

**A
DECLARATION
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
SOUTH AFRICA**

**FROM THE
NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT**

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"A Declaration to the People of South Africa from the Non-European Unity Movement."1

THIS is a declaration to the people of South Africa. Five years ago we sent a declaration to the nations of the world (not to be confused with their Governments) informing them of the Nazi-like tyranny under which the people of South Africa live, telling them that although a World War had been fought against the pernicious creed 'of Hitlerism and its "Master-Race" madness and though it was supposed to have been won in Germany, yet in South Africa this creed continued to live and flourish and triumph. Since then we have had overwhelming proof that the nations of the world (not to be confused with their Governments)' know about our plight in South Africa and that we can count on their warmest sympathy, fellow-feeling and goodwill in the struggle against these worshippers of Nazism, the South African Herrenvolk. On the other hand, the contempt in which the South African Herrenvolk are held by world public opinion, the rebuffs and contempt which they meet with in every forum and council outside South Africa, the scorn and cold-shouldering meted out to them

individually by every decent White man and woman in Europe and America, all this demonstrates that although we have no Press and our voice is weak, while they have the most powerful means of white-washing themselves and throwing dust in the eyes of the world, yet the force of truth and right has not been crushed and WE ARE NOT ALONE.

But when we turn our eyes from the outside world to our own country, we realise that while there is less need to-day to address the nations of the world, about our tragic plight, because they know it full well, there is more need to address our own people because it seems that we, the people, do not know it full well. How otherwise can we explain the fact that we are making so little progress in building that Unity of the nation, without which we can never liberate ourselves? We know that the Herrenvolk are waging relentless war upon us and aim at crushing us as a people and reducing us to a soul-less, will-less, ambition-less chattel slavery. Yet we go about as if we did not know either the cause of our suffering or the remedy for it. Every new blow that the Herrenvolk inflict upon us is received first with astonishment, then with bitterness and then with frustration. Somehow the hatred of oppression that is generated by it, and even the determination to resist and fight back, is not cumulative, but is dissipated either in fruitless, isolated outbursts, or in meaningless argumentation over trifles, or in the harmless channel of appeals, resolutions and petitions readily provided by the Herrenvolk agencies. The dead weight of the past weighs heavily upon us and we seem reluctant to throw it off. We still think and act as isolated groups, each in and for his own kraal of Africans, Coloureds, Indians, Malays, and so on.

Who are the people to whom we are addressing this declaration? Who constitutes the South African nation? The answer to this question is as simple as it would be in any other country. The nation consists of the people who were born in South Africa and who have no other country but South Africa as their motherland. They may have been born with a black skin or with a brown one, a yellow one or a white one; they may be male or female; they may be young, middle-aged or of an advanced age; they may be short or tall, fat or lean; they may be long-headed or round-headed, straight-haired or curly haired; they may have long noses or broad noses; they may speak Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, English or Afrikaans, Hindi, Urdu or Swahili, Arabic or Jewish; they may be Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, or of any other faith. So long as they are born of a mother and belong to the human species, so long as they are not lunatics or incurable criminals, they all have an equal title to be citizens of South Africa, members of the nation, with the same rights, privileges and duties. In a nation it is not necessary that the people forming it should have a common language or a common culture, common customs and traditions.

There are many nations where the people speak different languages, consist of different nationalities with different cultures. The United States of America, Switzerland and the Soviet Union may be taken as examples. All that is required for a people to be a nation is community of interests, love of their country, pride in being citizens' of their country.

And have not the Non-Europeans of South Africa sufficient community of interests? Are we not all crushed by the same Nazi-like racial creed? Are we not all persecuted and humiliated by the South African brand of Nuremberg laws under the hall-mark blazoning all over South Africa: "For Europeans Only"? Do we not live in constant fear of every official and policeman because, from the moment of our birth, we are branded as criminals by the colour of our skin? The prisons and cemeteries, or, as official language prefers it, the statistics of crime and death, are eloquent testimony of our community of interests.

Indeed, to-day we are brutally deprived of a stake in the development, of the riches and beauty of our country, a stake in its progress or in its citizenship.

But we are imbued with the hope that our claim to them all will be realised in full during the present generation. And it is through no fault of ours that we have to bear before the rest of the world the shame that is now inseparable from the name of South Africa. Here, too, we are confident that the shame and blot will be erased in our generation.

But this universal concept of a nation is not shared by the criminal minds of Hitler and his Nazi followers; it is not shared by the South African Herrenvolk, who have usurped to themselves all political, economic and judicial rights, who have wielded the gun and grabbed the land in order to proclaim themselves the sole citizens of the country, the sole rulers, owners, law-makers, to proclaim themselves THE nation. It is against these usurpers who have robbed the whole nation of its rights and reduced its people to the position of outcasts thrust into reserves, locations, bazaars and sub-economic or sub-human townships and tolerated only as servants and unskilled labourers-it is against these that the nation has to unite in the struggle for its land, rights and liberty. It is therefore to all those who are against Nazism and Herrenvolkism that this Declaration of the Non-European Unity Movement is addressed. If it is primarily addressed to all Non-Europeans, it does not exclude any European who accepts unconditionally our right to full and equal citizenship and our definition of a nation.

It is common knowledge to say that the Herrenvolk have been able to conquer the Non-Europeans and maintain their domination chiefly by their policy of "divide and rule". They have persistently and consciously followed this policy of splitting the people, playing one section off against the other and fomenting jealousy and enmity by intrigues and by seeming to vary the degree to which the screw of oppression is being applied. The policy of segregation has held not only as between White and Non-White-this is fundamental to the Master Race creed-but among the Non-Europeans themselves in order to split them into as many sections and groups as possible and prevent them from coming together and forming a nation.

This policy has been going on unchanged up to our own day. Even now when the screw is being turned to the breaking-point, this policy is being consistently followed: first take away from the Africans their semblance of a vote (they never had a real vote) and give them special "Native" Representatives and a Native "Representative" Council, but leave the Coloured "vote" alone.

Then a little later do the same thing with the Coloured People's semblance of a vote but, in order to assure them that they are not being reduced to the same level as the Natives", abolish the "Native" Representatives altogether from the House of Assembly, leaving only "Native" Representatives in the Senate. Still later, when the "Coloured" Representatives are likewise abolished from the House of Assembly, console the Coloured people with the fact that their Senate "Representatives" remain while those of the Africans are abolished.

And so the Herrenvolk go on keeping up the appearance of preferential treatment. They must at all costs prevent the Non-Europeans from coming together and building a nation, for they know it will sound the death-knell to their domination.

The process of finding out this subtle game began to germinate in 1935-36 during the passage of the three infamous "Native Bills", and eventually gave birth to the Non-European Unity Movement in 1943. We need not here go into the history of the Unity Movement, the thorough and systematic working out of its federal structure so indispensable to the building of a nation consisting of many nationalities, its fundamental principles, its policy and its 10-Point Programme. What we have to stress here is that, while the policy of the Herrenvolk is chiefly directed to splitting the Non-Europeans and preventing them from building the nation, it is the fundamental policy of the Unity Movement, on the other hand, first and foremost to break the barriers of segregation between the Non-Europeans and to help in the building of a nation.

This task, however, is proving much more difficult than was at first thought. The mental barriers of segregation, built up and fortified by the Herrenvolk for generations, are proving much harder to break than what may be called the physical barriers which the insane policy of the Herrenvolk has been steadily undermining for the past fifteen years. When we pose to the people the questions:

"Do we as a nation know where we are and whither we are going? Do we as a nation realise what the Herrenvolk are scheming and whither they are dragging us?" and when we look at the way the people have behaved during the past few years, we must in all honesty admit that the people do not know the answers. They behave as groups, think as groups, act as groups, but not as a nation. All sections of the Non-Europeans are afflicted with this segregation germ. It puts back the clock when the leadership of the Indians can see nothing but the Group Areas Act and direct all their energy towards bringing about a Round Table Conference with India and Pakistan; or when, as one hears repeatedly at meetings in defence of the Coloured vote, it is argued that "we shall not allow ourselves to be reduced to the level of the Natives"; or when, to the delight of the Herrenvolk and the enemies of Unity, the Africans in Natal still harbour Indo-phobia and have actually been guilty of an anti-Indian pogrom. Admittedly, the agents and lackeys of the Herrenvolk have a great deal to do with all this, but a part of the blame must be placed on the shoulders of the Non-Europeans themselves.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

When we look back over the past few years, one of the most striking things we notice is the amount of the nation's energy and time that has been wasted through the activities of the Quislings, misleaders and the cranks who may unwittingly have aided and abetted the Quislings. We have a rather large number of persons who profit and prosper on the misery and oppression of the people. Some make it their only profession, while some work it as a sideline. Their task is to fasten the chains on the people, not as direct gaolers but in such a way that the people do not notice it. Naturally such persons are to be found occupying prominent positions, playing the part of "tried and tested leaders who work themselves to the bone in the service of the people". Clever and capable, they have to play a subtle game. They work the machinery of oppression: "the Natives' Representative Council, the Coloured Advisory Council, the Asiatic Advisory Board, the Bungas and Advisory Boards; they are the hangers-on of the "Native" Representatives in the Assembly and the Senate, and a host of other agencies. And all because, as they claim, "we must be practical and realistic". At the same time they pacify the hostility of the people by making a few violent speeches and even pretending to be in opposition to the Herrenvolk. And when they see that the people are finding them out, they become afraid lest the rulers will drop them as being of no further use, so they try to hoodwink both sides by launching something spectacular, something that will catch the imagination of the masses and at the same time show the rulers that they are not played out yet and thus heighten their value to the masters. If the rulers are still reluctant to raise the price, there is always that useful weapon, the THREAT of unity. Now the name by which these persons are known throughout the world is-QUISLING.

The activities of the Quislings and the extent to which they have put back the clock during the past few years cannot be properly assessed until we have examined the political behaviour of certain other persons who may honestly have meant well, but whose actions have had the objective effect of assisting the

work of the Quislings. For example, no one could accuse the present Indian leaders of being Quislings but, nevertheless, the end result of their practical activity has meant condoning, assisting and collaborating with the Quislings. Without the moral and material support that the Indian leaders gave to the African Quislings, there would not have been that whole sorry chapter of opportunism, adventurism and buffoonery which has cast so much shame and sorrow over the past few years. For no one can look back on the whole national scene without this sense of shame, and if it were not for the lessons we have to learn from it, we would be tempted to skip the whole chapter.

How unedifying it is to look back on the spectacle-more proper to a circus than to the struggle of an oppressed people:-the stepping in and out of the Quisling Councils, the pretence of bowing to the will of the people (in front of the curtain) by staging a revolt, by adopting non-collaboration, then flouting the will of the people (behind the curtain) by negotiations with the Herrenvolk for an enlarged Council and better pay, and then achieving the unbelievable feat of electing collaborators on a non-collaboration ticket. How unedifying it was to see grown-up people, despite the whole rich experience of the liberatory movement throughout the world, indulging in an exhibition of mysticism and inviting the rulers to make them martyrs by throwing them into jail, and hoping thereby to soften the hearts of the Herrenvolk. How unedifying the spectacle of pompously sending off delegations to U .N. O. after the collapse of the mystical exhibitionism, then pleading at the bar of the House and making frantic efforts to bring about a Round Table Conference. How unedifying the childishness of those sporadic displays of Anti-Pass Day, Protest Day, Mourning Day and, lastly, the display of so-called "unity".

Not that there is anything wrong with pass-burning, protest strikes, sit-down or stay-at-home strikes-if we have the power to carry them out and when we have the nation behind the organisation. But without any proper organisation and with a complete lack of preparation, mobilisation and co-ordination, to call a strike of this nature means playing right into the hands of the enemy.

It results in a shocking waste of life; it brings about dismissals, a chopping off of the militants, prosecutions and in effect throws the movement back.

It is not that there is anything wrong with unity-if it is meant honestly and not as a kind of utility unity that is mentioned only on special occasions when it is needed and does not exist at any other time. One can only blush in shame at the display of "unity" when an African doctor arrives in Durban to shake hands with his Indian colleagues on the occasion of anti-Indian legislation and when the Indian doctors reciprocate at a Johannesburg meeting on the occasion of anti-African legislation, or when African and Indian doctors travel to Cape Town to display unity of all three sections on the occasion of anti-Coloured legislation and then, having satisfied themselves that they have shown a "United Front" to the Herrenvolk, relax from unity for the rest of the year. And yet the most appalling thing about it all is not so much the comic or even the tragic side; it is the political dishonesty, the wanton playing about with the sentiments and the very lives of the people, the raising of false hopes while knowing that they will lead the people into a blind alley-and all for selfish motives, a Round Table Conference, a Gentleman's Agreement, a little more scope to the Dummy Councils, in a word, maintaining the status quo.

It would be wrong to underestimate the force of the Quislings and other anti-Unity elements. Not because they have a big following. They have not.

Among the Coloured population their following is negligible. Their following among the Africans is also numerically small and only among the Indians is it at all significant. But it is as a negative force that their influence must be reckoned with, as a disruptive agency causing confusion and blocking the way to

progress. Their disruptive influence is particularly pernicious and detrimental to the building of Unity and of a nation. Their habit of running around in circles and making a noise, their enthusiasm for all kinds of stunts and their propensity to flare up and rush into stupid adventures can only lead to disillusionment among the people; cause confusion and panic in their thinking and create despair. Desperation is indeed a bad counsellor. Consequently the great issues, the whole potential strength of the national forces and, on the other hand, the weakness of the Herrenvolk structure, become obscured from vision and in their stead the small issues loom large. Every fresh piece of anti-Non-European legislation, every fresh attack is apprehended as something out of the blue and viewed as a thing in itself, and not as part of a whole process. Instead of realising that it is all a part of the war which the Herrenvolk are constantly waging against us, we treat it as if it were an emergency, a thunderstorm out of a blue sky. But there is no blue sky; it is dark with storm and all the time we are in the midst of war.

As a result of this misconception, all we see is the new, the immediate, and the old is treated as if it were a matter of course. We fail to see ourselves as a nation, more than half-submerged. We fail to see the sum total of our economic, political and social bankruptcy, our health, our education, our future, Indeed, during the past few years we have had a rich crop of legislation directed against all sections of the Non-Europeans: the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, the Registration Act (Passes for all Non-Europeans), the Suppression of Communism Act. Train and Post Office Apartheid, and now the Native Building Workers Bill and the Coloured Disfranchisement Bill-to mention only the chief. Each and all of them mean fresh nails in our coffin. Each and all of them have to be fought and resisted.

Only let us not think that these are the be-all and end-all of our lives. Let us not get into the slavish way of thinking: "Give us the good old days, the days before Apartheid", for this in effect means: "Give us the good old days of segregation!"

This is precisely what the Quislings, the misleaders and cranks are driving towards. According to them the main thing is to preserve the status quo. If only the Group Areas Act could be withdrawn and the Disfranchisement Bill staved off, if only the Native Representative Council (N.R.C.) could be enlarged and permitted to discuss policy, all three sections would be satisfied. Then life would be normal again. We could go on having babies and burying them; we could go on filling the jails with Pass Law "offenders" and Poll Tax "defaulters"; we could go on being dragged out of bed in police raids for liquor offences or no offence at all; we could go on being chained by the farmers for fear of our sons and daughters escaping from slavery to the towns and then being brought back to the "rightful owners" by the still stronger chains of the Masters and Servants Act; we could go on happily with the Colour Bar Act, the Apprenticeship Act, the Tot System and the' thousand and one Nazi laws; we could go on without land, without the right to move, without access to the professions, without education, hospitals, houses, without the right to sell our labour where we please, without the right to strike against intolerable conditions. We could do without self-respect, dignity and human rights as long as we can get one shilling, four and half pence a shift in the mines and five shillings a month on the farms!

This question of the status quo is not merely an academic question of no practical importance to-day. It is a question of the highest significance in the building of a nation. Is it to be based on the principle of complete freedom from all national oppression and on the demands for full and equal democratic

rights, or is it to be based on bargaining for the amelioration of conditions, on bargaining for some concessions and crumbs? The Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) is solidly built on the former; the "utility unity" on the latter. In the latter case, unity is conceived and used only as a bargaining weapon by those who are ready at any moment to betray it, to drop it, if they can gain something for themselves. That is why the Herrenvolk are not impressed, knowing as they do its value and its price. The question of the status quo may seem academic to-day when the Herrenvolk are waging total war upon the Non-Europeans and do not think in terms of reforms or armistice.

But we are living in an epoch of wars and change. If the war that is smouldering in the East should flare up into a world conflagration, the situation might change very rapidly. The same set of conditions (the unfavourable turn of the war for the allies) which induced Field-Marshal Smuts to change face and proclaim that "Segregation has fallen on evil days! Segregation is dead!" may induce Dr. Malan in the coming war to say the same with regard to Apartheid. And the collaborators and Quislings will certainly not be found wanting. They will be ready to sell the Non-Europeans to Dr. Malan for a few promises, a few crumbs. The time to say it is now! Let the people learn from the lessons of the past and not treat the question of the status quo as academic and remote. Let them realise that all the shouting for the status quo, for the two-thirds majority necessary to change the Constitution and for Round Table Conferences is the forerunner to coming betrayals and sell-outs.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the people are much too slow in realising the destructiveness that the Quislings, collaborators and cranks are inflicting on the national cause. To that blight may be attributed the greatest part of the damage. Of the additional factors that have retarded progress, the chief one is the lack of co-ordination between town and country. The town worker, beset with his own load (a miserable stationary wage and a continually rising cost of living, the heartbreaking problem of shelter-called "housing" -the Pass raids and the Police Terror) still knows too little of the terrible hardship of the "peasant" without land, of the squatter and the farm labourer whose status is something between slavery and serfdom. In general, the land problem, the most important problem with which we as a nation are faced, is too little known and appreciated by the town worker and the intellectual. They do not sufficiently realise that robbing the people of the land is the cause of the migratory labour system, the pass-laws, poll-tax, the shanty towns, the destitution, desertion, the breaking up of the family and most of the undesirable features in our social organism. The so-called Rehabilitation Scheme, the culling of stock, with its periodic Witzieshoek affairs, are only the by-products of the land problem of South Africa.

This lack of co-ordination between town and country becomes all the more serious when it is considered together with the general organisational weakness of the Non-Europeans. We are a poor people and cannot as yet afford to have numerous paid organisers who would constantly be touring the country to enlighten and organise the people. Neither do we as yet possess a centralised Press in one language, let alone the various languages of our people. But even if we had both we would not be able to make much use of them because of the lack of local organisations. Neither the spoken word nor the written one can be sent out into a vacuum. In order to reach the people they must have channels through which to flow and points of support to receive them. Such points are local organisations in every dorp, village, town, location or bazaar. Without them, not even the simplest message can be effectively sent out from the centre by the national organisation. If we are serious about conducting a liberatory struggle and attaining freedom, we have got to join our existing

local bodies (even in the smallest places) or build them where they do not yet exist. Without these local organisations there is no possibility of successfully conducting any resistance, no possibility of mobilising the people and consequently of marching forward. This work cannot be done from the centre. It has to be done by the more advanced people on the spot.

Another handicap to our progress is the inability of the organised workers to emancipate themselves from Herrenvolk tutelage and to play their full part in the national movement. In the so-called "mixed" trade unions they are just hanging on to the tails of the Europeans, afraid to be left alone, paying their subscriptions—and are of no use to the liberatory struggle. Since the White leaders of the trade unions, with only a few exceptions, are all good Herrenvolk henchmen, they use the slogan of "No Politics in Trade Unions", in order to allow only the politics of their masters in the trade unions. As to the purely Non-European Trade Unions, they also hang on to the tails of the South African Trades and Labour Council, as if therein lay their only salvation. While the benefits accruing to the S.A. Trades and Labour Council are obvious and tangible, it is very difficult to detect with the naked eye the benefits that the Non-European trade unions derive from this attachment. Neither official recognition nor the right to strike is the reward for submission to Herrenvolk tutelage and supervision; but on the other hand the Herrenvolk profits by keeping the Non-European workers out of the liberatory movement.

It is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally: the place of the worker is first of all in the national movement for liberation; his first duty is to his people and to himself as a part of the people. There can be no successful resistance to the Herrenvolk, there can be no action whatsoever on a national scale, until the Non-European workers, the trade unions, are fairly and squarely in the national movement, ready to play their full part alongside the peasants and the intellectuals.

This, then, is the position in which we as a nation find ourselves to-day, still disunited, still unorganised and unco-ordinated, still at the beginning of the road.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

From the point of view of the Herrenvolk we don't count at all as a people, even as a part of the nation. For them we are only an asset, a part of immovable capital, and the argument is solely whether we are a useful asset or a wasteful asset. It appears, therefore, quite natural to them to shape the policy of the country according to the interests of the Herrenvolk only. The economic policy is to squeeze out from this asset-labour—as much as possible for as small an expense as possible. The social policy is to keep the Non-European out of sight when he is not needed for service. The educational policy is to ensure that the Non-European's intellectual powers are stunted, while allowing just sufficient latitude to fit him to become a servant. And the general policy is to proclaim to the world—while they stand with both feet firmly planted on the body of the Non-European—that "He does not want to rise, the savage".

The net result of this, necessarily simplified, picture is that at every point the interests of the Non-Europeans are diametrically opposed to the interests of the Herrenvolk. Since the policy of the Herrenvolk is directed towards their own good, it must at every stage be against our good. The external policy of a country is the continuation of its internal policy. So it should not surprise us that the Government does not consider it necessary to consult us or even to inform us what it is doing abroad in relation to other countries. That might put the idea into our heads that we are also part of the nation!

The Government of Dr. Malan, just as the Government of Field-Marshal Smuts before it, stubbornly maintains that whatever the Herrenvolk do to the Non-European people is a strictly internal affair of South Africa and concerns nobody else. In this they are merely being consistent with the Master-Race creed. Hitler also maintained that whatever the Herrenvolk of Germany did to the Jews was their own internal affairs and nobody should poke his nose into it. The attempt of India and Pakistan to alleviate the lot of the Indians of South Africa, particularly after the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and the Group Areas Act, by a direct approach to the Government of South Africa, failed. And since then the yearly farce has been going on at U.N.O.: India brings forward the accusation that the South African Herrenvolk have violated Human Rights, only to drop it at the last moment or accept a meaningless U.N.O. resolution as a compromise. However, as a result of the pressure of public opinion at home, the Indian Government recalled her High Commissioner and the relations between India and South Africa are strained.

The second act of the yearly farce at U.N .O. is in connection with South- West Africa, which South Africa has administered as a Mandate since the end of World War I, and now has decided to incorporate into the Union. Neither the yearly passing of resolutions censuring the Union nor the adverse verdict of the International Court at The Hague could stop the Herrenvolk from annexing the territory. Moreover, emboldened by the fact that the U.N.O. condemnation of the Union is meant only as a make-believe, while, behind the scenes, the Union is told to go ahead, the Malan Government has adopted an openly aggressive Imperialistic policy and attitude towards affairs on the African Continent and even beyond it, in the Middle East and the Far East. The demand for the Protectorates, the casting of covetous eyes on the Rhodesias, the condemnation of the "liberal" policy of the other Imperialist powers who shared out Africa among themselves at the end of the last century, the opposition to even the slightest reforms which the Imperialist powers are forced to ,concede as a result of the increasing militancy of the masses and the growing liberatory movement-all these have earned for Malan's Government and the South African Herrenvolk the hatred of the masses of Africa. At the same time they annoy the old Imperialist powers, the big sharks, who resent this arrogance and swollen headedness on the part of the bull-frog. At present a controversy is going on between the South African Herrenvolk and the Imperialists of Britain on the question of raising armies of Africans for the coming World War. The Herrenvolk are violently opposed to the arming of Africans, fearing that the Non-Europeans will turn upon their oppressors, just as the peoples of Asia did so successfully during and after World War II.

This was before the fateful days of June, 1950, when a spark in Korea set in motion what will probably be recorded in history as the prelude to World War III. During these ten months sufficient evidence has come to the fore to demonstrate that it was the U.S.A. which planned and provoked the Korean War. Stung by the success of the Chinese people in their long and arduous struggle for liberation from the yoke of America and Britain, smarting from the crushing defeat of their Quisling, Chiang-Kai-Shek, whose armies were paid and equipped with American money and ammunition and even assisted directly by the American navy and air-force; pained also by being thrown off the mainland of Asia and by the loss of what they had come to consider as their colony and preserve of raw materials and markets for their goods; bitter at the frustration of their foreign and military policy of world domination, the United States of America-those worshippers of Gold and War-skilfully planned their revenge upon the people of Asia by deliberately provoking the war with China through a war with Korea.

These ten months of war have brought many changes. First the U.S.A.

suffered a series of humiliating defeats at the hands of the Koreans. Then, by throwing in half-a-million men they forced the Koreans to the very borders of China, and by boasting of their intention of going beyond the borders they compelled China to send its army in defence of its power-plants and its people. Once again the U.S.A. suffered a series of defeats, this time administered by the Chinese. Of one thing only can they boast with confidence-they have laid Korea waste by bombing, burning, raping, slaughtering. And all in defence of "peace" and "democracy".

It is important for us to note three things arising out of the war against Korea. Firstly, the role that U.N .O. has played in the war. Throwing off all pretence of being a League of Nations for the defence of peace and human rights, it revealed itself for all to see as a machine in the service of the Imperialist powers who "own" the colonies in Asia and Africa, hold the colonial and semi-colonial countries in chains, oppress the Non-European peoples there and prosper and batten on their labour and sweat and blood. With indecent haste and unbounded cynicism these powers, together with their satellites and Quislings under the cloak and name of V.N.O., have branded as aggressors those who defended their homes and their liberty. How familiar this is to a Non-European-to be called a law-breaker when he is defending his home, his cattle, his rights!

The second point for us to note is the utter contempt which the ideologists of the Master-Race displayed towards the Koreans and the Chinese. When things went badly. for the aggressors-those who did not turn a hair at the wiping out of the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki-they twice wanted to use the atom bomb, first against the Koreans and then against the Chinese. Only the intervention of the other Imperialist Powers, especially Britain who still has a stake in Asia and is afraid to lose her last colonial possessions there, such as Hong-Kong, Ceylon, Burma and a half-share in India, forced President Truman to desist from this ,dastardly step by pointing out that the Non-European peoples would interpret such a step as meaning that the atom bomb was for Non-Europeans Only.

The third point for us to note is how the South African Herrenvolk entered the war against Korea and China. At first the Government decided only to vote for the American resolution at V .N.O. and, apart from this moral support, to decline any active participation in view of the remoteness of the theatre of war from the actual sphere where "South Africa" considers herself vitally interested, namely, the Continent of Africa, the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. This decision held only for about a week or so and then it was announced to the Herrenvolk that "South Africa" was sending an air force squadron as its contribution to the punishment of the Korean Aggressor and the fight against Communism. No one asked questions about the reasons for this sudden somersault, because everyone could guess what the V.S .A. Government told the South African Government. It might have been couched in the customary language of to-day: "Defence of the principles of Democracy and Peace against Communist Aggression", but in plain English the South African Herrenvolk were told that, being themselves the oppressors of a Non-European population, they were in duty bound to help in the crushing of the struggle of a Colonial people against foreign aggression, because if this sort of thing were allowed to spread and succeed in Asia to-day, then to-morrow it might be on the order of the day in Africa. Now it is hardly necessary to repeat that, since we have no say whatsoever in the shaping of either the internal or the foreign policy and no voice in the affairs of the country, we cannot be held responsible for the actions of the Herrenvolk Government. We have declared war neither on Korea nor on China.

We have no quarrel with the Korean people or the Chinese people, or with any other people fighting for their liberation. The Korean war drives home what we have already observed before, namely, that at any and every point, whether in peace or in war, the interests of the Herrenvolk are diametrically opposed to the interests of the people. Anyone who is well disposed towards us is considered by the Herrenvolk as an enemy. And naturally we have to conclude that anyone who is a friend of the Herrenvolk must be an enemy of ours. We want this to be grasped clearly and fully.

CONCLUSIONS.

Now, having stated what we consider important for the people to know, we wish to conclude this Declaration with the following:

There is no escaping the fact that, during the past few years, we have made very little progress on the road to liberation. We have enumerated the reasons for this and, unless we consummate these lessons, we cannot hope for any drastic change in the situation. We do not believe in miracles. There is a time for everything. There is a time for heart-searching and a time for deliberations; there is a time for decisions before the time for action comes. But we cannot remain dilly-dallying in the first stage. The Herrenvolk are waging war upon the Non-Europeans, and if we want to survive as free human beings we have to win this war. We can win it only if we are prepared to fight, to bear sacrifices and submit to discipline in the national cause. Even without arms, with the only weapon at our disposal-Non-Collaboration-we can win.

But in order to achieve victory,

We have got to build the Nation.

We have got to build the Unity of the Nation.

We have got to put the Quislings beyond the pale of the Nation.

We have got to mobilise every capable man and woman into active local organisations.

We have got to bring the organised workers, the trade unions, into the national organisations.

We have got to co-ordinate the work of town and country.

Let us not forget that battles are fought, and will be fought, over this or that position, over this or that Bill, but a war is fought over big issues. And the big issues for which we are fighting are contained in the 10-Point Programme.

THE TEN POINT PROGRAMME

1. The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
4. Freedom of speech, Press, meetings and association.
5. Freedom of movement occupation.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
8. Revision of the civil and the criminal code in accordance with the above.

- 9). Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE PROGRAMME

I. This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representations, and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same, universal, equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively,

II. This means the extension of all the educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms.

III. This the elementary habeas corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of Democracy. No man should be molested by the police, nor should his house be entered without a writ from the Magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the European should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished.

IV. This point hardly needs explanation. It is the abolition of the Riotous Assemblies Act, directed specifically against the Non European. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as the Europeans.

V. This means the abolition of all Pass Laws and restriction of movement and travel within the Union, the right to live, to look for work, wherever one pleases. It means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by Europeans.

V I. This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar Laws,

VII. The relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the Land Acts together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.

VIII. This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice-police, magistrates, law-courts and prisons-whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin-colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law, and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.

IX. This means the abolition of the Poll Tax. or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discriminating between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single, progressive tax, and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily upon the poorer classes should be abolished.

X. This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between a European worker and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to Apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory Legislation to

the mines and on the land. It means the abolition of the Masters and Servants Act and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race or colour.

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1 For the sake of facilitating the scanning of this " Declaration" a copy was obtained from Karis and Carter: 'From Protest to Challenge, Volume 2 page 494
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