

To the People
of
Natal

Race Riots
and the
Nation

Issued by the Working Committee Non-European Unity Movement.

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RACE RIOTS AND THE NATION

The recent visit of leading members of the Non-European Unity Movement to Natal and Zululand has shown that these parts of the Union, formerly lagging behind in the liberatory struggle of the Non-Europeans, are now becoming fertile fields for the ideas and programme of the Unity Movement.

But alongside this very promising sign of political awakening, there has also been revealed an ugly sore that is producing poison and endangering the health of the whole body of Non-European relations in Natal. Ugly as it looks today in the smouldering stage, the relationship between the African and Indian sections of the Non-Europeans—if nothing is done to remove the constantly injected poison—can burst into open warfare and produce an abysmal gulf between the two sections, throwing the whole movement for liberation years back. This problem has therefore been a cause for worry in the Unity Movement for quite a time. But now, having come face to face with the people of Natal, we feel that this problem has to be squarely met. Particularly we in the Unity Movement, who can see that the only solution to this national oppression that is destroying our human dignity, and to this economic slavery that is crushing our bodies and the health and future of our children, lies in the Unity of all the Non-European people, and in the building of a Nation. (See our declaration to the people of South Africa.) And we, who have put ourselves to the task of helping to build the Nation, would be failing in our duty if we did not perceive that the African-Indian relationship is the greatest danger to the building of the Nation.

However, it is not enough that we understand the dangerous situation. The people of Natal, both the African and Indian, have to understand it. And it is with this purpose in mind that we issue this pamphlet. Naturally, a pamphlet by itself cannot cure the ill; nor can it stop the poison from being generated. But if it can reach the minds of the people and make them think, then an atmosphere can be created for discussing the remedies necessary for removing the poison and bringing health to the body Non-European in Natal. Thus this pamphlet has a threefold purpose. First, to throw light on a festering sore which is the more dangerous the longer it is kept in darkness. Second, to open the eyes of all those who are not conscious tools of the oppressors, but are misled by them. And third, to strengthen the hands of those who are already fighting an, as yet, uphill struggle to bring about Unity among the Non-Europeans in Natal.

THE BACKGROUND

Let us first of all be frank and outspoken and fearlessly state the case. For it will not do to speak with the tongue in the cheek, afraid to offend the over-sensitive. In the beginning the truth is usually distasteful and quite often it hurts us until we learn to face it and then learn from it.

The relations between Africans and Indians in Natal have never been particularly friendly or warm. During the past 10-12 years they have gone through the successive stages of suspicion, antagonism and hostility, until they have reached the stage of almost open warfare. Now everyone, except the Non-European people of Natal, knows that this is the result of a deliberate policy of the *Herrenvolk* of Natal in the first instance and of the whole Union. India's struggle for liberation from British Imperialism, a struggle which steadily and progressively went against the British, may have had something to do with

the steadily growing hatred of the British *Herrenvolk* of Natal for all Indians. But the decisive factor in this boundless, pathological hatred is the economic factor: the growing number of economic competitors in trade and finance and property. This almost insane hatred of the Natal British *Herrenvolk* for the Indians expressed itself on the political stage by their forcing the pace of Smuts and the United Party to pass the Pegging Act and, later, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Acts. But even that couldn't satisfy the Natal *Herrenvolk*, and they began to embrace Malan and his openly fascist party because they saw in *apartheid* a more decisive and speedy way of destroying the Indian people economically. Off the political stage they embarked on a policy of inciting the Africans, and calling for an open pogrom on the Indians. They enrolled hooligans and other such elements for the purpose of burning, looting and raping, under the leadership of European thugs and with the police conspicuous by their absence.

This is now common knowledge. But before we come to an analysis of the occurrence of communal riots or race incitement, let us pause to reflect on the hard fact that the very success of this devilish policy of the Natal *Herrenvolk* suggests that the soil must have been fertile and ready to receive these poisonous seeds of race-hatred. Naturally, the *Herrenvolk* are to blame for the general condition of the soil—for the poverty of the Africans, for their landlessness and helplessness and for the ignorance in which they were kept. But is this truth the whole truth? Is there no blame at all attached to the Non-Europeans? Must the entire blame be laid at the door of the *Herrenvolk*?

Unfortunately, this is not so. One cannot excuse the Non-Europeans for becoming the willing tools of the propaganda of their enemy, the *Herrenvolk*. For we are thinking not so much of the hooligans and similar elements who committed the criminal acts and took part in the pogroms, but of the silent connivance at these outrageous events by the Africans and their organisations in Natal. No public outcry was raised by them, no public condemnation together with offers to make good and to prevent a recurrence. And for this one cannot blame the *Herrenvolk*. Perhaps a child or a youth may claim privilege for committing a crime or a wrong on the grounds that he has been urged on by someone else. But a grown-up person cannot be freed from blame on such grounds. And even less so, multitudes, groups, a people!

However, one must not be rash in putting upon the Africans even a part of the blame, without considering whether the Indians may not be guilty of provocation. (We have already made clear that the chief responsibility for the general condition of the ground, which made possible the sowing and development of such poisonous seeds, and for the direct planning, instigating, inciting, directing and leading of the race-riots, lies with the *Herrenvolk*.) But, even the presence of such provocation would not altogether absolve the Africans from condemnation: at best, it would only serve as an extenuating circumstance.

SEGREGATION AND TRIBALISM

Let us then observe the ground. To anyone who has taken part in the liberatory movement, it is no secret that for the past 25 years Natal has been the weakest sector of the Non-Europeans' struggle for emancipation. It not only lags behind the other sectors, but, because it is so vital, it actually retards the growth of the whole. There was a tendency in the old leadership, first in the African National Congress

and then in the All-African Convention when it was formed, to adopt an apologetic attitude merely because of unjustified respect for Dube, Kadalie and Champion. Comfort used to be drawn from the remoteness of Natal and the difficulty of access and communication; matters were allowed to stand because it was comfortingly thought that Natal would not be long in falling into line. More recently the excuse has been made that "There is an Indian problem!" Now it is time to say what the real reason is, and to say it openly and loudly. It is tribalism. Nowhere in the Union, except in Natal, has tribalism withstood the onslaught of capitalist civilisation and economy, and survived almost intact. The acceptance of tribalism by the Africans in Natal made it easier for *Herrenvolk* ideology, and particularly the idea of segregation, to get such a hold there. Tribalism has so much in common with segregation. Underlying both is the idea of superiority. White superiority finds its counterpart in black superiority, and the Zulus, particularly, were brought up for generations in the traditional tribal way, with the ideology of Zulu superiority. Even though defeated like the other Africans, even though robbed of their possessions, land, cattle, means of livelihood, and even though forced to slave for the white *Herrenvolk*, the Zulus were induced not to look upon other Africans as fellows and equals, but to regard themselves as a superior race temporarily degraded. This suited the *Herrenvolk* very well, and they fostered it with every means at their disposal. Indeed, in the beginning they even doled out a few paltry concessions to keep alive this myth of the superiority of the Zulu with his "purity of race", "Zulu bravery" and "Zulu steadfastness". And so it has come about that Natal Africans have isolated themselves from the rest of the Union, to this very day. It is this isolation that prevents them from seeing the conditions under which Africans are living in the rest of the Union, with exactly the same problems of landlessness, rehabilitation schemes, stock culling, pass laws, poll tax, police raids and all the rest of the grinding and crushing machinery of oppression and exploitation.

The unfortunate thing about Natal is that the Indians have not helped at all in breaking this isolationist and segregationist outlook of the Africans. In other parts of the Union, Non-Europeans of different sections and of so-called different racial stock, with different languages, traditions and customs were thrown into the same white *Herrenvolk* economic system as a labour force. They learned to live together and, as we shall show later, they learned to withstand the attempts of the *Herrenvolk* to egg them on against one another and keep them at loggerheads. But in Natal things went differently. The Indians, like the Zulus, believed that they were superior and thus also embraced the *Herrenvolk's* ideology of segregation. Instead of building bridges to the Africans, trying to find out their problems and ills, the Indians isolated themselves from the other Non-Europeans and wrapped themselves up in their own interests and superiority. Those who have managed to climb out of the labouring class have even adopted the *Herrenvolk's* arrogant outlook and behaviour towards Africans. Naturally the Africans, while forced to accept such arrogance from the white *Herrenvolk* as conquerors would most violently resent such behaviour from a minority who but yesterday were themselves slaves. Indeed, this arrogance came only from a small section of the Indians (now the merchant class). Nevertheless the *Herrenvolk* were not slow to exploit the explosive possibilities in the behaviour of this section of the Indians towards the Africans. Here we have, in a nutshell, the background to the communal riots.

"DIVIDE ET IMPERA"

The device of dividing the oppressed people by sowing antagonism among them so as to prevent their coming together and uniting against their oppressors has a long history. The device of turning aside the discontent of the masses from those who cause their suffering—their oppressors—and of letting the wrath of the people fall upon an innocent but convenient scapegoat was known 2,000 years ago to the rulers of the Roman Empire. They were the ones who coined the notorious formula for this double-device, "Divide et impera" (divide and rule), which history has brought down to us from ancient times. Since then every ruling class, whenever it was faced with the problem of the discontent of the oppressed rising to tension, has successfully applied this double-device. But it could only be successful whenever, and so long as, the masses did not know they were being tricked. And we need not go far back into history for examples of the dangerous dimensions and disastrous results which these pogroms or communal riots, as they are now called, have brought to the people concerned. We shall take only two: anti-Semitism and the Hindu-Muslim schism in India.

When the toiling masses of Russia, groaning under the yoke of Tsarist despotism and exploitation, and the hundred or more oppressed nationalities suffering under a *Herrenvolkism* of the Great Russians were beginning to unite in one movement to overthrow their oppressors, the Tsarist Government introduced this double-device in the form of a virus or poison that became known as anti-Semitism. It launched a vicious campaign against the Jews on the outskirts of the Russian Empire, because the Jews were segregated and allowed to live only on the outskirts. Through the hired official Press, from the pulpits in the Church, by verbal propaganda carried on by agents and police, and by specially bribed intellectuals in the lecture halls and class-rooms, the poisonous lie was spread that the Jews were the cause of all the suffering of the masses. They were called parasites, bloodsuckers, leeches: they were accused of robbing the people in trade and industry, of diagnosing the wrong illness, of dispensing the wrong medicine, of using the blood of small Christian children at Easter. By such means the Tsarist Government enrolled the most vicious hooligans, thugs and scum of the population into the so-called "Black Hundreds" groups and, with the open assistance of the police and army, started a series of pogroms that aroused indignation and protests from civilised people all over the world. But the Tsarist Government were satisfied that they had broken up the Unity between the oppressed nationalities and the toiling masses. They had diverted the wrath of the people from the oppressors to the scapegoat. Indeed, this Unity was delayed for another 10 years, after which not even this device could help the Tsar and the nobility. This same virus later helped Hitler to blind the German people to the horrors of Nazism, by appealing to their lowest and most beastly instincts with stories of Jewish world domination, stories of the Jew as a polluter of the pure Aryan race of Germans and stories of the Jew as a seducer of innocent German girls. All in all, this "distraction" cost five million innocent Jewish lives between 1933 and 1945.

Equally disastrous was the virus Britain introduced into India to maintain her rule over that vast country. Following in the footsteps of the Roman Empire, Britain realised that only by sowing suspicion and antagonism between Hindu and Muslim, by using religion as the weapon this time (because there was no racial division),

and by enrolling Quislings could she hope to keep this "brightest jewel" in the Empire. Britain's policy of favouritism towards the Moslems, followed so relentlessly and ostentatiously for 190 years, was bound to bear fruit. One can say quite definitely that even today Britain is reaping a rich harvest, and the dividends (not figurative but measured in pounds sterling) she derives from India and Pakistan are entirely due to this "wise" policy of sowing the virus of Hindu-Moslem antagonism. And what this "wise" policy was is revealed in a book by one of the leading authorities in Britain on India, Sir John Strachey: "The truth plainly is that the existence side by side of these hostile elements is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better classes of Mohammedans are a source of strength to us and not of weakness. They constitute a comparatively small but energetic minority of the population, whose political interests are identical with ours, and who, under no conceivable circumstances, would prefer Hindu dominion to our own" (India, 1888-1894, p. 241). There is no need to detail all the steps that Britain has been taking "to poison the social life of districts and villages and make a hell of India". There were bribes and special privileges for Moslems in the army, in administration, in the selection of personnel, in taxation, in educational grants and, lastly, in the electoral system designed to give special and privileged representation to the Moslem, so that at one time a Moslem had to pay income tax on 3,000 rupees a year to become a voter, while a non-Moslem had to pay on 300,000 rupees, and a Moslem graduate was required to have three years' standing, while a non-Moslem had to have thirty years' standing. All these privileges could not but cause deep-rooted suspicion and hostility in the majority of India's population against the Moslem minority (one-fifth), who enjoyed the protection of Britain. So much so that, at any time when tension was rising and the liberatory movement was starting on a new round against British rule, the British could divert this threat by launching communal riots, bringing death, desolation, division and more bitterness. And even when it became evident that Britain could no longer maintain her direct rule over India, and when the danger of revolution was threatening to sweep away everything, Britain still managed so to inflame communal passions and so to frighten the wits out of every Moslem living amongst a Hindu population, and every Hindu living amongst a Moslem majority, that India accepted the division of the country into two parts, Hindustan and Pakistan (actually several fragments of each state in the East and in the West), followed by communal pogroms of unbelievable ferocity, cruelty, and barbarism. Several million Indian people perished but Britain emerged the victor. She maintained her military, financial and economic hold over Pakistan and, by retaining her financial and economic positions in Hindustan, she kept the whole country hopelessly divided, economically crippled and weak. Nobody can now foretell how many years it will take to cleanse the life of India of the virus of communalism: how long it will take to heal the wounds, to make the people realise that they are one people, with one country, and thus bring about the Unity of India and Unity in India.

THE ATTEMPT AT POGROMS IN THE CAPE

It is only natural that, having adopted the ancient Roman double-device as her basic line of policy for the colonial Empire, Britain should also introduce it into South Africa from the first day of conquest down to the present time—for instance, the latest Bamangwato affair in Bechuanaland. Right through her bloody history of rapine,

trickery and double-crossing runs the red line of inciting one tribe against another, one section against another and searching for one to favour and make loyal to her through the hatred from the others. And, indeed, up to the time of Union there was no section more loyal to the British, more patriotic to the Empire, Queen, and Union Jack than the Coloureds in the Cape. However, the Coloured People in the Cape did not become what the Moslems are in India. In 1926 they were still ready to start a revolution in defence of the Union Jack. But twenty years later we find them side by side with their fellow Non-Europeans in the liberatory movement. There was no lack of trying by the *Herrenvolk* to produce communal riots in the Cape, in the same way as they engineered them in Natal. But while they succeeded in Natal, they failed miserably in the Cape. Artificially raising an outcry about the "influx" of Africans into the towns, they started a vicious, organised campaign of incitement among the Coloured People. They egged them on against the Africans who were allegedly "taking away their jobs, their dwellings, their women, taking the bread out of their children's mouths" and so on; they called upon the Coloureds "to defend themselves against the blanket Kaffirs". These attempts at pogroms were repeated several times, but received no response. And it is legitimate to ask why the old, tried and tested device failed.

The correct answer would be that there were several reasons. First the objective factors: the world situation has radically changed. From the advent of Hitler to the Second World War, the challenge of Japan that set the East aflame, the emancipation of China, the growing liberatory struggle in India, the epic of Russia's stand against, and defeat of, Hitler, there has been a liberatory wind sweeping right across Asia to the very shores of Africa. The decline and fall of the white man's rule in Asia brought a new awakening and a new hope to the colonial masses of Africa, showing that the White *Herrenvolk* are not invincible and that the end of their rule is in sight. Secondly, the subjective factors: when the (Cape) African vote was taken away in 1935-36, the Coloured People did not come to the defence of the Africans. They still trusted the *Herrenvolk* promise that they would take the Coloureds into their fold. But already in 1938 they had their first forewarning, and later, in 1943, the final notice that their turn came next. And yet a third factor should not be glossed over or minimised. When the pogrom propaganda was launched by the *Herrenvolk* and Quislings, the leadership of both the Coloured and African liberatory organisations threw themselves actively and passionately into a joint campaign to expose the double-device of "Divide et impera". They called huge public meetings of fraternisation and solidarity. Here was Unity in action. And here was demonstrated in the best possible way that, once the people understand this double-trick of dividing them and diverting their wrath into fratricidal channels, then the *Herrenvolk's* chief weapon does not work any more.

BUILDING A NATION

The failure of the *Herrenvolk* to bring about communal riots in the Cape demonstrated that two or more sections of the Non-Europeans can live amicably side by side, and that they can unite to fight against a common enemy. Indeed, during these eight or nine years in the Unity Movement they have given many splendid examples of how to meet successfully the onslaught of the *Herrenvolk*. To take but the most recent manifestations, we should mention the close liaison

established between the two teachers' bodies in the Cape, the C.A.T.A. (Cape African Teachers' Association) and the T.L.S.A. (Teachers' League of South Africa), with a joint Committee to meet the persecution from the Education Department. Witness, too, the rôle they played in the organising and successful carrying out of the boycott of the Van Riebeeck Festival. These things show what can be done in a spirit of Unity, and they make invalid the arguments of the Africans in Natal about the "Indian problem". There is *no* Indian problem, just as there is no Coloured problem or African problem. These are just problems for the *Herrenvolk* trying to work out how to split the people, how to keep them apart and grind them separately to dust. For us there is only one problem in South Africa—how to destroy *Herrenvolkism* and to end this 300-year-old rule of plunder, rape, murder, brutality and blood-sucking of the people of South Africa. And the answer to this problem is to break down the barriers of segregation which the *Herrenvolk* have planted between us, to destroy the remaining traces of tribalism that make us see, think and act as isolated groups (as Zulu, Xhosa, Basotho, Coloured, Indian, Malay and so on) and to start building the Nation of South Africa. As we have shown in the Declaration to the people of South Africa, we have got to build the Nation if we do not want to go under. It is not possible to come together in a unity to fight the *Herrenvolk* as long as we retain our tribal or sectional outlook. Only people who have merged their sectional identity in a National identity, people who can see, think and act as a nation can destroy *Herrenvolkism* and, wiping it from the face of South Africa, liberate the *true Nation*. China has shown us the right way, India has shown us the wrong way. China did it thoroughly by uniting the people and building a nation. India stopped short and did only half of the job, with the people still carrying most of their chains, because she allowed the enemy to split the people and wreck the nation.

Now we are told that Malan and his Broederbond claim that they are also going to build a Nation. They proclaimed this as the slogan for the recent Van Riebeeck Celebration of 300 years of White domination over South Africa. To be precise, their idea is to build a nation for the next 300 years of White rule. Not only we, the Non-Europeans of South Africa, laugh at this idiotic, arrogant babble, but the whole world is already laughing at it, and even a section of the *Herrenvolk* is sceptical about it. This section realises that it is rather late to build a Nation when the writing is already on the wall. Hitler boasted that his Reich would last 1,000 years; the Russian Tsar, when celebrating 300 years of the bloody rule of the House of the Romanovs in 1913, boasted of another such period of "glory" for those of his kidney; the White *Herrenvolk*, during their Van Riebeeck Celebrations, also made a claim on the future—also for 300 years. However, the Nazi Reich was in the rubbish bin of history 12 years later; the Romanovs disappeared from the stage only four years after one of the most lavish and pompous celebrations the world has seen; and the *Herrenvolk* of South Africa has probably just about a similar period of grace before it shares the same fate. That is why it is simply laughable when Malan and his tribal Moguls speak of building a nation. They intend building it by exclusion. They exclude the flesh and bone, tissues and marrow, heart and vitals—and still call it a Nation! They exclude all *except the parasites on the body of the nation*—and still call it a Nation! Even the *Herrenvolk* themselves are not all to be admitted into this National and

purified and Christian Nation. Naturally, all the unassimilable "foreign" elements will fall out—the Jews, the English, and even a part of the Dutch who are not *ware Afrikaners*. All those who do not assemble at celebrations to sing and dance and worship before the tribal god—the ox and his wagon—will be excluded from Malan's Nation. No wonder the other sections of the parasites are up in arms and demanding equality and freedom for all with a white skin, and the right to suck the blood of the Non-Europeans. That is what all the rumpus in and out of their Parliament is about, and what they like to call the "constitutional crisis". A Nation—indeed! But then what could one expect from usurpers and executioners who, by reason of their perverted minds, distort and pervert the very words and terms they use. They have established the most ruthless Nazi regime and call it "Democracy"! They wage relentless war upon a whole people, chaining and gagging them, annually throwing hundreds of thousands into gaol (not for any crime, but for a "breach" of the Pass Laws) and they call it "peace, law and order"! They wallow in luxury and parasitism by draining the blood and marrow of the Non-Europeans, and they call themselves civilised! And then, to crown it all, they have the brazenness to call themselves Christians!

It is an altogether different type of nation that we are trying to build. Our nation will *not* be based on exclusiveness and hate. Our nation will not be based on the law of the jungle, the beak and claw, the survival of the toughest, might is right. Nor will our nation have two laws: one for the master and the other for the slave. Our nation will not need cannibalism, the devouring of Non-European lives by the gold and diamond mines so that a minority may live in luxury, parasitism and gluttony. Our nation will not need to indulge in festivals of hate every second year in order to inculcate and keep alive in the young generation the spirit of exclusiveness and hatred through the worshipping of the tribal god and the traditions of piracy and murder laid down by Van Riebeeck, the Voortrekkers and others. Our nation will not boast of having within its majority group the highest death rate in the world, or the highest incidence of T.B., or the biggest number of innocent people in gaol. And when our nation has been built, the people will not be afraid that they will be dragged out in the dead of night by police to produce passes or Poll Tax receipts; nor will they be treated as lepers and prohibited from moving wherever they wish in and out of their own country. And so one could go on indefinitely with the listing of the differences between conditions in our nation that will be and their nation that will not be. Suffice it to state that our rightful claim rests on being the majority of the population; on not coming as unwanted foreign invaders, but belonging here and only here; on producing most of the goods and services for the country by our labour; and on replacing hate, race persecution and slavery by tolerance, justice and freedom for all the people of the nation.

We are convinced that Malan's nation is not to be, because mankind is persistently moving forward, while his *Herrenvolk* are trying to turn back the course of history. Moreover, their tribalism makes their nation a self-deception, an empty dream, because tribalism and nation are incompatible—a contradiction in terms. But it is precisely these considerations, because of their double-edged character, that impose upon us circumspection and an obligation to learn from them. We cannot possibly win if we go on doing what the *Herrenvolk* want us to do. Nor shall we win if we imitate the *Herrenvolk*. History will not be on our side if we simply try to replace White *Herrenvolkism*

by Black *Herrenvolkism*, White domination by Black domination, White Chauvinism and intolerance by Black Chauvinism and intolerance. We cannot win our historic battle unless we are progressive and build a nation. And we cannot build a nation unless we get rid of sectionalism and tribalism. In short, we are faced with an Either—Or. Either through sectionalism to our downfall, or through building a nation to our liberation.

IMMEDIATE STEPS

And now, after all we have said above, it should be sufficiently clear why the Non-European Unity Movement, which has pledged itself to the task of building, or rather helping to build, the nation, must regard the state of affairs in Natal as constituting the greatest danger to the liberatory cause of the Non-Europeans. And it should be equally clear why we consider that something must be done about it without delay. We are well aware that there are many pressing questions troubling the minds of the Non-Europeans in Natal: the diabolical rehabilitation schemes and forced culling, with their accompanying persecutions and prosecutions which are uppermost in the minds of the peasants; the desperation of every wage-labourer at the continual and steeply rising cost of living, and the impossibility of making ends meet while wages are kept low and pegged by the dastardly War Measure 143, specially created by the exploiters to prevent the Non-Europeans from striking; the Group Areas Act which threatens with ruin every property owner, especially in the towns. We mention only the major problems. And yet, in spite of their urgency and importance, we have left them out. It is because we consider that none of these problems can be dealt with truly and properly while the scourge of racial division and the threat of communal riots are haunting us like a nightmare. For without unified and concerted action, resistance can only be sporadic and feeble. Concerted action by the Non-Europeans, on the other hand, demands an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. What then is to be done? How can the road be paved for such concerted action when the gulf of distrust and enmity is rending the body Non-European asunder in Natal?

This pamphlet is written with the specific purpose of concentrating the attention of the people of Natal and their leaders on this canker, and at the same time showing the broad outline of the road to follow. We do not expect everyone to agree with our assessment and the conclusions we draw from the situation. But no one except a tool or paid agent of the *Herrenvolk* could dispute the seriousness of the situation and its inherent danger to the liberatory movement. And that is why we submit in all earnestness to all the parties concerned in Natal that they should take stock of the situation and face up to the realities. We have the right to do so because the Unity Movement is not a political party trying to undermine and replace other political parties, and because the Unity Movement is not sectional—taking the side of Africans or Indians or Coloureds. Indeed, we are certainly not neutral. But if we are biased, it is in that we take the side of all the Non-Europeans against the *Herrenvolk* oppressors. We also have a duty to fulfil—a duty to the Non-Europeans in the other Provinces (as well as in Natal), who look to us to further the cause of Unity and the task of building a Nation. Conscious of this right and duty, we therefore wish to submit the following proposals:

I. We suggest that a special Conference be convened at the

earliest possible date, and at the most convenient place, to which will be invited all the political, trade union, educational, cultural, social, religious and sports organisations of the Non-Europeans in Natal and Zululand. They should be invited to send delegates with a mandate to discuss:

- (a) The dangers of the present division and schism between the Non-European sections.
 - (b) The identity of interest of all Non-Europeans as nationally oppressed.
 - (c) The need for a common defence front against the onslaught of the *Herrenvolk*; and
 - (d) The need for Unity of the Non-Europeans and, as a first step, the establishing of friendly and harmonious relations between all the Non-European sections and groups.
- II. We suggest that this Conference agree to take the necessary steps to launch a special campaign through the political leaders, teachers, trade unions, press and pulpit to explain to the people the *Herrenvolk's* device to split the Non-Europeans and incite one section against another in order to divert their minds from their oppressors and exploiters; to explain to the people the harm they are doing to themselves and to the cause of liberation, and to enlighten them on the need and method of Unity between them. This pamphlet could serve as the basis for such a campaign.
- III. We suggest that this Conference agree to advise all the organisations to instruct their local branches to form, together with other local bodies, co-ordinating committees for the purpose of facilitating the above campaign of joint public meetings, of airing local grievances and conciliation and of common defence against the common enemy.

The issue rests with the leadership. And a heavy responsibility lies on them, because the onus is on the leaders to give a lead. The people will follow. There are innumerable examples of how this has proved successful. No one who has the interests of the Non-European people and their liberation at heart can afford to ignore our call, still less to reject it.

THE 10-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT

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 and 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

Point

- 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 is 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.
- VI. 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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