

# **The Rehabilitation Scheme A New Fraud**

## **Preface**

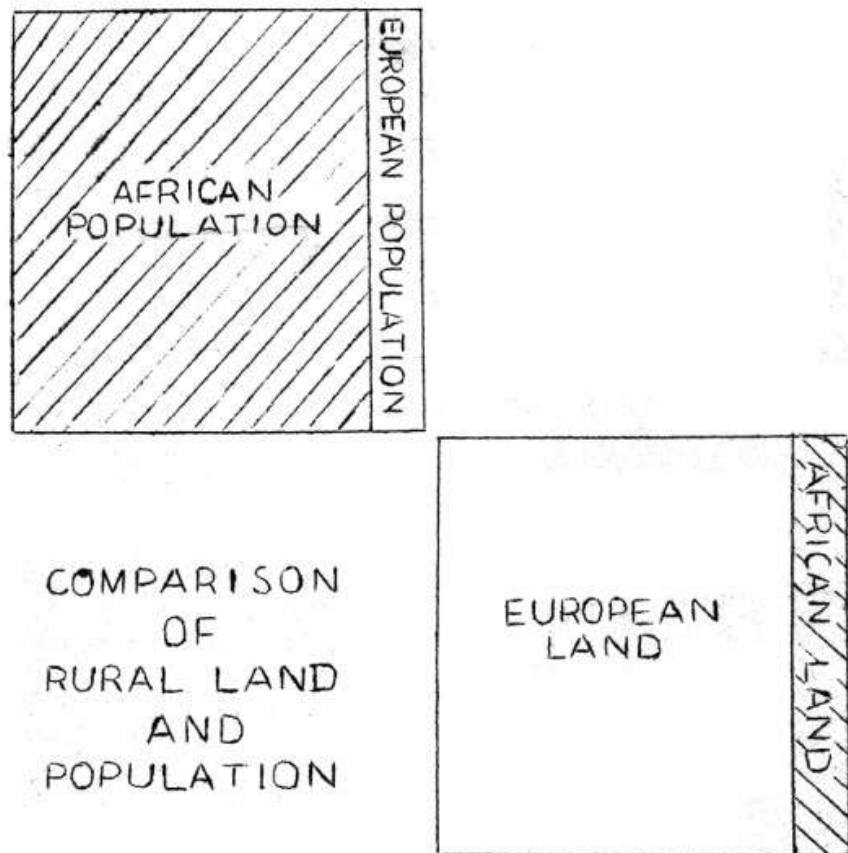
This pamphlet, issued by the All African Convention in 1945, is the earliest known publication of a work written by IB Tabata, pre-dating his most well-known book, *“The Awakening Of A People”* by about five years. It presents a penetrating depiction and analysis of the gross machinations of the South African ruling class in perpetrating and attempting to give some guise and gloss to its calculated, nefarious schemes. It is further combined with an impassioned call for the organised, political unity of the oppressed and exploited on a programmatic basis, in their struggle for liberation. It is a pamphlet which should be read within its context while it retains much relevance for the present day.

This pamphlet was printed by means of a mimeograph duplicating machine which was the most economical method for a political organisation of the oppressed at the time. The main content has been digitised with minimum editing, while the original cover of the publication, prepared by hand on a waxed paper stencil, is reproduced here, both for its particular relevance to the content of the pamphlet, but also to illustrate the conviction held that, if reasonably legible, the printed word should be made available at the soonest, rather than waiting vainly for some future date, when a more sophisticated and expensive method of reproduction could become possible.

# THE REHABILITATION SCHEME

A NEW FRAUD

By  
I.B. Tabata



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# **THE REHABILITATION SCHEME A NEW FRAUD**

**I.B. TABATA**

To understand this Rehabilitation Scheme we must see it as something which will complete the exploitation of the Black man. We must see it fitting into and following upon all the laws already passed against the African peasant. At the same time we must see it as a link in the long chain of oppression affecting the whole African population. It flows directly from the basic policy of the country, known as the "Native Policy". And if we understand this "Native Policy" then we shall be in a position to understand not only the meaning of the Rehabilitation Schemes but also all other measures passed against the Black man.

The whole ruling class without exception - whether it is the United Party, the Labour Party or the Malanite Party - are agreed on this Native Policy. That is, they are unanimous on the policy of keeping the Black man as a slave to minister to the needs of the White man and as a beast of burden to create wealth for him. The only difference that exists among the ruling class on this question is a difference as to the METHOD. There is the old Boer method, that of the feudal landlord - the method of the sjambok (bull whip). Then there is the much more cunning method used by the British Imperialists - the method of creating a set of circumstances which will force the African to toil for the White man. It is the second method, of British Imperialism, that has proved to be by far the more efficient. All the laws passed and the regulations made for the Black man are connected with this policy. To understand this is to have a key to the understanding of a mass of apparently contradictory laws. With this key every law, every enactment is seen to fall into its proper place as a step in the steady progression towards the further exploitation of the oppressed people.

## **THE CREATION OF A SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES**

After the African people had been conquered and their land taken away from them, they were herded together into small strips of land known as the "Native Reserves". These were deliberately made small so that hunger would drive the African out of the Reserves to labour for the White man. With the discovery of the gold mines and the resulting expansion of trade and industry, the building of railways and the growth of agriculture, the demand for African labour reached such huge proportions that the Government had to devise means to squeeze them out of the reserves at a still faster rate. So they imposed a hut tax payable in cash which could only be earned by working for the Europeans. But this was not enough, so they applied a drastic measure known as the Land Act of 1915. This act prohibited Africans from buying land except in the overcrowded reserves and made it illegal for them to occupy land on White farms on a rental or squatter system. Without warning, thousands of people were forced to sell their possessions and hire themselves out as labourers to the farmers or on the mines.

But the insatiable greed of the rapacious mine-owners and farmers demanded a still more violent expulsion of the African from the land. They therefore introduced the Poll Tax, hypocritically named the Natives Development Act. Under the pretence of bestowing a benefit upon the African they devised a more vicious method of forcing him out of the lean Reserves, and significantly made non-payment of the tax a criminal offence. But still the demand for labour was greater than the supply, so that still more efficient schemes had to be evolved by the rulers. In 1936 - 1937 they passed the notorious "Native Acts", the Native Representation Act and the Native Trust and Land Act, the very names of which were an outrageous lie. The form of representation provided under the Native Representation Act was a monstrous deception and a mockery. Three people were to represent 8 million as against 150 representing 2.5 million. And who were these three people? Members of the exploiting groups representing the exploited! The whole idea is ludicrous. The jackals sit in council to discuss the fate of the sheep and ask the sheep to elect a few jackals to represent them! The Native Trust and Land Act is no less fraudulent, for the last thing it does is to give more land to the Africans, as they have learned through bitter experience since the Act was passed.

Nine years after the passing of the Land and Trust Act which was supposed to GIVE land to the Africans, Mr. D.L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs, said before the house: "There never will be sufficient land to make every Native a farmer, not even when all the land in the Released Areas has been bought up". And the minister of Native Affairs, van der Byl, said outright in parliament: "We did not buy this land for the Natives to settle down and become peasants."

These ominous words were no accident, no mere expression of a whim on the part of the minister, but the clear enunciation of a policy laid down long before him. Cecil Rhodes,• during whose premiership the Native Policy for South Africa began to be more clearly defined, when introducing the Glen grey Bill in 1894 said: "It must be brought home to every Black man that in the future nine-tenths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labour, in physical work, in manual labour". This is the same Rhodes who, riding through the territories and seeing a great gathering of Africans, was moved to exclaim, "What a source of labour!" Indeed, what a great source of labour! This phrase, whether it is expressed or unexpressed must throb in the heart of every member of the ruling class when he sees a crowd of Africans. It was so, long before Rhodes's time, and it so today. It is a remark that sums up the fundamental attitude of the White rulers towards the African. All the laws and regulations made against him are dictated by this attitude, They are made to reduce him into the position of nothing more than a labourer and a slave.

The process of creating a set of circumstances to force the Black man to labour had been going on for decades and therefore when Hertzog introduced his Native Bills 1936-7, the whole ruling class thought that this time the job was being completed. They were delivering the last blow and, as they said with smug self-satisfaction, the "Native Question" was being finally "settled". But no sooner had they made their plans for hounding Africans out of the Reserves than they realised that the expected gush of labour was not flowing out in sufficient numbers to meet their ever increasing requirements, nor was it going exactly where they wanted it to go - i.e., to the mines and the farms. Loud complaints of labour shortage were heard from all over the country. The representatives of the farmers were screeching in Parliament that their wheat was collecting rust and their mealies (maize) were rotting in the fields for lack of Black hands to gather them in. They complained that "hordes" of Africans in the Reserves were basking in the sunshine and drinking beer or flocking into the towns attracted by bioscopes and a life of indolence. The Government wasn't doing its job properly and ought to be kicked out. Then Smuts calmly pointed out that his critics didn't know what they were talking about; he and his Government had the situation well in hand. He had sent his Minister of Native Affairs to discuss the labour shortage with the Agricultural Union. (The Minister of NATIVE Affairs, if you please, goes NOT to the "Natives" but the farmers to discuss the fate of the "Natives".) He (Smuts) regretted that the farmers had not co-operated and followed the example of the mines in the handling of their labour problem. He went on to assure them that: "The Government would have to take steps to come to the assistance of the farmers .... to create an organisation for the recruitment of farm labour ... These were the matters that were being discussed with the Agricultural Union." (Hansard, 14th March, 1945.) The Government was not asleep. It had plans, comprehensive plans covering the whole African population; it had schemes for those in the Reserves and for those in the towns.

By day and by night, during peace and during war, the rulers never cease laying their plans. While thousands of our people, at the call of the Government, joined up and went to fight against Fascism in Europe, and while the rest of the people at home had their eyes turned upon their brothers fighting afar off and breathlessly scanned the casualty lists to see if a father, a husband or a son were not among the lists of the dead - all this time the rulers were ceaselessly working out their schemes for the further enslavement of our people. But it was only after the war, that the Africans began to realise what had been happening. Even before the war was over, when the rulers were already feeling more confident after the threat from the Germans and the Japanese was removed, the Africans had a foretaste of what was in store for them. These plans are on a national scale, covering the whole front, not only of the African population but of all Non-European people. On the African front, they take one form in the Reserves to meet conditions there; in the towns they take another form and are called by different names. But their purpose is one and the same, namely, the complete regimentation of African labour. Africans have to be hounded out of the Reserves and the so-called "redundant Natives" have to be hounded out of the towns and all driven, from whatever direction, into one inescapable channel leading to the White farms and to the mines, which are regarded as "the economic fly-wheel of the country" and therefore indispensable to its whole economy.

## **THE REHABILITATION SCHEME**

The latest plan for those Africans in the Reserves goes by the grand name of the Rehabilitation Scheme. As always in the past, the rulers would like to make out that it is something which will greatly benefit the Africans. They argue that soil erosion is rampant; it is increasing every day and is rapidly turning the Reserves into a desert. Yes, we agree. This is all terribly true. Then they say that the soil must be saved. Very good. We also agree. But how? That is the crux of the matter.

Before you can treat a disease you must find out the cause of it, and it is here that we take our point of departure. The rulers argue that soil erosion is due to overstocking and that therefore the African people should drastically reduce the number of their cattle. This is a preposterous argument. Today our people are disease-ridden because of malnutrition; they haven't the oxen to plough; the majority of the babies do not survive the first year because mothers are too starved to be able to feed them. Children are dying like flies from all sorts of diseases because there isn't enough cow's milk to build up their resistance to disease. These well-known facts give the lie direct to the statement that the Africans keep too many cattle. On the contrary, they have far too few cattle for their requirements. It is not that the cattle are too many, but that the land is too small. There is an appalling shortage of land.

The following chart (see cover) published by "Die Suiderstem", a Government paper (11-4-38) clearly illustrates the land position in South Africa. This chart was published immediately after the passing of the Land and Trust Act. The farmers had expressed alarm at the lavish promises of land for Africans made by the Government during the passing of the Bill. So to allay their fears the Government had to call its own bluff and explain the real situation. "Die Suiderstem" writes:-

"The two squares are exactly the same size. Square No.1 represents the rural land area of the Union of South Africa. The white area, 124,186,000 morgen, is inhabited by the European rural population. The black section, 16,730,000 morgen, will be the area which the Africans will possess when all the demarcated areas will be bought under the Act of 1936. Square No.2 represents the population. The white portion shows the number of European farmers, 700,000, who inhabit the white section of square No. 1. The black section shows the number of Africans, 6,500,000, who, when everything has been bought as proposed by the Government, will inhabit the small black section of square No. 1. In order, therefore, to obtain an accurate comparison we must compare the Native population with the European rural population and for this purpose we mention the following facts: (1) The surface area of South Africa is 141,000,000 morgen. Of that the Natives will have only 16,800,000 morgen when all the Natives have been segregated and occupy all the areas which have been demarcated, i.e. they will then have one-eighth or 12 per cent of the total land area of the Union, which will leave 124,200,000 over for the Europeans. (2) As against that, the European rural population of the Union is about 700,000, while the Native population, when segregation is complete, will be 6,500,000, i.e. that the European rural population is approximately one-tenth of the Union's population and the Natives nine-tenths. (3) We thus have the position that at the conclusion of segregation 10 per cent of the rural population, which is European, will inhabit 88 per cent of the surface area, while 90 per cent, will inhabit only one-eighth of the area. (4) While therefore there will be 177 morgen for every European person, man, woman or child, there will be approximately 2.5 morgen per Native. The chart shows the position exactly." (Die Suiderstem 11-4-38. For chart, see cover.)

Once those bare facts on the real position of the division of land between European and African are revealed, once they are placed before us as plainly as the chart does, the arguments of the rulers become exposed in all their enormity as a fraudulent hoax. One is amazed that with so little land for the Africans there is even a blade of grass left in the Reserves. That there is still some grass at all is proof that, compared with their former state, the people have no cattle left. In fact, looking at the tiny strip of land into which so many people are concentrated and herded together, one would expect that the people alone, without any stock, would have trampled the soil bare with their feet. It is quite obvious that **THERE CAN BE NO TALK OF REHABILITATION IN THE RESERVES WHILE THE LAND POSITION REMAINS AS IT IS.** No amount of juggling with words will alter the plain fact that the root of the problem is **LAND HUNGER.** It is not that the Government does not realise this. Their ignoring of this stark fact, and their stressing instead of overstocking reveals the real issue. (Those cattle again - they have always been a sore spot with the rulers!) They are not concerned with the welfare or prosperity of the African people in the Reserves. If they were really concerned about it, before talking about anything else, they would go straight to the root of the problem and give the Africans **MORE LAND** commensurate with their numbers. But this would be the negation of their whole policy. For the shortage of land is riot an accident; it is the basis of cheap labour.

As we watch the Rehabilitation Scheme unfold we see clearly what its effect will be. It proposes to shift the population and reshuffle it in each a way that the "residential sites" are together on one side so as to leave an open space where there will be arable land on the one side and grazing fields on the other. This may sound plausible to some people. But what follows? It will establish three types of new village settlements. Type (a) will be built near forests for those people who will be employed to work there. Type (b) will be placed near factories, presumably to be established by the Government for those people who will be

employed. In both these types of villages the workers will be able to return to their families every night.

Type (c) will be reserved for those workers who will be employed far away in places like the mines and the towns and can only return to their families at intervals of many months.

All these village-settlements will be subjected to rigorous supervision and the only people who will be allowed there will be those employed in the respective concerns. In these villages nobody will be able to live by ploughing because there will be no arable land attached. They will not be able to keep cattle or any other stock because there will be no grazing land attached. Of course there is a suggestion that milk will be sold cheaply to the people. Those Africans occupying the village settlements must be servants and live only on their wages. (Let us not ask what wages!) But this is not quite the whole point. The important thing is that the people will be permanently divorced from the land. They will be entirely deprived of any means of independent existence and rendered destitute, without land and without cattle. "Abandon hope all ye who enter here".

All this talk about special villages around forests, factories and so on, is spurious talk. What forests are there in the Reserves to warrant special villages? How many people could these forests absorb all told? As for these nebulous factories, precisely where and when are they going to be built and for what purpose? Are they charitable institutions? How many people will they absorb and what wages will they pay? Has the Transkei suddenly revealed itself as a fertile field for business speculation with attractive factory sites all over the place and raw materials galore? No. These village-settlements are traps. They will actually be labour depots to feed the mines and the farms.

In this light, the proposed reshuffling of the population reveals itself as a device which will comb out all those Africans who have no arable land registered in their name. Only those who already possess arable land will get sites in the "residential area". The rest will be pushed on to the village-settlements (a), (b) or (c), according to the nature of their previous employment or the whim of an official in charge of the reshuffling operations. It is a well known fact that the majority of the people in the Reserves have no land. It is only the old people who have plots registered in their names. An old man may have four or five sons all married and living with him because they have no allotments, despite the fact that for years they have been paying the extra tax for those allotments. All those will be driven out into the village-settlements. Only the old men will be left in the Reserves. The mines and the farms have no more need for them; they have already been sucked dry and now they may go and die in the Reserves. It is young blood that is wanted. The young men must be driven from their homes into the village-settlements, the labour-depots, and from there they must enter the inescapable channel that leads them to the mines and the farms. This will be the real effect of the Rehabilitation Scheme. Thus Smuts' promise to the farmers of an increased labour supply will be fulfilled.

## **CONTROL OF AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS**

The Africans living in and entering the towns do not escape. The machinery for dealing with them is different from that employed in the Reserves, but it has the same effect. They come under the Urban Areas Act of 1923 with its many Amendments for the control of Africans in towns, so that now it is only necessary to create a set of regulations under the existing laws. The latest scheme for urban Africans, then, goes by the grand name of a "Housing Scheme", accompanied by the new pass system, grandiloquently called "Regulations for the PROTECTION and control of Natives in town." By this time their language has become familiar to us - a vicious attack is always cloaked in fine words and the appearance of bestowing a benefit upon its victims. The more vicious the attack, the more pretentious is the language. Their grand "Housing Scheme" means nothing else but locations and their "Regulations for the protection of Natives" are nothing less than the old Transvaal Pass System extended to the Cape.

Let us now examine both these schemes which are in fact two complementary parts of one and the same plan of urban control. The people, especially those in the Cape, do not always realise the full significance of locations. Many Africans think that locations are built because of two reasons; (a) that Europeans do not like to live side by side with Black people, and (b) that municipalities want to provide cheaper and better, houses for the poor Non-European. The former reason is used by the Malanites with their usual brutal frankness because for them residential segregation (i.e. locations) is the logical completion of the accepted policy of segregation in the political as well as the economic sphere. On the other hand the second argument is typical of the more subtle methods employed by British Imperialism and its agent, the Government supporters and

the liberals, the so-called "friends" of the African. Even the Minister of, Native Affairs, while steering the Native Laws Amendment Bill through Parliament (1944) and in the very act of launching a new attack upon the people, beat his breast and shed crocodile tears over "these unfortunate Native who come to the Peninsula to look for a better job and a better living, but who are living under the most appalling conditions". As usual they give any and every reason for their schemes except the correct one.

The real reason for creating locations is to isolate the Africans and concentrate them in one spot for the purpose of bringing them under complete control. An independent African living in town may, by virtue of occupying or owning a house, become a voter and possess certain human rights (limited though they may be) which safeguard him from being treated as a sub-human chattel. But in a location he is deprived of these rights. He may not become a voter by virtue of occupying a house, no matter what its valuation is or what monthly rent he pays. The location is no place for an independent African. A location is a glorified compound which only those may occupy who are required for the needs of the urban employer or who are actually employed. Just as on the mine, no man may occupy a compound unless he is actually employed on that mine, so no man may live in a location Unless he is employed in that town to which the location is attached. The only difference is that in the town compound (i.e. the location) a man may be allowed to live with his wife and family.

But their plan for complete urban control requires something further, namely, the pass system. The latest scheme, the introduction of the Pass System to the Cape, is designed as the completion of this process of the control of Africans in the town. Every Black man in town is to be docketed so that there is a complete check-up on how many there are, what their employment is and where they stay. Every Black person must carry a pass to show that he is looking for work, a pass to show that he has got work, a pass to show that he is allowed to be in the urban area, or a pass to show that he has to clear out, or a pass to show that he does not need to carry a pass. These apply to every man, woman and child. As we know, in a concentration camp all the inmates are tagged and docketed; and in a prison each man has a number written in large letters on the shirt he wears. Here, African casual labourers and independent contractors must wear a badge placed in a prominent place on their person. A dog, too, wears a badge round its neck to show that its licence has been paid. But that is not all. The rulers have made preparations also for those who will be driven by hunger out of the Reserves and other parts of the country to come and seek work in the towns. They have made provision for a recruiting system like the Native Recruiting Corporation for the mines, so that all Africans coming into town must pass through this recruiting channel that leads to the labour-depot in town. But in case some should escape the recruiting channel and get into the urban area on their own - they have made plans for them too.

As Smuts pointed out during the debate on the control of the "influx of Natives" into town, it is extremely difficult to prevent them from coming in. The country is wide and they come from all over. "It is an impracticable measures" he said, "We would have to do it throughout the whole country and we would have to call into being administrative machinery for that purpose, which is NOT possible." (Hansard, 14th March 1945.) So what should be done? Smuts proceeds to suggest a way out. "It is very much better, he said, "to create THE BOTTLENECK HERE. The Native comes here to look for employment in a big centre and here we can get hold of him. Here he comes under the control of the administration. " The Pass Regulations, then, make provision for those people who enter town in this way. On their arrival they would have to go, within 24 hours to report to the urban authorities and get one or more of the many passes, The whole scheme is such that there is no loophole of escape. Every Black man, woman or child who puts foot into town is docketed and comes under rigid control. He is here, stripped of all rights and completely at the mercy of the urban authorities.

Thus this grand "Housing Scheme " reinforced by the Pass System, this drive to herd Africans into locations, reveals itself as part of the whole comprehensive plan to force the African population into urban labour.-depots, from which they must enter the inescapable channel leading to the White farms and the mines. For with the rigid system of urban control, the concentration and regimentation of labour, it will be an easy matter to distribute it and apportion it according to the precise requirements of the ruling-class concerns. And of course the most powerful groups in the Government, namely the mine- owners and the farmers, will receive first consideration. The rulers have indeed laid their plans on a nation-wide scale. In the towns they propose creating bottle-necks at the labour-depots; in the reserves the bottle-necks are to be the so-called village settlements. Here we have a picture of a whole population forced through bottle-necks and dammed up in labour reservoirs. From these reservoirs channels are created, leading to the White farms and the mines.

This will result from their Rehabilitation Scheme in the Reserves. This will result from their Housing Scheme and their Pass Regulations in the town.

## **UTILITY CORPORATION**

Even this is not all. The Fascist mind which conceived these plans knows no limit. Not content with preparing for the complete enslavement of the adult Black population, they now propose to deal with our children too. A Government body known as the Social and Economic Planning Council has worked out a scheme whereby the Government is asked to form what they call a Utility Corporation, "to train Natives aged 14 to 19 and form them into service units to undertake farming and industrial work."

As usual they declare the scheme to be "for the welfare" of the Africans. Let us see what this amounts to. The Utility Corporation is to recruit boys of 14 to 19. Their parents have to sign a contract handing their children over to the Corporation for a period of five years. The boys will be housed in tents in, various camps throughout the country. They are supposed to receive "scholastic and vocational training" and will be called "students." But the very purpose of creating this Utility Corporation, as declared by the Government body itself, namely, "to form service units to undertake farming and industrial work" - explodes the myth of "scholastic and vocational training" and exposes the whole hoax. In fact, the boys will be hired out to the farmers and industrialists in the respective districts, and these will pay, not the boys for their services, but the corporation.

The enormity of the fraud of doing something for the "benefit" of young Africans comes out in the payment which the Corporation in turn proposes to give the boys for their labour. For the first year they are to get 3d. (3 pence) a day; in the second year, 9d. a day, with deferred pay of 3d. In the third year they will get 1s (1 shilling) a day, with deferred pay of 6d.; in the fourth year, 1s.3d. a day, with deferred pay of 9d.; in the fifth year, 1s.6d a day with deferred pay of 1s. At no time in the five years, therefore, will the boys get more than 6d. a day! Then the deferred pay will be invested and the interest will go to the Corporation, which will thus make its profits by hiring the boys out to the farmers and industrialists and proceed to make further profits by collecting the interest from the deferred pay. When we consider that they propose to recruit 60,000 boys for a start, then we have some idea of the amount of money they will make out of our children.

But again and yet again, that is not the end of the matter. Just as the other schemes of the rulers will wrench the people from the soil, strip them of all rights, herd them together in labour-depots and hold them under complete regimentation, so this proposed Utility Corporation Scheme for our children will create child-labour battalions at strategic points all over the country. There is a completeness and a thoroughness about their plans that is truly diabolical. In case the schemes for the adult population do not work out with clock-like perfection (for they have found this to be so in the past) they will have in readiness a supplementary army of boys. And these child battalions can also be used for another purpose. They can be used to scab on their parents if they should go on strike for higher wages.

## **INTER-CONNECTION OF INTERESTS**

These sinister moves which will turn the whole African population, adult and child, into a regimented labour force, are a grave threat to the whole working class of South Africa.

During the course of the war, the most devastating in the history of mankind, the rulers were haunted by the spectre of the depression which they feared would come afterwards. They feared that the end of the war would herald a period when the various countries would be faced with crisis after crisis and the whole world would be held in the grip of economic depression. South Africa would not escape it, and they decided to take, drastic measures to meet it. So they set about making their preparations.

The primary purpose of the exploiters is to maintain their rate of profits at a high level. During a depression this is effected by reducing the wages of the workers. Now organised labour resists this through its trade unions, so it is necessary for the rulers to devise means of smashing them. There are two ways of doing this. The one is by collaring the existing unions and turning them into company unions under the control of the bosses. The other is by smashing them outright. Already attempts are being made to do the former and they are starting with what they regard as the weaker unions, i.e. the Coloured and Indian unions. It is certain that



if the European trade unions do not come decisively to the aid of the Coloured and Indian unions, they too will be attacked in the same way. African trade unions are in any case not recognised by law and, sad to say, the powerful European unions are in agreement with this. In spite of non-recognition, however, the African trade unions have been growing from strength to strength and fighting for and getting improvements in their conditions of work. The Government now seeks to curb and undermine this development by giving them a form of "recognition" - which actually hands them over holus-bolus to the control of the Native Affairs Department.

As to the other alternative open to the Government, namely, of smashing the trade unions outright, preparations have already been made. The rulers know no other than the old and well tried method of "divide and rule", of setting one section of the oppressed against another. This is what they want to do now on a wide scale. The white worker has been so well bribed at the expense of the Non-European worker and so long fed on colour prejudice, that he has been completely blinded to his real position as a worker and has aligned himself with the exploiter against the Non-European. Up to now he has not only connived at the oppressive measures directed against his fellow workers, the Non-Europeans, but he has actively assisted the Government in enslaving them. So blind is he that he does not even realise that their depressed and helpless condition constitutes a threat to his own position, and that in fact the Black man is eventually going to be used against him.

The system of recruiting Black labour is designed to lower the wage level of the African people. But this is in itself a threat to the wage level of the Coloured and Indian worker and, in the long run, of the White worker too. The recruiting system accompanied by the damming up and regimentation of African labour constitute more than a threat to the whole working class.

In the final analysis organised labour has only one weapon of defence against an attack on its wage level and that is a strike. At the present moment recognised trade unions (i.e. European, Coloured and Indian trade unions) can boast of and rely on their Industrial Conciliation Boards and other channels for negotiating with the employers. But when a crisis arises and the employers brush aside the Industrial Councils, etc., then the trade unions have to resort to strikes. But this is precisely the contingency which the ruling-class has prepared against. They will have in readiness the mass of controlled black labour to be used as strike-breakers against them. The White, Coloured and Indian trade unionists will have their trade union cards in their hands, but they will be without work unless they are prepared to accept the terms of the employers. This mass of regimented Black labour will knock the bottom out of the trade union movement. In other words, one section of the workers will be used against another section. This then clearly indicates the inter-connection between the struggles of the different sections of the workers and oppressed peoples. It is a vital necessity for the workers to view their struggles against the exploiters, NOT as sectional, isolated and unconnected problems, but as forming one individual whole. Thus what might have appeared on the face of it as simply an attack on one section, the African, reveals itself as in fact an attack on all sections of the workers and oppressed people.

In this light the various schemes of the rulers constituting their whole comprehensive plan on a nation-wide scale can be seen in full perspective. Along the whole front, each fits into the other as links in a chain - the long chain of oppression. The Rehabilitation Scheme in the Reserves with its bottle-necks in the so-called village settlements, the Housing Schemes in the towns together with the Pass Regulations, leading to the bottle-necks of the urban labour-depots - these might appear as two distinct schemes affecting respectively and separately the Africans in the reserves and those of the town. On closer examination, however, it becomes evident that those two streams of dispossessed people would be disgorged into one common, channel leading primarily to farms and the mines. In this the African population throughout the Union is involved. Likewise the creation of child-labour battalions under the "Utility Corporation" Scheme assumes a sinister significance. It concerns not only the enslavement of the African children, but is inseparably bound up with and merges into the plan of enslaving the whole African people. These child battalions living under a military-like discipline can be used (as already pointed out above) to depress still further the wage level of the adult African. In the event of strikes for higher wages they can even be used as scabs against their parents. But finally, the damming up and the complete regimentation of African labour, both adult and child, does not concern the African alone. It has still further sinister implications. For this Black labour force constitutes a threat to the wage level of the other sections of the working class. In the event of economic crisis they can be used as strike-breakers to smash any attempt of the other sections to defend their positions. It is the whole working class that is involved.

## INTER-CONNECTION OF STRUGGLES

As already stated, to understand the Rehabilitation Scheme, it was necessary to see it as part of the whole comprehensive plan for the exploitation of the Black man. It was necessary to see it as flowing from the basic Native Policy of the country. And with this key we could understand the effects not only of the Rehabilitation Scheme, but of all the other apparently unconnected schemes of the government concerning the Black man. More than this, we were able to see the vital inter-connection between their various plans for the Africans and the other sections of the Non-Europeans, and for the workers as a whole. In other words, we begin to understand the inescapable unity of oppression.

But it is not enough merely to understand. Understanding as an end in itself is worthless. It would be ludicrous for a prospective victim, when confronted with a huge octopus about to devour him, to sit and comfort himself with the thought that he understands the intricate workings of the monster's anatomy. Understanding, however, is essential. It is essential precisely because it provides a basis for the correct line of action. A clear idea of the inter-connection between the various schemes of the government for all sections of the Africans and indeed all sections of the Non-Europeans, leads the way to a clear understanding of the nature of our resistance to these oppressive measures. **THE FORCES OF OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS DICTATE THE FORM WHICH OUR STRUGGLES MUST TAKE.** The more clearly we grasp their real nature and their full implications, the better prepared we are to evolve just those weapons essential to a determined and successful resistance. It is imperative for us to evolve just that form of struggle which can measure up to and meet the situation.

Failure to do this must lead to disaster. We must be prepared to discard the old outlook and the old methods which were based on ignorance of the forces at work. Tribalism is a thing of the past. We must throw off the isolationist attitude, the pre-occupation with merely local problems and the narrow parochial outlook. No single tribe, however important, or lowly, is signed out for special oppression. No village, big or small, suffers from a special set of laws. Neither is the rural African exploited as distinct from the African living in the towns. One and all we are subject to the same oppressive measures. **OPPRESSION IS INDIVISIBLE.**

The government plans for the whole and each scheme is part of a single comprehensive plan. Each scheme or attack is in the nature of a sortie in a long, nation-wide front. It is precisely this circumstance which imposes on us the duty and necessity to view **OUR STRUGGLE ON A NATIONAL SCALE.** It is this circumstance which imposes upon us the necessity to evolve the political machinery which will draw together every section of the African people; the peasant and the townsman, the farm-labourer and the mine-worker, the professional and the worker throughout the length and breadth of the Union. This unifying body will be the focal point of our struggle. It will draw together all sections and at the same time be the source from which ideas will be disseminated and from which will emanate our strength and all our plan of action.

Already these different sections have their organisations. The peasants have their farmers' associations, the teachers have their teachers' associations, the workers have their trade unions, the ministers their ministers' associations, etc. But each one of these struggles (is conducted) in isolation, independently of the others, as if they alone existed and suffered from oppression. Up to the present moment they fail to realise that the problem which faces each sectional organisation is a particular aspect of one common oppression. Up to now a great deal of time and energy has been uselessly dissipated by each organisation going into battle single-handed. The whole race is scarred because single warriors have indulged in isolated, skirmishes and have been worsted in the attempt. It is a spectacle that must seem futile and stupid to anyone who understands the full extent of the forces ranged against us. The very nature of these forces demands that all our struggles must be co-ordinated and unified in that each organisation becomes part of a whole and works in connection with all the others. In such a case - to put it in military parlance - the struggles of each are in the nature of a defensive sortie directly related to the others along a nation-wide front. Thus the single organisations throughout the country constitute battalions operating as part of one division in a whole eighty army.

Each struggle must be seen as a particular aspect of resistance to one common oppression. And this common oppression flows from one source **THE LACK OF POLITICAL RIGHTS.**

Now the body which co-ordinates, concentrates and unifies this political struggle is the **ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION.** Its organisational form is best suited to meet the needs of the objective conditions of to-

day. Its policy and programme as expressed in "The New Road" and the Ten Point Programme clearly voices the aspirations of the oppressed. Already the people are beginning to realise the vital role of the All African Convention in leading them along this New Road in the struggle for liberation. And it is the duty of all Africans to build up and strengthen this organisation.

We have, however, to extend our vision to a still wider Unity. As was pointed out above under the heading "Inter-Connection of Interests", the various schemes of the Government for the different sections of the African people actually involve the regimentation of the whole African population. Moreover, this regimentation has sinister implications for the other sections of the oppressed people, the Coloured and the Indians, and finally, for the working class as a whole. This reveals the identity of interests of all sections. In other words the oppression of the African, the Coloured and the Indian is indivisible, so that an attack on one section has repercussions on the others and is in fact an attack upon all. This fact points directly to the necessity of placing our struggle on a wide basis.

It is not enough therefore to co-ordinate and unify the struggle of the different organisations among the Africans under the All African Convention. Neither is it enough for the Coloured people to co-ordinate their struggles under the Anti-C.A.D. (Anti-Coloured Affairs Department) and the Indians likewise under their organisation. To speak again in military parlance, the various battalions of the Africans together constitute a division; those of the Coloured and the Indians form the other divisions, and the three together constitute one mighty army of the oppressed Non-Europeans in the struggle for political rights. We have learned from bitter experience that all our failures in the past have flowed from the main weakness, LACK OF UNITED ACTION. Too long have we suffered from that terrible disease of racial prejudice. Too long have we been blinded by the segregationist mentality, inoculated into our veins and fostered by the rulers in order to keep our ranks divided and ensure a policy of isolationism. Too long have we indulged in petty squabbles among ourselves, in faction fights between tribes, antagonism between town and country, distrust and bitterness between African, Coloured and Indian. And all the time the juggernaut of oppression has been ceaselessly and steadily crushing the body of the Non-Europeans.

Those leaders who do not realise this and still follow the old road of isolationism are either fools or traitors.

Those leaders who still continue to keep the sections of the Non-Europeans separate, who still find some excuse, some spurious argument for keeping us divided, are consciously or unconsciously repeating the old arguments of the ruling class, and merely echoing their masters' voice like a cracked gramophone record. They do this either deliberately or because the poison of the segregationist mentality has so seeped into their system that they cannot help themselves. In either case, they are serving NOT the interests of the oppressed people, but the interests of the ruling-class, because by such tactics they are paralysing the struggle for liberation.

The struggles of the Africans, the struggles of the Coloured and of the Indians are inseparably connected. It is not a question of the disabilities of the Africans or the disabilities of the Coloured or of the Indians. It is not a question of this particular law or that particular law. IT IS A QUESTION OF A WHOLE OUTRAGEOUS SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION. You cannot lift that oppression from one section and leave the other straining under its yoke. You cannot hope to liberate one section without at the same time liberating all.

In full realisation of this fact, the different sections of Non-Europeans have come together to form the Non-European Unity Movement. Upon it falls the gigantic task of bringing together and unifying all the struggles of all sections of the Non-Europeans. Its policy is firmly based on the demands formulated in the Ten Point Programme. All our energies must be directed to the building up of this Unity, for it is the essential prerequisite for a serious and determined struggle. The road of the Unity Movement is the only road that leads to the liberation of all the oppressed Non-Europeans of South Africa.

December, 1945.