

"If we look to the development pattern of the future, there is one basic principle which I want to lay down and that is that the Government rejects the principle of multi-racialism and that we will not deviate from that path." That sums up the attitude of the Herrenvolk to the Non-White population of South Africa, and the pronouncement comes from one of Verwoerd's most faithful and gullible disciples, Maree, Minister of Bantu Education and Indian Affairs. To us it teaches no new lesson. Maree merely reiterates what we have known to be the aim of Herrenvolk policies for the last three hundred years and more. When they deal with the Non-White oppressed peoples they deal with them as a group, but for convenience and in the interests of the policy of divide and rule, they find it expedient to label them Bantus, Coloureds and Indians. This is a calculated technique of domination which the Herrenvolk have used for years and always with the same aim in view.

The oppressed are sometimes deceived into believing that their oppression as Africans, Coloureds and Indians differs in kind and not merely in degree. But the Herrenvolk themselves have never been similarly deluded. They calculate and act according to plan. Thus in 1936 they created for the Africans separate political representation and a Native Representative Council and called it a training ground for preparing their black children for future participation in the administration of their own affairs. Our organisations denounced this and similar bodies, such as Advisory Boards, the Bungas and later the Bantu Authorities as quisling and dummy institutions. Indeed we went beyond this and warned that the attack upon the rights and liberties of the African section was in fact an attack upon the rights and liberties of the whole Non-White oppressed population and that by a sheer process of extending the practice the other Non-White groups would ultimately be similarly engulfed, throttled and trampled underfoot.

A foretaste of this visited the Coloured people in 1943 when the Smuts Government sought to establish a Department of Coloured Affairs and a Council for Coloured Affairs, direct and undisguised counterparts of the iniquitous Department of Native Affairs and the dummy Native Representative Council. Three years later the Indian people were placed under the ravages of the Pegging Act, relegated to the ghettos and quarantined in the catacombs of separate representation. Now a fully-fledged Department of Coloured Affairs has been brought into being with Minister Botha as the director of operations against the Coloured people and a Department of Indian Affairs is in the offing. A Minister of Indian Affairs has already been appointed and a Coloured Affairs Council is notoriously in existence. The African group has already been atomised into myriad particles of tribal groups and soon the same process will be extended to the other sections of the Non-White oppressed, all in the interest of the continued existence of Fascism in South Africa, & the maintenance of the cheap labour system upon which the South African economy thrives.

Our organisations then exposed the machinations of the Herrenvolk and in the thick of this fight against domination a new National Organisation called the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department was born and it at once

dedicated itself to fight intransigently for full and absolute equality of all in South Africa and for a total rejection of those institutions that the Herrenvolk created for the enslavement of the Non-Whites. Those who were prepared to lend their support to the furthering of the ends of Herrenvolkism were rightly cast out as collaborators and quislings and were routed from our midst to the backyards of their masters.

But the Herrenvolk have learnt that their schemes against us, the oppressed, cannot work without our collaboration. Already a few handpicked prospective and actual Indian quislings have been invited by Minister Maree to discuss with him how best to perfect the oppression of the Indian people through the Asiatic Affairs Department and its adjunct, the Asiatic Advisory Council. Some of these creatures have already fallen for the tender mercies of their master's boot and are already finding and trotting out banal theories to justify their shameless betrayal of the people. Thus Tiekamdas of Port Elizabeth has been reported as saying that this projected Advisory Council will serve as the "one authoritative mouthpiece for the Indian community in South Africa." He bewails the fact that there is no bridge institution and there are hardly any effective bridge personalities across which and by means of which the oppressors of the Indian people can reach at their intended victim. Tiekamdas agrees with Maree that there is a crying need for such bridges.

To those who have not allowed themselves to be blinded by the desire to pander to the will of apartheid, it is quite clear that the creation of this Council is motivated by the same thinking as the creation of squalid locations, dummy representation in local and central government and provincial bodies or absolute lack of it; the creation of the monstrous fraud miscalled self-rule in the Transkei; the land and labour policies that have doomed the Non-White oppressed peoples to eternal poverty. In short, it is intended to fulfil Maree's dream and the dream of the Herrenvolk as a whole, that Herrenvolkism can be made to live forever behind the principle of "No equality between Black and White in Church and State." For that is the meaning of Maree's rejection of "multi-racialism."

A word about this unhappy phrase. We in the Non-European Unity Movement and in APDUSA reject the concept "multi-racialism" because it is a product of racist thinking. In the society we envisage race will not be synonymous with colour. There will only be the human race. So in our view, those who reject multi-racialism are as racialistic in their thinking as those who claim to be in favour of multi-racialism or "a multi-racial democracy". To both we say. "Xp A plague on both your houses."

Maree and the rest of the Broederbond make no bones about it. They will not deviate from the path of Fascism. All the phoney talk about self-development, self-determination and self-rule for the Non-Whites is an eyewash. It is an attempt to dupe them into collaboration and to placate the hostile outside world in the interests of both Imperialism abroad and Herrenvolkism at home. For the South African Herrenvolk is hanging precariously between the Devil and the deep blue sea. The forces of <sup>resistance to</sup> ~~reaction~~ /~~against~~ oppression ...

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 against oppression at home are gaining strength, and acquiring purpose and direction and are a threat to the interests of Imperialism which alone can ensure the continued existence of Fascism in South Africa. So the two strange bedfellows, Broederbond Fascism and Imperialism, have to make common cause against the wind of change that is sweeping across the whole of the African continent and the world and has not left the rainbow dreams of the Broederbond unshaken.

It is this situation that has given rise to the need on the part of the Broederbond to think up more dramatic devices for the deception of both the world and those against whose interests such devices are directed. Hence the birth of the colossal fraud of self-government, which, using the Transkei as a springboard, is intended finally to be extended to all the Non-White oppressed groups. For the Transkei Self-Government is a blueprint for the regimentation and control of the minds and bodies of all the Non-Whites in South Africa and in South-West Africa, and that is why we have to take a very serious view of what is taking place in that part of our land. Behind the mirage of self-rule the real rulers will implement the Group Areas Act, job reservation, Bantu Education, Coloured Education, Indian Education, the rehabilitation scheme and other measures that the Herrenvolk has devised for the continued subjugation of the Non-White oppressed.

In keeping with Maree's pronouncements and with the general policy of the rulers of South Africa, the Transkei Constitution confines the people there to a Bantustan, defined and carved up by the rulers themselves for the kraaling of the Xhosa-speaking species of their Kingdom of doomed Calibans. The activities of the quisling Legislative Assembly are carefully circumscribed and exclude such matters as defence, external affairs, posts and telegraphs, transport, currency, immigration, public loans and customs and excise. All these are the exclusive preserves of the rulers themselves. The glorified Bhunga itself will be used merely as an instrument for the effective implementation of Bantu Education, Rehabilitation and culling of stock, the Bantu Authorities system, the regimentation of labour for the mines, the farms and the general labour requirements of the rulers through the vicious labour bureaux; the mobilisation of forced labour; the furious taxation of the rural and the urban poor. This Machiavellian Plan is intended to be a vast machine for the total and decisive regimentation and control of the entire lives of the people. The Constitution makes plain that the ultimate and effective control resides in the Fascist Government of the Broederbond Republic of South Africa. The Constitution itself may be suspended by that Government should this be found necessary by the Fascists and all the decisions of the quisling Legislative Assembly will be subject to Swart's veto.

To make sure that effective control remains in the hands of the Broederbond, which has now become the Executive Committee of the ruling class in South Africa, the police and the army will still be controlled by Verwoerd and his clique, and all freedom of thought, of speech, of movement, of association and of assembly will be forbidden and outlawed

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as at present. This is what the Broederbond means by "internal security". It means, among other things, that the existing state of emergency in the Transkei will remain undisturbed, so that even so-called elections to the envisaged baboons' parliament, will take place in an atmosphere that is vitiated by the ever-present fear of the all-seeing, all-powerful Gestapo.

The Constitution and the structure it seeks to erect rests upon the chequered backs of barbarians, the chiefs, who will dominate all the activities of this illusory system of self-government, and the prevailing system of justice itself will be subjected to the control of the same barbarians, whose tribal courts are already a festering hangover from a dead and distant past.

As I have already pointed out, this fraud that is now being perpetrated upon the people of the Transkei is a blueprint for the whole Non-White oppressed population. Tomorrow there will be self-government for Griquas, Muslims, Basutoes, Bechuanas, Zulus, Hereros, Ovambos, and so on ad nauseum. The pattern will be the same, for the purpose is the same: to maintain, entrench and perpetuate Herrenvolk rule in South Africa for the foreseeable future, by creating a checkerboard pattern of labour reservoirs throughout the country, in order to satisfy the demands of both Industrial Capitalism and Broederbond Fascism.

We in APDUSA believe that the whole of Southern Africa belongs to the nation of Southern Africa. We treat with utter contempt all those who have relinquished their claim to any area or produce of this geographic, economic and political unit. We claim every inch of this land and all its wealth and means of production as the property of the whole nation of Southern Africa. We subscribe to the Ten-Point Programme of the Non-European Unity Movement and to its policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor. Our duty in the coming period is clear. Our organisations have in the past fought intransigently for the realisation of true democracy in South Africa. We have rejected all those institutions that have been devised by the ruling class for our own enslavement. We have fought unyieldingly for the liquidation of Herrenvolkism and Fascism in our land. We now stand poised on the threshold of the birth of a new day, when we shall witness the dissolution of the vast empire of Herrenvolk oppression and the advent of a New Generation of men and women who will be steeped in the thought of the abiding value of the dignity of man irrespective of birth, colour or religion. But between us and that magnificent citadel that we visualise is a vast wasteland where many of our soldiers, the soldiers of liberation, will lie marooned and buried for the cause that was to them so dear. But that is of the very essence of the path we have chosen for ourselves and for humanity, the path of struggle and the path from which we will not deviate. For we are following in the footsteps of our forebears, whose names are written in the pages of our history in letters of fire and gold. Generations yet unborn will sing the praises of those who died in the fight for Liberation; those who preferred "to die with their heads up, with unshakable faith and deep confidence in the destiny of their

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country, rather than live in submission and the spurning of their sacred principles."

This is not merely a projected utopia. The signs are there for all who care to see. And we might well repeat the words of the poet:

Say not the struggle not availeth,  
The labour and the wounds are vain,  
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,  
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;  
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,  
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,  
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Come silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light,  
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,  
But westward, look, the land is bright.

(Arthur Clough)