

# **WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT**

*Peter Mackintosh*

*When thieves fall out, honest men come into their own.*

—English proverb

Elections to the House of Assembly, South Africa's central legislature, will take place on April 22, 1970 — one year ahead of the scheduled time. Normally one would refer to these as general elections, but this term has no meaning in the South African context. For the first time in the history of representative institutions in South Africa, the new House of Assembly will consist of White representatives elected by Whites for Whites only, all vestiges of the Non-White franchise having been finally eliminated.

The Assembly elections will be the fourth since the Nationalist Party came to power 22 years ago. The Nationalist Party defeated the United Party under General Smuts in 1948, and was re-elected with an ever-increasing majority in 1953, 1958, 1961 and 1966. In 1948 the Nationalist Party won 70 of the 153 seats, the United Party 65, the Labour Party six, the Afrikaner Party nine and there were three Natives' Representatives. By 1966, the number of seats in the Assembly had been increased to 170, of which the Nationalists won 126, the United Party 39, and the Progressive Party 1, with the remaining four going to the 4 Whites returned by the Coloured electorate in the Cape. With the Nationalist Party in an apparently impregnable position, why has Vorster decided that an early election is necessary? He stated his reasons when he announced his decision at the Bloemfontein congress of the Nationalist Party on September 16, 1969. Reports were going out to the world that the Nationalist Party was divided and powerless — and nothing could do more damage to South Africa than this.

This is so because we live in a dangerous world. Because we cannot afford to let the world get the idea that South Africa has an unstable government, the Cabinet decided that there must be a demonstration of the power of the Nationalist Party as never before in South Africa. The way to do that is to go to the electorate.

The election has been called by Vorster, therefore, as a means of eliminating his opponents and restoring unity in the ranks of the Nationalist Party.

### **VERLIGTES AND VERKRAMPTE**

Tension between the so-called 'verligtes' (enlightened) and 'verkrampes' (hidebound) in the Nationalist Party has been mounting steadily throughout the sixties. Vorster himself has estimated that since 1948 there have been no fewer than 13 breakaway groups to the right, all of which have been decisively defeated by the Nationalist Party in elections. But the very fact that for the first time all the resources of the Nationalist Party are being mobilised to crush the verkrampes shows that the revolt this time is of a different order.

The Nationalist Party hierarchy decided to use the 1969 congresses as a testing ground, and formulated four resolutions which in its opinion embodied the points of difference between the two groups. The resolutions called for a motion of confidence in:

1. The Nationalist Party's policy of co-operating with the English-speaking section of the population in order to strengthen the basis of White Supremacy.
2. The Government's immigration policy.
3. The so-called "outward" policy of extending contacts with African countries like the former British protectorates, Malawi and others which may be induced to breach the O.A.U. embargo.
4. The comprise policy on mixed sport worked out by the Vorster Government in the preceding year.

The stand of the verkrampes on these four points is:

1. The English-speaking section of the population cannot be relied upon to defend White supremacy, and in any case co-operation with the English will mean ultimately the destruction of Afrikaner culture. Afrikanerdom is the only safe bastion of baasskap, and Afrikanerdom can only be strengthened and kept pure in isolation.
2. Of the average of 30,000 immigrants who come to South Africa each year, the overwhelming majority attach themselves to the English-speaking section of the population and vote for the Opposition. A large proportion of them (Portuguese, Italians, etc.,) are 'as near as



dammit to Non-Whites' and as Catholics are a threat to the Dutch Reformed Church.

3. Co-operation with Black Africa will not strengthen but will undermine white supremacy in Southern Africa. In particular, the admission of Black diplomats to South Africa will tend to bend the colour bar.
4. The same applies to the new mixed sport policy in terms of which Maoris would be admitted to South Africa as members of the next rugby team from New Zealand. Any concession to world pressure would be merely the thin end of the wedge of ultimate total integration of the races.

The Nationalist Party's four motions were unanimously endorsed by the congresses in South West Africa, the Cape, Natal and the Free State, but in the Transvaal the voting on the sports policy resulted in 11 delegates opposing the resolution and 7 abstaining. The opposition was led by Dr. Albert Hertzog M.P. and former Cabinet Minister, and Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P. for Innesdal.

The dissidents were given two months to conform with the majority decision, and five did so before the Transvaal congress had even concluded. But the refusal of the remainder to back down immediately forced Vorster to take the next step in his bid to crush them – the calling of the general election. No doubt he hoped, and perhaps still hopes, that an election will result in the ejection of the Hertzogites from Parliament and the consequent waning of their influence.

The direct consequence of his action, however, was the formation of the *Herstigte Nasionale Party* (the Reconstituted Nationalist Party) at the Pretoria conference of 'verkrampes' on October 25. Dr. Hertzog was elected leader and the head committee of 60 now includes three other M.P.s – Mr. Jaap Marais and Mr. Louis Stofberg who were expelled from the Nationalist Party at the same time as Hertzog, and Mr. Willie Marais who resigned of his own accord to join them. Those who attended the Pretoria conference testified to the spirit of fanaticism which filled the more than 1,000 delegates from all parts of the country who attended.

*Rand Daily Mail* political correspondent George Oliver commented:

It was the best organised and most crisply run political congress I have ever attended, surpassing by far the normally well-conducted Nationalist congresses of the past few years. What had emerged by the time it ended . . . . was the nucleus of a militant Right-wing political force that has set out to make a determined bid to steer Afrikaner Nationalism back to its course in the pre-Vorster eras of D. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd. To do this it will base its public appeal on a reversion to old-style narrow Nationalist policy aimed at perpetuating the complete hold of Afrikanerdom over all spheres of South African national life. However outmoded and repugnant this approach might seem if judged by today's political standards, at least one thing is clear: skilfully used, it is capable of making a devastating emotional impact on a large number of Nationalists.

At the conference itself the sum of R54,000 in cash and pledges was raised in 35 minutes, and a target of R600,000 set for the general election fund. HNP committees have been set up in every constituency in the country, and the party plans to put up at least 100 candidates. The Nationalist paper *Die Burger* has conceded that the intervention of the HNP can result in the loss of a number of marginal seats at present held by the Nationalist Party.

'The men of the Hertzog party are no broomsticks. They use an attractive idiom of "Afrikanerskap" and escapism. They are skilled in the exploitation of a variety of grievances.'

The issue as posed by Hertzog on the sports policy is distressingly familiar.

Rugby matches are associated with eating and dancing parties and social mixing where young men and women will associate with Non-Whites. This social intercourse with Non-Whites would soon be followed in other spheres of the community, and so we will be faced with the systematic and rapid dismantling of all apartheid, the salvation of the White man in South Africa.

This was the policy which brought the Nationalist Party victory over the United Party in 1948. This was the policy which the Nationalist Party has consistently put before the electorate ever since, and which time and again won it thumping majorities at the polls. This was the policy which the Nationalist Party has used as the ultimate justification for the repressive laws and the reign of police terror which it has imposed on the country. Against the 'swart gevaar' (black menace) any tactic is justified, including the suspension of the rule of law and the torture and murder of political prisoners.

The only difference is that at the next election in April 1970 it will be the HNP, not the Nationalist Party, which is placing this issue before the voters. Vorster, by contrast, will be having to defend his so-called 'outward' policy – co-operation with the English and Black Africa etc. No wonder the HNP is taking the line that the Nationalist Party has sold out to the 'Sappe', to the enemies of the volk, and that Afrikanerdom will only be safe in the hands of the HNP. Are we, then, back to 1934, when Malan broke away from Hertzog to form his HNP? (and the fact that the new party has these initials is no accident). In the sense that Afrikanerdom is now split from top to bottom – yes, though we will not know until the April election just how serious the split will prove to be. Nevertheless, it is a fact that for the first time since the demise of the Afrikaner Party, the authority of the Nationalist Party to speak in the name of the whole Afrikaner people is being effectively challenged.

In other respects, however, the situation is hardly comparable. In 1934, General Hertzog was in alliance with General Smuts within the



framework of a single party. The Malan breakaway at that time was aimed at withdrawing Afrikaner support from the United Party and uniting it behind the banner of the Nationalist Party. Today the bulk of Afrikanerdom has the Vorster-led Nationalist Party as its representative, and the verkramptes are rebelling against their own leadership. True, the issues which are being canvassed are very much the same; but the form of the rebellion is essentially different.

### **CHANGE IN AFRIKANERDOM**

The reason for this is that the position of Afrikanerdom has greatly changed in the last generation. When in 1934 Malan first issued his rallying call to the volk, the Afrikaner people could quite fairly regard themselves as underprivileged in relation to the rest of the White population. The bulk of the 300,000 poor Whites who constituted a serious social problem at that time were Afrikaners many of them young men and women thrown off the land and living in penury in the towns, unskilled, untrained and often in competition with Non-Whites for both housing and jobs. The income per head of Afrikaners was just over half that of non-Afrikaners. The heights of commerce, industry, mining and administration were dominated by non-Afrikaners. The Nationalist Party was built up (a) by a political campaign directed against the English on the one hand and the Non-Whites on the other and (b) by promoting Afrikaner economic enterprises and Nationalist penetration of the trade union movement. The work of Albert Hertzog and his cronies amongst the mineworkers is often considered to have turned the tide for the Nationalists on the Reef and made possible the decisive breakthrough in the 1948 elections.

Today, however, the position of the Afrikaner in South African society is very different. For one thing, he is no longer a rural animal, no longer a Boer. Whereas in 1911 more than 80 per cent of the Afrikaners lived in the rural areas, by the time of the 1936 census this figure has dropped to 48 per cent and by the 1951 census to 31 per cent. By 1960 only 6 per cent of the white population as a whole lived in the rural areas, so it is clear the urbanisation of the Afrikaner has continued apace. Today almost 80 per cent of the Afrikaners live in the towns.

The urbanisation of the Afrikaner has seen his steady conquest of more and more positions in the urban economy, as represented by the following percentages:

	Commerce	Industry	Finance	Mining	Total
1936	8	3	5	1	5
1966	30	10	15	10	26

These figures represent only the private sector of the economy. In addition, Afrikaners dominate in the State administration, the army, police force, and the state and semi-state corporations, as well as in agriculture. The result is that the income per head of the Afrikaner is now estimated to be at least 80 per cent of the non-Afrikaner amongst the White population.

These figures, of course, are averages, and conceal the fact that together with economic development has gone class stratification among the Afrikaner people. At the one end of the spectrum we see the gigantic new Afrikaans finance houses, banks and insurance companies, industrial and mining companies, conglomerates like Rembrandt and Federale Mynbou which, together with the State administration and corporations, have produced a new type of Afrikaner in tune with the modern technological era of industrial capitalism – in other words, an Afrikaner bourgeoisie, together with its concomitant parasites like the professional men, writers and journalists, administrators and technocrats, who have contributed so much to the formulation of the new 'outward' policy for which the Nationalist Party now stands. At the other end of the scale are the Afrikaner workers – the mine workers and building workers, the civil servants in the lower echelons, the railway workers, policemen, prison warders, all of whom are wage earners with no capital assets except their labour power. Compared with most Africans, of course, the White workers are highly paid. But thousands of them at the lower end of the scale are still little above the level of poor Whites. Moreover, the Afrikaner has seen the inevitable concomitant of capitalist development – a growing increase in the gap between the owners of the means of production on the one hand and the mass of wage earners on the other.

It is this class stratification which is basically at the root of the conflict between the *verligtes* and the *verkramptes*. Writing in the November 1969 issue of the *New Nation*, Dr. Denis Worrall, senior lecturer in political science at the University of South Africa, dealing with the question of 'Mr. Vorster and the Right', said:

The relative socio-economic uniformity of the Afrikaners is a thing of the past. They fill out the White South African middle class and spill over into the upper income brackets, with the result that the Afrikaners of Waterkloof, with their Mercedes, boxer and swimming pool status symbols, have about as little in common with the Afrikaners of Pretoria West as the Bishops court English have with the Afrikaners of Goodwood. . . . The range of interests represented within the Nationalist Party has been greatly widened, and new ideological demands have been made which the leadership has found increasingly difficult to accommodate.

Dr. Worrall's linking of the Afrikaners of Waterkloof with the English of Bishops court is not far-fetched. Like all capitalists, the



Afrikaner has often found his thirst for profits stronger than his nationalism. Dr. Rupert of Rembrandt is one example of a one-time Nationalist bitter-ender who has been 'mellowed' by high finance into a cosmopolitan preaching a spurious policy of 'partnership' between Black and White, and who has linked his all-Afrikaans South African companies with English, American, Canadian, German and Dutch companies.

### **MERGING OF INTERESTS**

A more complex operation was the merging of interests controlled by Federale Mynbou with their counterparts in Anglo-American in 1963, leading ultimately to Anglo-Americans's General Mining and Finance Corporation passing into Federale control. Despite criticism of this move in sections of the Nationalist press as a sell-out to 'Hoggenheimer', Federale Mynbou has since extended its contacts with non-Afrikaans business houses, and their example has been followed by many other Afrikaans business houses. The tendency is for English and Afrikaans big business to become more and more intertwined. Furthermore, Afrikaans capital is co-operating more and more outside the country with foreign capital – in Africa, Europe, South America and other places – as well as attracting and accepting foreign capital in association with its development inside South Africa itself. It was inherent in the development of Afrikaner capitalism that it could not be contained within the border of the Afrikaans community, which was too small and too poor to sustain its further growth.

It is when seen in relation to this burgeoning of the interests of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie that Vorster's so-called 'outward' policy begins to take on a new significance. Let us consider the four points again – co-operation with the English, immigration, expansion in Black Africa, and finally the new sports policy. All these can now be seen to be essential to the needs of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, as indeed of the entire South African bourgeoisie, whose interests the Vorster Government is faithfully serving.

An example of the manner in which these new developments were splitting Afrikanerdom was provided by the so-called labour experiment on the mines in 1964 – and let it be remembered this was in the Verwoerd era, long before Vorster was ever thought of as a possible Prime Minister.

According to a statement in the House of Assembly on June 8, 1965, the Minister of Mines said there was a shortage of more than 2,000 Whites on the mines, including 300 skilled artisans. It had proved impossible to recruit adequate numbers of immigrants from overseas to fill these vacancies. Faced with this threat to productivity, the Chamber

of Mines and the leaders of the White Mineworkers' Union put forward a plan whereby White miners would be promoted to higher status with higher pay, in return for allowing 'responsible' African boss-boys to take over some of their functions.

The scheme was endorsed by the Government Mining Engineer and introduced on four gold mines in the Transvaal and Orange Free State as an experiment, later extended to a further eight mines, including at least one from each mining group. The plan, in other words, was to bribe the White mineworkers to accept the dilution of labour over which they had fought a minor war in 1922 — and the plan had the backing of the Nationalist Government.

Unfortunately for the Government and the profit-seekers, though the scheme was received with enthusiasm by the White miners who participated in it and got substantially higher pay, a rebel group of White miners, led by Advocate Dr. L.J.E. 'Ras' Beyers and supported by certain Nationalist M.P.s, formed an Action Committee to oppose the experiment which, they maintained, would breach the colour bar and lead to the downfall of the White man. The dispute led to complete disruption both in the industry and in the union, with thousands of workers on both sides striking for and against the scheme. So great was the pressure that the Government was compelled to intervene, and the experiment was suspended. But the Action Committee persisted with its campaign against the union leadership until finally, in November 1966, the Action Group gained control of the executive committee. The new general secretary, M. F. Short, took an oath to protect the interests of the White worker 'unto death' and to fight all forms of 'liberalism and leftism' and also the influence of the Broederbond. 'Ras' Beyers, as adviser to the executive committee, was given a full-time appointment, but legal action by the former secretary prevented his holding the job. Beyers was later disbarred as an advocate because of his conduct during the disturbances, and went farming in Botswana. He was deported from that country by President Seretse Khama after a speech at a verkrampte public meeting in the Transvaal in June 1969 in which he attacked 'kaffirs, Jews and English'.

In his speech Dr. Beyers said he was a card-carrying Nationalist, but the Nationalist leaders were now acting like 'kaffirboeties'. He used the word 'kaffir' purposely, he said, because too much was done for the blacks in South Africa. 'Everything which the Government does for the kaffirs with our money is nothing but disguised communism. In certain ways we are worse than the communists—we do things for the kaffirs out of love'.

On leaving Botswana, Dr. Beyers said he was convinced the Nationalist Government had had a hand in his deportation. He was one of those present at the foundation conference of the HNP on October 25, 1969,



and donated R500 to the funds of the new party.

One of the by-products of the strife in the Mineworkers' Union was the formation in 1965 by a group of Action Committee members, led by Mr. H.J.J. Terblanche, of a new political party, the Conservative Party, to oppose the Government on two main issues, the colour-bar experiment and the concept of ultimate independence for the Bantustans. The men concerned in the formation of the new party complained that they were under surveillance by the Security Police, but this did not prevent Terblanche from later becoming an official of the union after the ousting of the 'verligte' leadership, and he is today a member of the Head Committee of Hertzog's HNP.

In April 1969 the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported:

The verkrampte Hertzog group has launched an extensive and carefully planned campaign to capture control of the whole trade union movement in South Africa. They regard this as a vital step towards the eventual establishment of an extreme Right-wing party in the next few years.

The paper reported that the same funds which had enabled Dr Hertzog to capture the Mineworkers' Union in the 1930's were available for his present campaign.

The *Sunday Times* report was confirmed by trade union leader J.H. Liebenberg, chairman of the Railway Artisan Staff Association, who told the Nationalist paper *Die Beeld* that the entire white population of South Africa must be on guard against the danger of organised verkramptes, who were busily engaged in swallowing up power positions on all levels. Mr. Liebenberg said the Confederation of Labour, normally regarded as Government supporting, had become the home of the verkramptes in the trade union movement. They were against the outward policy of the Government and were 'sitting like vultures on the branches of trees and waiting to descend when the Prime Minister makes a mistake'. Trade union funds were being misused for political purposes, he said.

The Nationalist newspaper *Dagbreek*, in July 1969, confirmed that a serious clash was threatening in the trade union movement. The essence of the trouble, it said, was division among certain trade union leaders on the increasing number of non-Whites being appointed to white posts. There were indications, however, that this was only the tip of the iceberg. Under the surface were grievances on wages, housing etc. incited by persons with political motives behind the scenes.

The story circulating among workers, said *Dagbreek*, was that the

Nationalist Party was no longer concerned with the interests of the worker, the small businessman and the small farmer. The party was only concerned with the interests of big capital. 'A slogan much heard is: "The National Party rules the country but Harry Oppenheimer rules the Party"'.

Another trade union leader on the head committee of the HNP is Mr. Gert Beetge, general secretary of the white Building Workers' Union and senior deputy chairman of the Co-ordinating Council of Trade Unions. On November 5, 1969, Mr. Beetge issued a call to the white workers to support the HNP. He said the white worker was threatened by the Government's laxity in applying its job reservation laws. The HNP, said Beetge, was putting forward two immediate demands on behalf of the White workers: That every white worker get 12 paid public holidays a year, and That all industrial councils be exclusively white.

No Indian or Coloured has the right to decide on the future of the White worker. If Coloureds can be removed from Parliament, there is no reason why they cannot be removed from all industrial councils.

He concluded: 'I am convinced that every Afrikaner worker will feel truly at home in the *Herstige Nasionale Party*'. It was perhaps symptomatic that on the same evening as Beetge was making his call to the White workers, Prime Minister Vorster, speaking at a banquet of the Federated Chamber of Industries, was defending the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Commenting on the catastrophic fall in share prices which had resulted in a lot of small investors being ruined, Vorster said the stock exchange was not a gambling house. It was a means of mobilising funds for investment and should be regarded as such.

Other prominent figures in the Nationalist world have also contributed to the image of the Nationalist Party as the spokesman of wealth. In the annual report of the Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group in 1966, its chairman, Mr. W.B. Coetzer, said the gold mining industry would soon be affected by the shortage of white labour unless better use could be made of whites in supervisory capacities by employing competent non-whites to help them.

And in 1968 the managing director of Federale Mynbou, Mr. T.F. Muller, was elected President of the Chamber of Mines. In the eyes of the average white miner, engaged in a struggle to stop the advancement of black labour, these two gentlemen must have appeared to have gone over to the enemy.

Thus the programme of the HNP which was adopted at the foundation conference on October 25 was aimed at the 'little man' and faithfully embodied all his fears and prejudices. Its salient points were:

The national identity of the Afrikaner nation and all other peoples must be rigidly maintained at all times.



No mixing of any kind between black and white. No fusion of English and Afrikaner cultures.

National life must be furthered on a Christian National basis.

All anti-Christian and anti-national moves towards cultural unity, racial mixing and the development of a world state must be opposed.

The present antiquated parliamentary system must be done away with and replaced by the Presidential system of the old Boer republics (a proposal specifically rejected at the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist Party).

No diplomatic relationships should be established solely for commercial or financial reasons.

Immigration must be confined to those of Protestant origin brought into the country, not for economic reasons, but to strengthen the white population on a Christian National basis.

No immigrant should be granted citizenship unless he could read, write and talk Afrikaans.

Non-Whites must develop on their own lines in their own areas, but always under the direct control of the Whites.

An economic policy must be followed, not simply to produce material goods for consumer use, but to ensure a decent living standard for all people, to protect the weaker section from exploitation, to ensure land ownership for Whites, to encourage the growth of small business organisations and independent small farmers, as opposed to the wealthy mass farming organisations and monopolies.

On relations with the English-speaking section, the programme adopted on October 25 said the definition of Afrikanerdom must include those English-speaking members of other races who subscribe to the history, striving and calling of the Afrikaner people. Bilingualism will be maintained with the English-speaking people having the right to develop their own cultural entity within the terms of the South African Republican constitution. The revised programme of principles issued by the HNP early in November, however, stated firmly that 'the Government must maintain Afrikaans as the official language, recognise English as the second language and encourage the studying of other languages.' This programme of principles, is essentially petty-bourgeois and nationalist, with echoes of Nazi Party of Hitler before he came to power, or the Poujadist movement in post-war France. But it has its roots deep in the history of the Afrikaner in South Africa, and there is no doubting the fanaticism with which it is being propagated by its supporters. The battle lines have been drawn, and the contestants are locked in struggle for the adherence of Afrikanerdom. Since Vorster announced the date of the general election, and especially since the formation of the H.N.P., meetings of both factions have been held in an atmosphere of extreme tension, frequently accompanied by violence.

What it might be asked, has become of the Broederbond, the secret organisation behind the Nationalist Party on which the unity of the volk was founded and on which it has depended for the maintenance of its authority in all spheres of Afrikaner activity? Part of the answer seems to be that the Broederbond itself is split. The *Sunday Times*

reported that the Broederbond used its influence to bring the rebels to heel, but failed. The waning of the Broederbond's influence was probably an inevitable consequence of the accession of the Nationalist Party to power. In any case, according to the *Sunday Times*, Dr. Hertzog has his own Broederbond — an organisation called the Afrikaner Orde. It was founded about 20 years ago by Dr. Hertzog and consists of about 600 members organised in secret cells called Heemrade. Its aim, says the *Sunday Times*, is

to infiltrate various organisations and public bodies in the hope that it may ultimately obtain control of the Nationalist Party— and hence the Government— from within . . . The Orde has been particularly successful in infiltrating the Broederbond — so successful indeed that it has become a secret society within a secret society and nobody in the Broederbond knows who its members are.

Nobody, that is except Dr. Piet Meyer, chairman of the board of governors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, chairman of the Broederbond, a well-known verkrampte and member of the head committee of the Afrikaner Orde. The Nationalist Party has formally proscribed the Afrikaner Orde to its membership and Dr. Hertzog and Dr. Meyer have publicly disclaimed any connection with it, but there is little reason to believe that it has in any way diminished its activities.

One question remains to be answered: how does the split between the verligtes and the verkramptes affect the national liberation movement?

Since South Africa is ruled by the White Supremacists, any division in their ranks is of importance because it may affect the manner in which power is exercised. But the quarrel between verligtes and verkramptes holds out little hope of more progressive policies emanating from the Parliament which will be installed after the April 22 general election. Verligtes and verkramptes are vying for the honour of being the most reliable upholders of White domination, and on all essentials — pass laws, group areas, Bantustans, police terror etc. — there is no difference between them. If anything, the whole dispute will succeed only in dragging the entire Nationalist movement further to the right. As for the United Party, it stands impotently on the sidelines, incapable of deriving any advantage from the conflict, hoping only that Vorster may be so weakened in the election that he will be compelled to enter into a coalition with the United Party to remain in power. The national congress of the United Party held in Bloemfontein in October 1969 pledged that the party would maintain and secure White leadership in South Africa.

In an editorial on 'The Nationalist conflict' in its issue of September 19, 1969, the organ of the African National Congress *Spotlight* said:



As for the Black majority, they have a long time ago ceased to expect any amelioration in their conditions of life from the all-White Parliament. For us the only solution lies in the difficult and dangerous path of a guerrilla war of liberation.

This does not mean that the dispute between verligtes and verkramptes is of no concern to the liberation movement. On the contrary, the split must be closely studied. The class structure of the society in which we live and the class interests of the ruling groups must be thoroughly analysed and understood if we are to work out correctly our strategy of struggle and decide where and how to strike the next blow for freedom.

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