

**THE
BACKGROUND
OF
SEGREGATION**

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE NATIONAL ANTI-CAD
CONFERENCE - 29 MAY 1943

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See p 12-13



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NOTES ON TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. **NATIONAL ANTI-CAD:** i.e. National Anti-Coloured Affairs Department – A federation of organisations of the Coloured people formed in 1943 to ward off the onslaught on them by the Smuts Government. Although for tactical reasons the anti-Cad concentrated on the Coloured people, it was committed to the principle of non-racialism and, therefore, its doors were open to all persons who accepted its programme and policy. The Anti-Cad was affiliated to the Unity Movement and in the course of its life span of over twenty years it became the largest and most powerful radical organisation of the Coloured people. Twenty years after its demise, the spirit of the Anti-Cad still dominates the Western Cape.
2. **HERRENVOLK:** Means the "SIR PEOPLE" or the "MASTER RACE". The term refers to oppressors world over, especially, those who regard themselves as superior people.
3. **CAC: COLOURED ADVISORY COUNCIL** – a dummy body offered to the people in exchange for their vote in 1943. The CAC was still-born.
4. **NRC:** – "NATIVE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL" – a dummy body thrust on the African people in exchange for their vote in 1935. It became so discredited that Dr Verwoerd was forced to kill it off in 1951.
5. **TLSA:** – "TEACHERS' LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA" – formed in 1912 as a professional body of Coloured teachers. In 1943 the TLSA drove out its reactionary leadership and affiliated to the Anti-Cad and the Unity Movement. Together with the Cape African Teachers Association, the TLSA made history by being the only teachers' organisations in South Africa to openly join the liberatory struggle of the oppressed. Throughout the decades the TLSA participated in the liberatory struggle and continues doing so.
6. **APO:** – AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION – formed in 1905. For most of its life the APO was a moderate reformist organisation of the Coloured people. Towards the tail-end of its life, the APO took a radical turn and affiliated to the Unity Movement. By that time it was a spent force and faded from the political scene.

THE deception of the people is an art of government which has been practised by every ruling class since the dawn of society. Oppressors have used whip, and chains; they have used torture, bullets and prisons. But their most important weapon has been the enslavement of the mind.

In the interests of tyranny and world domination, the world has been segregated into East and West, and both East and West have been segregated into races and nations. Millions of men have been enslaved by the idea that it is natural and necessary to have the world split up into hostile camps, millions of men have died valiantly for this vicious idea, never knowing that they died for something that was basically false and created and fostered in the interests of despotism.

And it is the 20th century which has seen the tragic depths to which ruling classes can sink in order to enslave the human mind and thus enslave the human body. For the idea of a Herrenvolk has seen its most vicious crystallisation in our own times. It is the idea of a Herrenvolk which has enslaved the Germans and Italians to fight the cause of their Nazi and Fascist rulers. It is the idea of a Herrenvolk which keeps the British in India and other Colonial countries, the Americans and the Japanese fight one another bitterly in the interests of the Herrenvolk idea of both Yankee and Japanese Imperialism; and it is the Herrenvolk idea which has enslaved South Africa to the idea of white trustees and non-white child races. But it is the 20th century which is also witnessing a mighty change in the attitude of the slaves towards their masters. The War in the

interests of the rival Herrenvolk is fast breaking down the idea of a Herrenvolk altogether. All over the world, those who have been subjected so long are seeing through the deception and preparing to smash the chains that have bound them in body and mind.

The determined stand at present being made by the Coloured People is but one very, very humble example of that new and militant spirit which is being shown by those who have suffered under the Herrenvolk. It is a part, however small at present, of that new spirit of manhood and brotherhood which has already shown itself in China and India, and which must inevitably sweep the Colonial countries and the whole of the world.

The deception of the oppressed people is falling on evil days. And the deception of the Coloured People is falling on evil days. The scales are dropping from their eyes and they are looking at the old world with a new and critical gaze.

While it is true to say that the Coloured People have learned more in the past three years about their rulers than they have learned during the past thirty years, it is a grim necessity that we should recognise the fact that we are only at the very beginning of things, and that there is much, very much, to learn and to do before we can consider ourselves anywhere near the road to emancipation.

It is the purpose of this address to give a sober picture of the factors we are up against and also to show clearly how we will have to face up to these realities, if we are to wage an effective struggle for full democratic rights and freedom from all forms of oppression.

The Union of South Africa has been called many flowery names by poets and constitutional lawyers. But nothing can conceal the harsh fact that, while it may be a self-governing dominion for the Europeans, it is nothing but a labour camp for non-Europeans. No amount of verbal jugglery can disguise the fact that British Imperialism owns South Africa and that the various governments since 1910, Unionist, S.A.P., Nationalist, Pact or Coalition, have all acted as Britain's business managers. The non-Europeans are, and are intended to be, a dispossessed and politically voiceless mass of slaves. The only elements of democracy in South Africa are reserved, and intended to be reserved, for the white minority who are bribed to be our overseers.

The basic principle upon which the British Empire is founded is that of "divide and rule." The plainer name is Segregation. And this principle works right through the Empire, from the Statute of Westminster to the constitution of the N.R.C. or the C.A.C.; from the creation of a white working-class aristocracy in South Africa to the stoking up of Hindu-Moslem feuds in India. For it is the illusion of the independence of the various outposts of the Empire Pty. Ltd. that makes it easier to exploit them and to delay the growth of any national movement for independence. And it is the illusion that the Africans are special creatures with special needs that is responsible for the

N.R.C. The trick has not worked in the case of the Coloured People and the C.A.C., but the principle is the same.

In South Africa, the reign of the exploiting class is prolonged by the basic segregation of the working class into a white labour aristocracy and a black serf majority. The fundamental class issue of owner and worker is overshadowed and blotted out by the crusade of white against non-white. So successful has this segregation been that the white majority as a whole is completely fascist in its attitude towards the non-whites. All of them, intellectual, worker or peasant, from the Prime Minister down to the most illiterate poor white, they live off the segregation of the non-whites, they perpetuate that segregation in their own interests and they swagger through the land, glorying in the possession of a white skin, their passport to South African Democracy. So completely have the whites, as a group, been taken in by this racial fraud that they gladly gave their lives to fight Fascism abroad and they spend their lives to implement it at home; the white working-class even has its own Labour Party segregation scheme, which cannot be distinguished from that of the rulers. In their utter folly they have allowed themselves to be segregated from us, and they are siding with the Lords of Empire who will turn on them tomorrow, after they have finished dealing with the various sections of the segregated non-whites.

And they have almost "finished" dealing with the non-whites. They have carved us up into three groups until to-day we lock upon ourselves as either African oppressed, Coloured oppressed or Indian oppressed. They intend to reduce us all to the same low level of slavery, but to keep us segregated even in subjection. Each section is to be in the same chains as the other, but each group is always to think that its chains are somewhat different. Already the names—African, Coloured and Indian—are practically out of date, they no longer correspond to reality. The reality is this: that in South Africa there are only white and non-white; that no non-European may either make laws or administer them; no non-European may work in any factory or office where he wishes; no non-European may go to any school, technical college or University he wishes; no non-European may live where he pleases; no non-European may go to any hospital or nursing-home; no non-European may enter any theatre, library, art gallery, park or sportsfield that he wishes. In politics and law, in work and leisure, in sickness and health there is a fundamental segregation of European and non-European.

The African non-Europeans are imprisoned in Reserves, which they can leave under stricter conditions than those applied to Italian prisoners of war in this country. The Coloured non-Europeans are rapidly being put into sub-economic housing schemes which are big prison camps of Coloured workers outside of the towns in preparation for the time when there will be a quota of Coloureds allowed into every town. The Indian non-Europeans have their bazzars or ghettos which will be enlarged because of the Indian Pegging Bill, an important step towards

dispossessing the Indian non-Europeans just as African and Coloured non-Europeans have been dispossessed of their land and property from 1652 onwards.

The African non-European has no franchise. He has only a dummy N.R.C. and a few white segregationists to represent him in the Assembly and the Senate. The Indian non-European has no franchise. Already he has an Advisory Council in Natal. The Coloured non-European has no franchise. He has a vote with which he has always elected some segregationist or other to the House. The scheme for completing the political segregation of the Coloured People by means of a C.A.C. and C.A.D. has gone badly astray. The piecemeal enslavement of the non-Europeans has been the greatest tragedy of South African history. But in this instance it has helped the Coloured People to wake up. They had the tragic example of the Africans before them and they were roused in time. They had seen the African exploited and duped by his Native Affairs Department, the Native Affairs Commission, the N.R.C., the Native Representatives in the House and the Senate. They had seen Africans duped and betrayed by their fellow-Africans on the N.R.C., and they were not prepared to allow the same to happen to them.

And so the Coloured People have been able to drive a wedge between the traitors and those whom they wanted to betray. The result of this is that these traitors are now of no use to the Government because they haven't been able to drag the people along with them. The Government will also have to think up some other form of forcing the Coloureds out of the body-politic, because this method is now unworkable, and their segregation plan must be continued.

We do not need to enlarge upon the present position of the non-Europeans, because we are all fully aware of it. But what is important for every man and woman to realise is this: there is a basic similarity between the economic, political and social position of all sections of the non-European; any present-day differences are of degree, not of kind, and it is the intention of the rulers of this country to wipe out those differences and to wipe them out now. Any illusions about this on the part of the Africans, Coloureds and Indians, can have only one result—the hastening of the process, and its intensification because of the continued division in our ranks.

And now we must turn to the all-important question, why are we in this position to-day? Why has a white minority been able to enslave us? The answer is not the obvious one. The answer is not just "because they own the army, the police force and the prisons." Undoubtedly, these forces have been used, and still are being used, to dominate and subject us. They are important, but they are certainly not the most important. If white South Africa was being kept in its false position by army, police and prisons only, it would have been brought to its knees years and years ago.

The bitter truth is that white South Africa still dominates because it has been able to enslave the mind, the ideas of the

non-European. It is a known historical fact that in any society, the prevailing ideas, manners and customs of even the oppressed section, are the ideas, manners and customs of the ruling class. South Africa is no exception. Segregation is the prevailing idea of the South African ruling class and it has created segregationists in our own ranks. So, we can distinguish the three main causes of our defeats.

- (1) The segregationist outlook of the non-Europeans.
- (2) The segregationist political organisations and efforts of the non-Europeans
- (3) The segregationist and reformist leadership.

The fact that 291 years after the advent of the European in this country, one still has to speak of African oppressed, Coloured oppressed and Indian oppressed is sufficient evidence of the sad fact that the slaves have taken over the segregationist ideology of their master. The white minority looks upon the African as a "raw kaffir," and such he has been to the majority of Coloureds and Indians. The white minority looks upon the Coloured man as a "bastard Hottentot" and such he has been to most of the Africans and Indians. The white minority looks upon the Indian as a "bloody coolie," and such he has been to most Africans and Coloureds. The African is told that he is superior because he is "pure blooded"—and he has believed this. The Coloured man is told that he is superior because the "blood of the white man" flows in his veins—and he has believed this. The Indian has been told that he is superior because he belongs to a great nation with a mighty culture—and he has believed this. The Herren-volk of South Africa have nothing to learn from Dr. Goebbels, for their vicious racial myths have bitten deep into the life and ways of the non-Europeans.

The Coloured man has always shouted loudly against segregation, but he has been one of the most tainted segregationists in outlook. The so-called educated section, the teachers, have been the worst offenders. So also the skilled artisans. Whenever anyone spoke to them about the necessity for the unity of all non-Europeans, they always showed their segregationist mentality. They forgot that the overwhelming majority of the Coloured People are in the same basic political, economic, social and educational bog as the African. They forgot everyone else except themselves. And they said that if they united with the African THEY (a minority within a minority) might lose the little they have. They ignored the fact that they were placing their private interests before those of the mass of the Coloured People, let alone those of all the non-Europeans; they ignored the fact that by their isolation they were making doubly certain of losing that little they had. And, although they are on their last legs to-day, they still spread their slimy segregation. I take but one example, from a circular letter sent to teachers on 22nd May, by one, A. C. Petersen, who announces that he has been an ex-President of the T.L.S.A. He says: "I am not against the Native teacher, for I respect all races and admit that some of them are superior to us, but I also say, 'Look after your own

people first." And, further, he says: "Our young men and women are growing up and they will seek openings in Coloured schools for their sons and daughters. Are the European schools open to them? Therefore, we should see that the Coloured schools are preserved for them. The Department of Education favours the line of policy laid down by the League, for it is quite satisfied that it is the proper course to follow." The master approves and the slave is happy.

And they also said that the Coloured People would "lose their identity." The "identity" of the Coloured People to which they so tenderly referred was their identity as a minority group which fancied it was superior because of the white man's blood in its veins and because it was only 98 per cent. segregated. Again, they forgot the fact that the real identity of the Coloured man is that of a political and economic slave and outcast in the land of his birth. They also forgot to mention that the sooner the Coloured man loses his identity the better off he will be, and that when a slave loses his identity he becomes a free man.

But they rendered the Coloured People an even greater dis-service, for they were the leaders in educational, social and religious life, and everywhere they went they took their poisonous ideas and tainted the people. They accepted the idea that it was right for Coloureds to be educated in their own schools—as if true education can ever be given in an atmosphere of segregation. They have boasted of their T.L.S.A. which for thirty years has been a monument to the segregationist mentality; for thirty years they have flaunted their segregationist motto, "Let us live for OUR children"; for thirty years they accepted the idea that their children were not fit to be taught with white children and were too good to be taught with African children; for thirty years the A. C. Petersens of the League have assisted the Herrenvolk in the deception of the people; they have kept the people in darkness and, thus, for thirty years they have disgraced the noblest of professions. It is a very fitting end for such as they who have misled the Coloured People for so long, that seven of their most notorious ringleaders, six of them ex-Presidents and the seventh an aspiring ex-President, should now stand naked and exposed before the people as the agents of the ruling class. The scales are dropping from our eyes.

The skilled artisans among the Coloured People have also been great purveyors of the segregationist idea. It is their fault that the trades and professions are practically closed to their sons and daughters. It is their fault, for they built themselves up into an exclusive set. They were too superior to mingle with the common workman, even if he be Coloured—let alone African. So they built themselves cosy little funkhomes known as Lodges, where they could practise at playing "High Society" until recognition was given to their white blood and they were taken into the arms of the white man, sobbing repentantly for the "sins" of their forefathers. They scorned any vulgar organisations; they were "above" trade unionism and politics. To-day they cannot apprentice their own sons. It still remains to be seen whether they have learned the lesson to be drawn.

But the poison from this cancer did not remain in these upper strata; it seeped through until it had affected the overwhelming majority of the Coloured People, and it made them some of the worst segregationists in this land. At most they were "sympathetic" towards the Africans, and occasionally they would play "friendly" football or cricket matches against them, or they would patronise them at church conferences as being equal in the sight of the Lord. But they also shied like Herrenvolk away from the bogey of social equality, they also asked the question, "Would you allow your daughter to marry a Native?" And just as the segregationist, Advocate Bowen, could be at pains in the House to "prove" to everyone that he had never danced with Coloured girls and that the Coloured People did not want social equality, so the Coloured man has been at pains to exclude the African from his home and his dances and parties. The Coloured man has been segregationist enough to run away from his fellow Coloured man if he so much as looked like a Native. Just as white South Africa has given the freedom of the city to Japanese, Egyptians, Filipinos and Chinese, but denied it to South African Coloureds, so the South African Coloureds have welcomed the American Negroes, but rejected the African. Just as white South Africa hides its segregationist mentality under the cloak of the "civilisation test," so the Coloured man has hidden his. Whose is the greater guilt? That of the master who deceives the slaves? Or that of the slaves who deceive their fellow-slaves? The Coloured People have to answer this question, and the only answer is that they should fling aside their guilty past and start to build now what they should have built decades ago.

The blame for the past cannot be put upon the shoulders of the Coloured man alone. The African and the Indian are just as guilty. The Africans have accepted the segregation of the races; they have accepted the idea that the Coloured man is right in keeping aloof just because TO-DAY he has no Pass to carry, and because TO-DAY he has no Poll Tax, and TO-DAY he still has a vote. They have been very docile in their attitude towards their white masters; but they have been equally docile in their attitude towards the Coloureds and Indians. It was the duty of the Africans to come to the Coloureds and Indians and to say to them, "Blind deluded fools! You are fools just as much as we are! Tear off the mask; root out the prejudices which the master has given you; you belong to us—you belong to Africa! Deeds, your isolation from us will also get you Passes and Poll Tax, an Affairs Department, a Representative Council, and a few white segregationist M.P.s and Senators." Instead of doing this, the Africans also isolated themselves. Their teachers have played just as segregationist a role as the Coloured teachers. They built up their own little sporting and social sets; they helped to delude their own people by spreading the idea that they were a great and pure race who should be true to their ancestors. So while they fought one form of tribalism they propagated another; they helped white South Africa to create

three big non-European tribes, each thinking it was better than the other.

Yet neither the Coloured nor the African has been as big a segregationist as the Indian. He is an inverted white man. He fights bitterly against the British Herrenvolk in India, but he has looked upon himself as the chosen race amongst the non-Europeans of South Africa. There has been some intercourse between Coloured and African, but nothing to speak of between Coloured and Indian, and less than nothing between Indian and African. The chief cause of this has been the Indian merchant-class, because, like all capitalists, they worry only about ways and means of gaining greater and immediate profits. They still have the most feudal family system of all the non-Europeans; they still have a feudal attitude towards women; they are feudal in almost everything except their attitude towards race. In this they are as modern as the Nazis. Under the cloak of race, religion and Oriental culture, they have perpetuated the segregation idea.

This, then, has been the role of the segregationists in our own ranks. This is the darkness in which we have been stumbling and groping and stumbling again. This is one of the main reasons why the white minority has been able to enslave the non-Europeans. We ourselves have helped to put on the chains, and to keep them on. There have been A. C. Petersens among African, Coloured and Indian. They are the guilty ones. Without them white domination would never have remained in the saddle for 291 years. As long as we still have them in our ranks, the non-Europeans will not see full democratic rights for another 291 years.

Let us turn now to the segregationist political organisations and efforts of the non-Europeans. There are three organisations which immediately spring to mind: the African National Congress, the A.P.O., and the S.A. Indian Congress. We are not concerned with the pious protestations of these bodies, but with their practice; we will not worry about what they said, but only about what they did. What they still say they are going to do is not our concern at the moment, but only what they have done.

And the bald fact is that each one of these organisations, as their very names imply, has had a sectarian approach towards the political emancipation of the non-European. The African National Congress ploughed its lonely furrow, trying to turn up a few reforms; the A.P.O. was never actively concerned with anyone except Coloured voters, handing them over to this or that Party in the hope of getting some concessions by way of gratitude.

They always were rewarded with further repressive measures, but still they continued with their separatism. We have just had the C.A.C. forced upon us, but at this very moment they have an organiser doing a pre-Election trip around the country. He is concerned only with votes for the master, and so it does not matter to him whether a Branch is pro- or anti-C.A.C. The S.A. Indian Congress was always more concerned with trade

licences for their merchant members, with welcoming Agents-General or sending cablegrams to Mother India, than with a broad mass struggle at home. They looked everywhere for aid except to their own workers and peasants, or to the Coloureds and Africans.

From time to time the A.P.O. and the S.A. Indian Congress have uttered dire threats of unity with the African. From time to time they did enter into what they called a United Front. But it was never more than an empty gesture, a token, a threat to the rulers that terrible things might happen. It was used by Coloured and Indian leaders to increase their bargaining powers for petty concessions, and, naturally, the African became suspicious of the little game of using him as the monkey's paw to take the chestnuts out of the fire. And it was a little game played by the top leadership; it was a little tin trumpet that they used to try and peeve the whites. It never touched the masses and it was not meant to do so.

If either the A.P.O. or the S.A. Indian Congress had anything but a sectarian conception of the political struggle, they would have roused the people in 1935-36 at the time of the three Native Bills, a smashing attack on the non-Europeans' main line of defence; they would have gone into the All-African Convention and built it up into a real united front with a mass base, and they would have opposed and defeated the disgraceful "compromise" by Jabavu and company. It was because they allowed the defeat of the African in 1935-36 that to-day we have the C.A.C. and the Indian Peggling Bill.

However, we are not here to discuss what might have been, and we must go on to the third important reason why we have failed—the fact that our leadership has been both separatist and reformist. We have only to recite the names of a few of them and you will immediately recognise them as such—the Jabavus, Abdurahmans, Gows, Ka Semes, Kajees, Dubes and Nanas who have landed us in the wretched plight we find ourselves in to-day. They were all sectarians, as we have already shown. But more than this, they were petty reformists. They took over the ruling-class ideas of what was and was not political cricket. To them politics was a gentleman's game with gentlemen's agreements written in flowery language and decorated with red seals and green ribbon. It was never a grim life and death struggle between oppressor and oppressed. In fact, there was no struggle at all, only resolutions and petitions and deputations. It is said that the servants of the aristocracy are more snobbish and high-brow than the aristocrats themselves. That may or may not be true, but it is certainly true that the so-called leaders of the African, Coloured and Indian oppressed have been greater upholders of constitutionalism than the Government itself. They were better policemen to the people than the police and law-courts themselves.

The main bee in their bonnet was that the Colour Bar was all a misunderstanding. One half of the Government did not know it was there and had to be informed about it, the other

half knew of its existence and so had to have their hearts changed. And so they went on, generation after generation, informing their masters that they were being lashed, and respectfully begging for a change of heart.

A change of heart, indeed! They were asking the Unionist Party, the South African Party, the Nationalist Party, the Labour Party, and the Coalition Party for a change of heart! Fancy making such a request to the Unionist or South African Party, which represented British Capitalism in the form of the Chamber of Mines and the Chamber of Commerce, and who had built and maintained an Empire on the sweat and toll of the non-European! Fancy talking such arrant nonsense to the Nationalist Party which represented the farming interests, which wanted only one thing, cheaper and cheaper black labour until they had returned to slavery where they did not have to pay any wages at all! Fancy talking at all to the most disgraceful Labour Party in the world! For, while we all know that the International Labour movement has been at a very low ebb for the last decade, nowhere has it sunk to such depths of shame as in South Africa, where it has its own segregation scheme and where, together with its Minister of Labour and the Trades and Labour Council, it has deliberately held up the recognition of African Trade Unions. And what honest man can expect anything but more oppression from the Coalition or Fusion or United Party—call them what you will? For they came together in their unholy alliance for one purpose, and one only, to make mutually agreeable arrangements for the unhindered exploitation of non-European labour. This is their record—the Native Acts, the Wireman's Act, the amendment to the Factories Act, the C.A.C., the Housing Bill, and the Indian Pegging Bill. In fact, every Act since Fusion has a Colour Bar. And fancy appealing to them to change their heart when they themselves say that their aim is to make South Africa a white man's country. United Party, Nationalist, Dominion or Labour Party—they are all equally fascist towards the non-European; there may not be a Non-European United Front, but there certainly is a United Front of European political parties. A plague on all of them!

Our reformist leaders were always deeply attached to the Liberals. They were the ones who were always so "sympathetic," who always called for Commissions and a more "Christian" form of trusteeship. They were the ones who came with soothing words when even our dyed-in-the-wool reformist leaders could not bear the intolerable injustice any more. We have now learned to know them all. We have learned to know the comic-opera liberal, J. H. Hofmeyr, who voted against the Native Bills on the second reading and for them on the third reading; and who is still pretending to be a friend of the Indians by getting permission to fall out with the Cabinet on the Indian Pegging Bill. We have got to know the so-called Neo-Liberals who opposed the Slave Bills of 1935-36 and then worked them when they became Acts. What Coloured man doesn't know to-day that his "friends" Bishop Lavis and Sir Alfred Hennessey were behind the C.A.C., and that the Institute of Race Relations,

through Rhinnalt-Jones, were the first to explore the position in 1942? What Coloured man doesn't know that the nauseating Edgar Brookes gave his blessing to the C.A.C. and that Advocate Donald Molteno was dancing on eggs all the time and was too cowardly to oppose the formation of the C.A.C.? Yes, we are finding them all out, these liberals, past and present, whom our reformist leaders used to trust so pathetically! We have also seen through the United Party puppet, the "Liberal" Press—the "Cape Times" and the "Cape Argus"—which helped to dupe the Africans in 1935-36, and which have deliberately ignored the protests of the Coloured People against the C.A.C.

These are the agents and lackeys of the ruling-class who blindfolded our reformist leadership for fifty years and more. In a time of crisis a man finds his friends. The African learned in 1935-36, and we are learning now, that these parties and liberals are all friends of our enemies.

During all this dark and dreary history there was only one bright spot. There was only one organisation and one movement that made a clean break, in deeds as well as words, with the sectarian and petty reformist leadership of the past. It was the first real mass movement which, in fact and not in mere talk, took in all the non-Europeans. I refer to the I.C.U. (the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union). It started humbly as a little trade union, but soon grew to a mighty organisation which swept the country and made the rulers tremble. Significant about the I.C.U. was the fact that, while the old Coloured leaders were still having academic discussions as to whether Coloureds should unite with Africans, the Coloured workers had long ago taken matters into their own hands and were fighting side by side with the African workers. They did not lose their identity and they did not lose their personality. But they DID lose some of their economic chains! Another significant thing was that, while the reformist African leaders were also having abstruse discussions on the advisability of this, that and the other, thousands upon thousands of African workers were already putting up a militant fight in the I.C.U. Unfortunately, the Government succeeded in corrupting the top leadership, and this, together with the "reorganisation" by Mr W. G. Ballinger on reactionary and docile British Trade Union lines, resulted in its collapse. But the brief episode of the I.C.U. has taught us four things: First, that the masses want the unity of all oppressed in their struggle for emancipation. Second, that sectarian and reformist leadership is always more worried about its own hide than about the liberation of the oppressed. Third, that what the rulers of this country fear most is the unity of all the oppressed non-Europeans for the furtherance of their struggle. Fourth, that when such unity is established upon a militant mass basis, the Herrenvolk tremble in their boots and use hook and crook to stop it.

We have now demonstrated that our failures have been due, not so much to the physical forces of the white minority, but to three factors: (1) Our own segregationist outlook, (2) the sectarian nature of our political organisations and efforts; (3) the

sectarian and petty-reformist nature of past leadership. THESE are the three reasons why the African is to-day fully enslaved, and the Coloured and Indian almost fully enslaved. These are the three reasons why the Africans still have Passes and Poll Taxes, a Native Affairs Department, and white M.P.s. These are the three reasons why the Coloured man, at this stage in his history, and even while he is fighting up North for democracy, a thing he never possessed, is having a C.A.C. forced down his throat. These are the three reasons for the fact that, while Indians have chased the Fascists off the land in North Africa, their brothers are being chased off the land by Fascism in South Africa. These are the three reasons why, more than 100 years after the abolition of slavery, the non-Europeans of South Africa are still slaves.

The question now is: WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

There are only two things that can be done about it. There are only two paths to take. We are free to take either, because we are all at the cross-roads. African, Coloured and Indian, we are all at the cross-roads. It is a crisis in world history, and it is a crisis in our history. We must choose

The choice is this. We can continue in the old way, each travelling along his own lonely ditch which leads into his own segregated camp. This means that we accept the idea of trusteeship and segregation. We accept A. C. Petersen's idea that some races are superior to us. We each keep to ourselves and see what we can get for "our own people." We take his motto, "Charity begins at home," and therefore segregation should begin at home. We go on like this until we have Africans, Coloureds and Indians all completely enslaved by the same master, but content to remain segregated and content to remain slaves. That is one alternative.

The other one is this. We must take the road of unity. We must unite the struggles of oppressed Africans, oppressed Coloured, oppressed Indian, into the unified struggle of the oppressed non-European. We must build up a real and militant United Front of the PEOPLE.

Let us be quite clear as to what we mean. Let us realise that throughout our whole history there has never, at any time, been a real united front. The nearest approach was the I.C.U. There have been several attempts at a United Front, sometimes sincere and sometimes not sincere. But there has never been a REAL United Front. There have been threats of a United Front. The Coloureds have threatened and the Indians have threatened. There have been united fronts of a few of the leaders at the top and a few of the organisations at the top, but this does not make a REAL united front. A REAL United Front is not something which can be made by the collaboration of a few isolated leaders, nor yet by a few organisations of indeterminate membership. A REAL United Front cannot be made by declaration or by passing any amount of resolutions. It cannot be created overnight by loud shouts for a national organisation or any other

sort of organisation. A REAL United Front cannot suddenly be called into being by Coloureds or Indians whenever they are faced by a new piece of repressive legislation. A REAL United Front cannot be created out of spite or panic or despair.

The fact of the matter is that a REAL United Front cannot suddenly be called up or created, but it has to be BUILT. And it can only be BUILT UP from below. It can only be BUILT UP by the slow and steady unification of the African, Coloured and Indian workers in and through the struggle for their full democratic rights. This is the first condition for a REAL United Front: it must have a mass base, and its aim must be to fight for national emancipation and equal rights for All peoples in South Africa. It is a fact that in South Africa the national and agrarian questions are inseparable from each other. The question of land and of political rights go hand in hand and cannot be separated. This, then, is the common basis upon which a REAL United Front can be formed, otherwise there is no use trying to form it at all. Its programme must have this common minimum basis; for this alone embraces both the needs of the day and the needs of the future, and can arouse the masses to action. Second, it cannot have leaders who speak with two voices, one to the Government, the Liberals and the Conservatives, and another to the people. Its leaders must have one loyalty and one loyalty only—to the oppressed people, not the rulers. Third, it must rid itself of the reformist methods which have only bred failure after failure. It must use every means at the disposal of the oppressed people to rid themselves of their exploiters.

These are the essentials for a REAL United Front, built upon a solid foundation. It will take a long time, but it is THE ONLY ROAD that we can travel if we non-Europeans really wish to liberate ourselves and if we really wish to enjoy full democratic rights. It is the ONLY ROAD for honourable men and women. It is the ONLY ROAD for honest fighters against tyranny.

At this stage it might be well to strike two notes of warning. Firstly, when we speak of a united front of ALL non-Europeans we do not mean lumping ALL non-Europeans holus-bolus together and fusing them all together in the belief that, since ALL are non-European oppressed, the African is a Coloured man, an Indian is an African, and a Coloured man is either Indian or African whichever you please. Only those who are ignorant of both politics and history can believe in this nonsensical type of unity. When we speak of the unity or the united front of all non-Europeans, we simply mean this: they are all ground down by the same oppression; they have all the same political aspirations, but yet they remain divided in their oppression. They should discard the divisions and prejudices and illusions which have been created and fostered by their rulers. They should remember only that they have a common foe and they should unite to liberate themselves. When they have thrown off the chains, then they can settle whatever national or racial difference they have, or think they have. After we have rid ourselves

of our common oppressor, the national question will remain. **BUT THE NATIONAL QUESTION MUST BE SETTLED ON OUR TERMS, NOT THE TERMS OF THE EXPLOITER.** As long as we allow these national or racial differences to keep us apart NOW, then we will never liberate ourselves. A simple analogy ought to suffice. Take the case of the Moslems and Hindus in India. Everyone knows that the faction fights between Moslems and Hindus have been actively fostered by Great Britain, for she knows that as long as she can segregate the Moslem minority from the Hindu majority, so long will she rule. If the Moslems and Hindus were to bury all their real and imagined differences and unite, then it would be the end of the British Raj in India. Then they could solve the Hindu-Moslem question on their own terms and in their own time. Exactly the same applies to Africans, Coloureds and Indians in South Africa.

The second note of warning is this: when we speak of a united front of ALL non-Europeans, it is not for the purpose of putting white against black and stirring up race hatred. It is for the purpose of uniting ALL non-European oppressed, so that they may bring the white working-class to its senses, and demonstrate that its real place is with us and against the Imperialist exploiter. It may seem fantastic to some of us at the moment. It may seem to us that all the whites are living on milk and honey. That is not so. They are better off than we are, but they are exploited all the same. They may all appear to be little bosses TO-DAY, but that is because they are bribed at our expense. TO-MORROW, by means of a united front of all oppressed non-Europeans, they will learn where they really belong, because the majority of them are also workers. This may seem fantastic to some of us. It is probably even more fantastic to the white workers. That need not deter us. Let us get on with our main task, the building up of the REAL United Front, and we will settle the other problems as they arise. We are not trying to paint a dream world, a Utopia. We are only honest and fearless men, seeking the right road to freedom and equality, and finding that the road of the REAL United Front is the right road and, therefore, the only road that we can travel.

There is one last matter that we must deal with, and that is the question of leadership.

It is a known historical fact that the emancipatory theory and the practical leadership always come from the intelligentsia. The workers and peasants have always been so exhausted and bowed down by their arduous toil, that they have never had time to study and look deeply into the why and wherefore of their miserable condition. More than that, even if they had the time, most of them had not the education. So it was always the intelligentsia, who came of a more leisured and educated class, who took the ideas to the working class and who provided that fusion of theory and practice which is known as leadership.

We have no leisured class, except amongst the sons and daughters of a few merchants. But we certainly have an intelligentsia. And we are luckier than that, because our intelligentsia has sprung straight from the loins of the working class.

They do not have to go to the people. They belong to the people and the people are all around them.

I refer, of course, mainly to the teachers. For almost the only persons amongst the non-Europeans who have had more than just a mere smattering of education, are the teachers. And they are certainly almost the only ones who have a certain amount of leisure. The leadership will come mainly from them. You can overlook the seven teacher-traitors on the C.A.C. But you can never overlook the fact that in every part of the country, in the large towns and in the small dorps, the teachers have played a very great part in telling the Coloured People the truth about the C.A.C. swindle. There have been waverers and cowards. Some of them, and some Branches of the T.L.S.A., are still sitting on the fence, too scared to come off. At least one of them, Wynberg Branch, is running with the traitors. But many, many more of them are standing firmly by the people, enlightening them and helping to organise them.

This augurs very well for the future. It means that the intellectuals are realising the role that they have to play, and they are beginning to fulfil that role. It is a very healthy sign, also, to see how keen an interest the students are taking in the Anti-C.A.D. movement, and that several University and other student groups have actually affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D. Committee. All these are promising signs that the leadership will come from those whose historical duty it is to provide such leadership.

And so I wish to turn for one moment to the young men and women teachers, and I wish to say to them: "We have a very responsible task, within and without the classroom. We are not pioneers in this field, for many men and women teachers in other parts of the world have gone before us. We walk in their tradition, and our generation of teachers is the pioneer in this country. We should keep constantly before us the example of those mighty teachers in France, who for decades and decades fought against darkness and despotism until the dawn of the French Revolution. We should always remember and follow the generations of teachers who, for a [] hundred years, prepared the way for the Russian Revolution. You will not find their names in the official manuals of education, because officialdom is always opposed to the forces of real progress. But without the teachers there would never have been a French or a Russian Revolution. For it is the duty of the true teacher to pull off the mask and scrape off the scales of ignorance that blind the youth. It is the duty of the true teacher to give his pupils knowledge so that they may KNOW the world, and so that they may CHANGE the world. For it is not enough for them to know; they must also change things for the benefit of humanity. And more than this, the true teacher's duty does not end with his pupils. He has a vital and active part to play in the liberation of the people. He has to help to educate the people in the struggle. He has to help to lead them along the right road. We are all in chains, teacher and worker; we can

never throw them off individually. But if we both play our part to the full, we will break those bonds.

So we teachers, men and women, must make up our minds whether we are going to be true teachers, or whether we are going to be traitors and cowards: whether we are going to be WITH our people or AGAINST our people. For those who are both honourable and courageous there can be only one answer: WE STAND WITH OUR PEOPLE. First, we must see to it, then, that we fit ourselves for our task. The ignorant can never lead. We must see to it that we study the problems of the people and that we understand them clearly. Liberation is never achieved by raving or passing violent resolutions. It is only achieved by those who KNOW HOW. Second, we ourselves must practice what we teach our students and our people, namely, that it is not enough to know how the world must be changed, but that WE must also change it. In other words, it is only the unity of theory and practice which can produce sound leadership. Theory without practice is useless; practice without theory is suicide. Third, we must have courage. It is a sad fact that, while the intelligentsia of the world has produced some of its greatest heroes, sung and unsung, it has also produced some of the greatest intellectual cowards. Let this not daunt us, but rather let it inspire us to see to it that we are not the ones to falter and to betray. For he who wavers and falters in his allegiance to the people, is no longer with the people, but with the enemies of the people.

We must make a break with the past. We must blot out the shame cast upon our profession by those teachers who have helped to mislead and betray the people, who have helped to put on the chains and to keep them on. WE MUST TURN OUR FACES TO OUR PEOPLE AND WE MUST BE AMONG THEM AND WITH THEM AND OF THEM, TEACHING AND LEADING THEM.

One last word: The leadership must choose and the people must choose the road that we are to travel. We have trodden the mud and the slush of the road to segregation. Are we going to choose to continue along that road? Or are we going to take the only road to liberty and equal rights for all—the road which leads to the unity of all the oppressed people against those who oppress us. We stand on trial.

We must choose—either LIBERTY OR SLAVERY. WE CAN ONLY CHOOSE ONE. WE MUST CHOOSE LIBERTY.

Anti-C.A.D. Conference, Oddfellows' Hall, 29th May, 1943.

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