

**SELF RULE**  
**IN THE**  
**TRANSKEI**

**A**  
**MONSTROUS FRAUD**



**An**  
**All African Convention**  
**Publication**

Once more the Bantu Authorities collaborators have betrayed the people of the Transkei in particular and the oppressed people of South Africa in general. This time they have accepted, in the name of the people they claim to represent, a constitution that will ensure the continued domination of the Transkei by the Fascist Republic of South Africa. This applies with equal force to both those who enthusiastically and unashamedly embraced this monstrous and fraudulent document and those who accepted it with certain reservations. As far as the people are concerned they are all equally guilty and must share equal responsibility for all the iniquity that must necessarily follow in the wake of this of betrayal; and when the verdict of history is pronounced not one of them can plead mitigation. It is true that Kaiser Matanzima, as the collaborator-in-chief, had to play a leading part in this drama of betrayal and genuflection. He alone has the audacity and aptitude for the role of the Chief Boss Boy.

The constitution that these stooges of Herrenvolkism and Fascism have gleefully accepted must properly be regarded as a body of regulations prepared by the rulers for implementation by their lackeys, in the same way that they prepare regulations to be applied by the Bantu School Boards in the implementation of the vicious policy of Bantu Education. For it must be remembered that the Transkei independence fraud is a blueprint for the rest of the Non-European oppressed peoples in South Africa. It is at present in the nature of an outflanking movement, but it is designed to result in a fullscale frontal attack upon the rights and liberties of a whole people. It is a devilish plan for the enslavement of the whole population, and it is against this background that we must look at it.

When these creatures assembled at Umtata recently behind a veil of conspiratorial secrecy in order ostensibly to draft and discuss a constitution for the running of a self-ruling Transkei they had before them a ready-made, cut and dried draft by the masters, builders and architects of Bantuisation, who, in advance told their stooges and the world alike that nothing more than boss boy duties was to be assigned to these cogs in the Fascist machine. What the boss boys were called upon to do was merely to nod their heads and proclaim yet again their willingness to continue along their evil road, the road that has plunged the whole of the Transkei into a permanent state of emergency.

Thus in advance the Transkei Territorial Authority collaborators—all and sundry—relinquish their claims to the rest of South Africa, which has prospered on the sweat and toil of their brothers and sisters, their sons and daughters and their children's children, and confine themselves to Verwoerd's Bantustan which has been devised and designed for the regimentation and control of the Xhosa-speaking species of his vast menagerie. These quislings have rejected the idea of real self-rule and self-determination and are satisfied with spurious self-rule, regimented and straitjacketed in the pattern of apartheid.

In consequence they will have nothing to do with matters relating to defence and external affairs, posts and telegraphs, transport, immigration, currency, public loans, customs and excise. For these are the very things that would make men of them. They reserve for themselves only those functions that they have performed as Bhunga stooges and then as Bantu Authorities.

In essence the fraud that is being perpetrated upon the people of the Transkei is not new. It is the same old Bantu Authorities system that has been rejected by the people in no uncertain terms. Only this fraud is now draped in a new kaross. All that the rulers have done has been to change about the names. The T.T.A. is now called the Legislative Assembly, while the T.T.A. Executive now becomes the Cabinet; the Chairman of the T.T.A. is now grandiloquently to be called the Prime Minister; the Tribal and Regional Authorities will now revert to the old name of Councils, that is, Bhungas.

Thus the so-called Cabinet Ministers will be charged with the duties of supervisory boss boys to see to the effective and efficient implementation of Bantu Education; bantuisied justice; the running of labour bureaux; the development of primitive industries; the mobilisation of forced labour on the roads, bridges and causeways; the infliction of more taxes upon the already impoverished peasants and peasant-workers — indeed all the activities that the calculated to force the people to collaborate in their own oppression. It is the same role they played as Bhunga councillors and as Bantu Authorities. It is the old fraud invested with grandeur in order to beguile the gullible and help the opportunist indulge in emancipated self-deception.

As if this was not enough, these Herrenvolk lackeys, the Bantu Authorities chiefs, want to make it quite clear that they are asking for no more than what they are getting now under the Advisory Boards system, the Bantu Authorities system, the Bantu School Boards system and similar monstrosities. They wish to be "consulted" knowing as they do fully well that within the framework of Fascism in which they operate consultation means no more than just telling them what the masters intend to do against the people and wherever possible getting the full and active support of these agents of Fascism. Indeed their own decisions are subject to be vetoed by Swart, the President of the Fascist Republic of South Africa.

To make sure that barbarism prevails 103 of the members of this glorified Bhunga shall be "recognised and appointed chiefs", that is, chiefs who are considered suitable for their role by the Broederbond and the rest of the Herrenvolk; only 26 will, in a sense, be elected and merely as a sop to the critics of the Fascist rule that has all but destroyed the elective principle in African affairs, and to serve as a bait to those misguided intellectuals who are already seeing some possibilities for themselves in this fraud.

In this set-up the whole system of justice will be subjected to the control of barbarians. Even appeals from the so-called magistrates' courts will lie to the Regional Court "consisting of the regional chief with the assessors appointed from amongst the district judicial officers", that is, chiefs and bantuisied magistrates. Also the kapteins in the "Cabinet" will appoint members of the Transkei Court of Appeal, which will be elevated to the status of the Eastern Cape Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa!

But apparently these barbarians cannot be trusted that they will not regard witchcraft as important and as efficacious as medical science. And so the masters at once take this out of the ambit of their jurisdiction.

To make quite sure that Fascism is not disturbed, "internal security", that is, the Gestapo and the army, is still in the hands of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In plain language, as at present, there will be no place for the real fighters for democracy in the Transkei. Indeed we can expect the powers that be to be even more vicious and ruthless than they are at present. There shall be no freedom of thought, of speech, of movement, of association and of assembly in the Transkei, as at present. That is the meaning of "internal security". The phrase is pregnant with dire forebodings.

Although it is envisaged that the Civil Service will be manned by willing Blacks, except for a few bureaucratic white officials, the architects of this colossal fraud make sure that they continue to call the tune by paying the piper. Verwoerd and the Broederbond will pay all members of the Civil Service and the Bhunga constitution significantly specifies "servants of the Bantu Education Department" amongst the Civil Servants. This is to make it abundantly clear even to the collaborators themselves that no interference with Verwoerd's system of indoctrinated schooling for Africans will be tolerated.

There will also be no interference with the systematic impoverishment of the peasants behind the facade of Betterment Schemes; the relations between the Transkei and the Broederbond Republic of South Africa shall remain as before, those between the master and the servant. The whole scheme will be directed and controlled as at present by a team of autocratic and bureaucratic white officials acting behind the mirage of "creative self-withdrawal".

In the face of this further onslaught upon the rights and liberties of the Non-European oppressed peoples of South Africa, the position of the people's organised struggle against oppression and for liberation is clear. Whatever petty differences may exist between the collaborators as to how best to surrender our heritage to those who would usurp our birthright are of no consequence to us. To both camps we say, "A plague on both your houses." It is not our task to pit this quisling chief against that quisling chief. That is only the way of opportunists, charlatans and political crooks.

Our strength lies in the organisations of the people engaged in the titanic struggle for liberation. The Transkei has been the veritable cauldron of the ideas of the All-African Convention and the Non-European Unity Movement. It is the policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor and the boycott weapon that exposed the fraudulence of dummy representation and dummy institutions; it is the ideas of the A.A.C. that killed the former Bhunga and have made it impossible for the Bantu Authorities system to gain root with the people. It is now the Ten-point programme of the A.A.C. and the N.E.U.M. that we put before the people of the Transkei once more. We enjoin them to rally to the call of the A.A.C. to reject this monstrous fraud and expose all the Bantu Authorities together with their accomplices in this heinous crime; to spurn those middle-class intellectuals who will see opportunities for personal aggrandisement in this Machiavellian Plan that is designed for the perpetual incarceration of the minds and bodies of the living oppressed in these territories. There can be no compromise on the score. It is the duty of every true democrat to fight until Herrenvolkism has been liquidated from the face of South Africa; until South Africa is free and untrammelled by the politics of race; until human relationships in South Africa are based upon and governed by the full acceptance of the principle and practice of the absolute equality of men. Such a society can only be brought about as a result of an intransigent and principled struggle based upon the Ten-point Programme of the All-African Convention and the Non-European Unity Movement.

WE FIGHT FOR :

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT  
FREEDOM OF SPEECH  
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT  
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY  
FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

WE BELIEVE THAT :

FREEDOM IS STRENGTH  
FREEDOM IS VICTORY  
FREEDOM IS LIFE