

The latest sell-out by the African National Congress has not come as a complete surprise to us. You will remember that already in the November, 1947, issue of "The Voice" we uttered a warning that the African people should not treat lightly the twisting and plotting of the Quislings who had found shelter in the A.N.C. and were working overtime behind the scenes. In our attempt to defeat them we even went so far as to try, against our better judgment, to save the A.N.C. from itself - from its disastrous road of betrayals. Of course, it was in vain. The Congress has remained true to itself. Once more it has betrayed the people, as in 1936. Only, this time there is one difference. In 1936 their sell-out was crowned with success, but this time it must end in the most contemptible failure.

For one thing, the world of 1948 is not the same as the world of 1936. The liberatory movement in the East, which is rocking the old Herrenvolk order of society to its very foundations, and the changes brought about by World War 2, make a comparison between '36 and '48 quite ridiculous. It is true that, together with the other oppressors of colonial peoples in the United States, Britain and Holland, the S.African master-race is making frantic efforts to put the clock back. But too much has changed and both they and Smuts-~~Mal~~ Malan must fail. Our masters have still to learn that they cannot treat us as they did in 1936.

For another thing, the African people are not the same. They are no longer asleep, no longer meek and docile. They are no longer a helpless prey to corrupt leaders who could cheat them with fairy tales about "our own Parliament" and "development on our own lines", "giving it a trial" and "half-a-loaf". No, we have had these "Native Representatives" in Parliament and a "Native Representative" Council for 10 years. And for 10 years we have not set eyes on the elusive "more land" which the Trust was supposed to grant. But what we have seen is the satanical "Rehabilitation Scheme" and the other fraudulent tricks of the oppressors being pricked like bubbles before our eyes. And that by their own hands too. To-day, then, there is nothing that Smuts and his henchmen, Matthews and Co., can offer the African people to revive the childlike trust and faith in promises which led us into the trap in 1936.

And that is why the Congress had to adopt this new trick in their latest sell-out: to break the Boycott by pretending that they too are for the Boycott. Just look at the miserable fraud: "Elections on a boycott ticket!" The Matthews and Xumas were all aware that the people are all for the Boycott of the sham, for the end of the Quisling Council, so they adopted a trick often used by a cornered thief. They began to shout: "Stop, thief! Stop, thief!" And what do they hope to gain? They hope to smuggle themselves into the Quisling Council by telling the people: "We are for the Boycott! Elect us on a boycott ticket!" They hope to cheat the people by these slogans and to ensnare them in the net of the elections. Or, at any rate, to bring about so much doubt and confusion that the boycott will collapse and they will once more ride into the N.R.C. Whoever thought out such a swindle must surely have made a close study of the mind and methods of professional traitors and tricksters. For there is such a professional touch about a sleight-of-hand like ~~innocently changing~~ the words: "Boycott the elections" to "Elect to Boycott." And their main hope is that by the time the people have disentangled this legalistic puzzle, this absurd impossibility, invented expressly to deceive - they, the Quislings, will be safely in. Afterwards, naturally, they will invent the explanations and excuses as the need arises.

The fact that the traitors had to adopt this downright fraud in order to work the sell-out and pull the Government out of its tight corner, speaks volumes, not only for the state of discontent in the ranks of the African people, but also for the degree of political awakening. But the master and his lackeys will have to learn that no tricks and stratagems can crush this spirit of revolt against the intolerable conditions of life created and maintained by segregation and Christian trusteeship. Nor yet can a new fraud prevent or block the political awakening of the people. Quite the opposite. For the

experience of being cheated once again can only rouse the people to still greater wrath, even if the scheme did succeed in deceiving a section of those who are less mature politically. So the advantage is not all on the side of the Quislings.

But above all, this treachery on the part of the Congress has brought into the sharpest prominence the distinction between THEM and US, between the collaborators or leader-goats and the champions of the rights and liberties of the people, between the A.N.C.'s blind-alley of deception and the straight though stony road of the All-African Convention. The people will have to pose these questions and face up to them squarely: How much longer is the African National Congress, this nest and sheltering-place of collaborators and careerists, still to be tolerated? How much longer is our easy-going nature, our sentimentality and gentleness towards Quislings, going to triumph over our political sense? Can we afford to go on paying the high price of betrayal after betrayal, merely because of some sentimental attachment to a name which has long since lost its meaning or substance? And finally, the people will have to answer the question: Is the rot merely in the leadership of the A.N.C., or is the organisation - however insignificant in numbers it may be to-day - rotten to the core? For the outstanding and very significant fact about the betrayal by the Congress is that no outburst of protest or revolt against this stab-in-the-back came from the rank and file (if there is any). People talk about the Youth League which is alleged to be opposed to the rotten leadership of Xuma and his Communist Party fellow-travellers. But if that is so, why do they remain silent in such a national crisis? Why do they neither expose nor break with the traitors?

These are the questions which will have to be posed by the people, because it is no longer a question of individuals. Not only the despicable attitude of Xuma and his Communist Party confederates who, like good jackals, howled in chorus that they would return the twelve outgoing M.R.C.'s en bloc and then slunk behind to betray their own resolution and to nominate themselves as rivals to their M.R.C. Quislings-in-arms and co-plotters of the betrayal, but also the equally contemptible imitation of this step by Mr. Mbeki, who was once the staunch advocate of the Boycott in the Transkei Organised Bodies, until he decided to follow the jackals - both of these are unimportant matters in comparison with the questions of the future attitude towards the African National Congress and towards the Quisling Council.

The betrayal by the African National Congress and the scramble by all the Quislings and candidate -quislings for seats will not and cannot stop the Boycott Movement. Still less can it stop the question of Non-Collaboration. For the issues between THEM and US daily become clearer and more simplified. The collaborators and Quislings have to isolated and surrounded by a wall of ostracism and contempt. There can be no hobnobbing with, and friendliness towards persons who are betraying our people. A gulf must separate the Collaborators from the people they seek to betray. The policy of Non-Collaboration must be worked out in detail and brought into motion on a nation-wide scale. But for this we must have an organisation that will embrace the whole Union and that will speak with one voice -- THE ALL-AFRICAN CONVENTION.

ON WITH THE BOYCOTT OF THE ELECTIONS!

OUR SLOGAN IS: NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE OPPRESSOR.

N.B. THE NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT, which unites all sections of the Non-Europeans: Africans, Coloured and Indians, will hold an ALL-IN CONFERENCE on the 29th, 30th, & 31st. March. 1948 in the RONDEBOSCH TOWN HALL, CAPE TOWN. ALL ORGANISATIONS ARE ASKED TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEND DELEGATES.

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