we have to ask ourselves is: What are we to do now? Should we, or can we, resuscitate these dead bodies? It is only necessary to examine the nature of these organisations and the time in which they sprang up to realise that this is no longer possible, nor desirable. These were in the main civic bodies that arose during a period when people thought in terms of local parochial problems. For the most part they had the support of one or other section of the herrenvolk, who could always rely on the organisations whenever the elections came, whether it was for the municipal or the provincial councils, or for Parliament.

These bodies were born at a time when the Non-Europeans accepted segregation and inferiority. They were the instruments fashioned to carry out in practice the half-a-loaf-is-better-than-no-bread kind of idea. Even the political organisations trimmed their sails to suit the prevailing wind and current. Consider the A.P.O., for instance. It was an old, old organisation that represented the life of the past. We did not kill it or try to undermine it. We simply impregnated it with the new, vigorous ideas and it pined away and died. It had been created as a bargaining tool, but now it was unable to take root in the new soil. When the people accepted the new ideas of equality and realised that their disabilities flowed from their lack of political rights, they threw overboard their pre-occupation with local petty problems and began to adopt a national outlook. They began to think in terms of politics. Thus the civic bodies, which were once important centres of their social life, and the sum total of their politics, lost the reason for their existence.

Now the young men and women of today, who have grown up in the past ten or fifteen years, know nothing of that life when it was the great thing to be around their little civic associations, or their little lodge, or their location vigilance committee. The outlook of the people today is different. Wherever you go, in the various houses, in the streets and buses, and in the factories, the people are talking about the burning political questions of the day, whether it is Algeria, Congo, Rhodesia, Angola, Capo Manor, Pondoland or Sharpeville. In other words, people have learned to think politically. They are grappling with their daily problems, their manifold hardships and frustrations. And these are seen as flowing from their primary lack of political rights. Thus the only kind of organisation that has the soil for growth is a political organisation. It is the only one that will meet the needs of the people today.

Another aspect of the national situation that was emphasised at the Conference of the leadership was that the people have accepted our ideas; these have become part of their thinking. And even if the ideas are sometimes vague and somewhat confused in their minds, nevertheless they want to act on them. But as long as they do not belong to an organisation it is impossible for them to work in a co-ordinated manner; their energies are dissipated because there is no central authority that directs their activities. More than that, people who do not belong to the organisation are prey to the ever-present political wolves and irresponsible opportunists. Acting without co-ordination, they are like an army that goes into battle without a central command. A national political organisation, like an army, has its strategy and its tactics which

must be synchronised and put into operation under the supervision of its unified command. If this is not done, anarchy will reign, with frustration, disillusionment and wastage of human life following in its trail. The population has indeed paid too dearly for the stunts and escapades so light-mindedly undertaken by individuals, where youngsters call out masses of unorganised people, only to lead them into a bloodbath. The attitude that the problem of liberation is simple is a most dangerous one. It is a simpleton, a half-wit, who over-simplifies the complex problem of liberation. They are the political gamblers who have not taken the trouble to work out the consequences of their costly actions. And it is the people who have to pay the price.

Conference, then, decided to sponsor the formation of a political organisation on a nation-wide scale. It was to be called the AFRICAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (APDUSA). This was to be a unitary body which individuals could join directly. But it itself was to be affiliated to the N.E.U.M. To the question: "What need is there for a federal body, if APDUSA is to be organised nationally?", we maintained that when APDUSA grows into a large, virile body, it will actually make the necessity for a federal structure all the more apparent to the people. It will carry our ideas into the factories and the villages. When the people engage in their specific struggle for higher wages and better conditions, the worker-members of APDUSA will assist and guide them, driving home all the lessons that the workers ought to learn from such experiences. From these struggles they will learn politics and more politics. Imbued with our ideas, they will begin to examine their existence in the light of those ideas. They will then become conscious of the complete lack of machinery for fighting their battles. They will realise that they have never had trade unions in the real sense of the word; for the first time they will see through the hollow mockery of all that has been going on in the name of trade unions. They will learn the need to forge a proper weapon with which they as workers can face the bosses. They will brush aside the racial unions as nothing but a snare and a trap to nullify all their efforts. These apartheid unions recognised by the Government are nothing but the instruments of the employers designed to keep the workers perpetually weak and prostrate before the bosses. Once they realise this, they will form true trade unions of their own, embracing all the workers in the same trade — African, Coloured, Indian and all those Whites who regard themselves as workers like the rest. They will turn their backs on the recognition of their unions by the Government on the basis of apartheid. They will learn to know that the important thing is recognition by their fellow oppressed.

All these things the people will learn in APDUSA, their political organisation. Here they will be taught how to view their specific problems as workers, or as peasants, and how to relate them to the basic question of the lack of political rights. In other words, they will learn to relate their problems to the overall national problem. Working together in APDUSA the people will begin to appreciate the value of the federal structure. They will feel the need to co-ordinate the activities of the workers' organisations, the trade unions, the peasants' organisations, the political bodies and others under the federal structure, which already exists. Then, for the first time, we shall make the federal structure a living reality. In this way the Unity Movement will become what it was envisaged when it was first created. It is not only a weapon of defence or attack; an organisation is also a vehicle for ideas. APDUSA, then, is born at the most appropriate time, at a time when the people are crying out for a lead, when they are looking for a body that will give expression to their aspirations and at the same time weld them together, unifying town and country with a common outlook and a common purpose.

Issued by the Central Executive of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, General Secretary L. Mqotsi, 778, Mquqo Street, Duncan Village, East London.

Date: March, 1961.