THE NATIONAL SITUATION. THE REAL PROBLEMS OF THE LIBERATORY MOVEMENT (3).

In this series it is our intention to show the manner in which the national crisis affects the different groups of political parties in South Africa. We have indicated briefly how every group, under the pressure of the present situation, is reacting according to its political lights. In the last issue we showed how the liberals utilized the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation to make a bid to recapture the leadership of the Non-Europeans and, having succeeded, they went on to create the Congress of Democrats as a counter to the Non-European Unity Movement.

The old and tried collaborators in the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Union, etc., played their part in deflecting the people from an independent and principled struggle, which puts the attainment of the full franchise ar at the centre of their aims. In encouraging political stunts they betrayed the people in a double sense. In the first place, by leading them into the swamps of opportunism they caused confusion and a complete less of direction. Such stunts were calculated to release pent-up feelings and direct them into harmless channels. Eurthermore, the people made sacrifices in these stunts, which had inevitably to end in failure and bitter disillusionment. It is by such maxy methods that the liberals kape hope to prolong the life of herrenvelkism in South Africa. For as long as the leadership of the Non-European organisations remains in the hands of that section of the population, which, though in opposition to the Nationalists, seeks to maintain White domination in South Africa, so long will the struggles of the people be brought to naught. That is why it is necessary to accuse the Congressistor at committing the crime of handing over the leadership to the liberals. katxusxmakexthisxpointxeleas.

Let us make this point clear. The struggles of the Non-Europeans are directed towards the elimination of herrenvolkism in South Africa, that is, the total abolition of all colour-bars in every sphere of life and the establishment of complete equality between men and women of all colours. The liberals, on the other hand, are committed to fighting apartheid, that is, the Nationalist Party version of Segregation. The aims of the oppressed and those of the liberals are totally irreconcilable and no amount of fine talk can alter this basic difference. To be lured on to the liberal bandwagen is the relinquish their of the structure.

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And in what way would the Non-Europeans benefit from such a victory? Do we need to remind the Congresses that the oppression of the Non-Whites did not start with the coming of the Nats. into power? The tying of the people to the liberals is in itself a betrayal. For it means persuading them to accept a pre-Nationalist herrenvolkism. To argue that segregation is more tolerable than apartheid is tast tantamount to treachery. Apartheid is the logical development of segregation. The people, however, though perhaps unable to formulate the position in clear geterms, sense the betrayal, and as the political pressures in the country increase, they revolt against this unholy alliance. That is why the end of the last stunt was the signal for the falling apart of the Congresses.

As we have said, a crisis forces political parties and groupings to take up their basic positions. Diverse elements within the Congresses each find their respective levels. The concession hunters, uneasy in the shapr winds of crisis, where compromise is no longer tenable, are trying desperately to limit the struggle to piece-meal opposition. The Indian merchants, alarmed at the crushing effect of the Group Areas Act, which will destroy their businesses and reduce them to the pranxyxefxths same penury as the poor Indians and the rest of the Non-Europeans, are concentrating on the opposition to this Act, and in general try to embarras the Nationalist Party.

The intellectuals, rejected by the Nationalists, who treat all Non-Europeans as pariahs, hanker after the old days. As a group they hope to to be granted special concessions and privileges. They would like to see themselves snugly employed in glorified Bungas and Native Representative Councils. It is these limited and self-seeking aims that tie them to the liberals. The tribalists and racialists, with their gaze fixed on pre-capitalist days, and smarting under the herrenvolk blows, are disappointed and disillusioned by the stunts of the Congresses; am completely lacking in political xx vision and a sense of principled struggle, they hit blindly and furiously at every one who does not belong to the tribe. The Africanist is anti-White and violently opposed to the Coloured and Indian sections. Their appeal, no less than that of the Nationalists, is to race passions. Such racialists, with their "Africa-for Africans," are a danger to the Maxements struggle for liberty. Yet the other groups within the Congresses are incapable of fighting them because they themselves are rooted in sectionalism . Each one of them thinks in terms of the interests of his own group instead of the in united and principled struggle of all the oppressed Non-Europeans. On the face of it, it would seem strange that the liberals should seek to united with these

anti-White elements. But Africanists are preferable to them; for the activities of these racialists guarantee the failure of the struggle for freedom and ensure the continued existence of herrenvolkism.

This, then, is the manner in which the crisis in South Africa has affected and atomised those organisations within the Congress of Democrats. They are faced with the task of re-thinking and reviewing their whole basic position.

The more serious-minded among them will find their way out of this morass, out of this political cul-de-sac, and make their way to the broad road of independent struggle.

In the next issue we shall consider how the same crisis and political pressures have affected those organisations within the Non-European Unity Movement.

To be continued.

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