

the African child, so that he may be a dumb and contented serf, but it is positively designed to produce Nationalist cadres, who will sow seeds of hostility against the Liberatory movements, sabotage its campaigns and attempt to terrorise and intimidate progressive people. **Bantu Education thus constitutes a positive political front against the movements.** Since it is so fraught with danger for the liberatory movements which are the bulwark of the people's interests and aspirations, it deserves the utmost vigilance and most careful study and the most effective assault.

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# **CAN THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS WIN MASS SUPPORT?**

**By J. JOHNSON**

**UNDER** the impact of the Nationalist Party's fascist programme the majority of the non-white people of South Africa have taken their stand and are committed irrevocably to a struggle for democracy for all people.

**A small number of White South Africans, in the Congress of Democrats, have committed themselves to this same struggle in alliance with the non-white peoples.**

**In the balance—still to be determined one way or the other—are the majority of anti-Nationalist whites.**

Conditioned by tradition and social and economic privilege to the principle of "White Supremacy," will they succumb to the pressures of the Nationalist Party and fulfill actively or even passively the role required of them—the role of "defenders of white civilisation?" A role which inevitably must make them parties to the inhuman theories and practices of the Nationalist Government and which may require of them that they take up arms in defence of these foul things. Or will they—can they—be won to take their stand on fundamental democratic principles in alliance with the non-white majority?

It is certain that some of these white anti-nationalists will find their way into the democratic camp. But what of the rest—the majority?

There are those who believe that it is inevitable that this majority must end up in the Nationalist camp. Then there are those who believe that, in the process, the majority of anti-Nat whites can be won to take their stand together with the non-whites in a common struggle for the Freedom Charter.

The first opinion arises out of a lack of understanding of the situation and of the nature of majority of anti-Nationalist whites. The factors affecting the issue are as follows:

While fascism represents the need of the capitalist class as whole, **it is the most reactionary section** of this class which gives effective

expression to that need. This is not an accident; it is a logical and inevitable development of the historical process.

Hampered by its own tradition of liberalism and *laissez-faire* and by the moral, ethical and democratic concepts adhered to by the majority of the population and the world in general, the less reactionary section of the capitalist class is unable to give expression to its class need for fascism. Nor is it, in competition with the most reactionary section, able to find sufficient support from among the population. It is inevitable therefore that the most reactionary section inherits political leadership of the class and eventually captures power and the machinery of State.

Because of its predatory nature—the nature of the capitalist class as a whole—it uses the machinery of State not only against the working class and in the interest of the capitalist class but also and increasingly, to enlarge its own share of the economic spoil. It does this at the expense of the other sections of its own class.

This creates a conflict within the class; conflict between the less reactionary sections, and the most reactionary, which has control of the State. The less reactionary sections are caught in the contradiction between their class interests and their own need to protect and increase their share of the spoil. The consequence of this is that, if they are to survive, they find themselves—howbeit unwillingly—allies of the anti-fascist majority. It is true that they are unreliable and vacillating allies, but they are potential support.

Since the most reactionary section achieves and retains power and control of the State with the aid of the most backward element of the population, it is compelled to afford this element special social privileges and economic gains and to pander to its prejudices. It does this at the expense of the other sections of the population. It must do this increasingly more to ensure the continued support of the backward element. Sooner or later it must arouse the enmity and opposition of the whole population with the exception only of those who directly gain from fascism.

These are the relevant factors in the situation. It is with the aid of and through these two main basic contradictions that the majority of the anti-Nationalist whites can be won to take their stand on fundamental principles in alliance with the non-white anti-fascist majority.

**The assumption that all whites, with the exception of the enlightened few, must end up in the Nationalist camp in support of “white supremacy” is based on racial patterns of thought and not on objective factors. It has its roots in another unwarranted assumption, that the Nationalist Party will be able permanently to obscure the nature of the real issues and that in consequence the struggle has to be fought out on a “white vs. non-white” basis. On the contrary, the nature of the real issues must emerge more clearly as the process develops since the Nationalist Party cannot impose its fascist programme without exposing these issues for what they are. Nor can the democratic opposition effectively and successfully struggle without proclaiming them for what they are and educating the people as to their true character.**

The nature of the majority of the white anti-Nationalists also has

a bearing on the question of whether or not they can be won for democracy.

Until recently white South Africans, workers and petty bourgeoisie, have had a stake in the colonial exploitation of the non-white people in the shape of relatively high living standards and advantageous social and political privileges. Because of this they have given their political allegiance to one or other of the two capitalist parties. They have assisted in the maintenance of this colonial exploitation. They have subscribed to and supported the principle of "White Supremacy."

Both of the capitalist parties, the Nationalist Party and the United Party, intend in their theory and practice that these white South Africans shall continue to assist in this exploitation and to support the principle of "White Supremacy." They reckon, however, without the manifold contradictions and conflicts which fascism engenders and the effects of these on the economic, social and political conditions of this group and more especially of that section of it which is discriminated against in favour of the supporters of the regime.

Already, in the process of achieving power, to gain the support of the most backward element, the Nationalist Party has had to divide the group. It has had to drive a wedge into it. It has had to provoke conflict between the two main nationalities which make up the group. It has deprived them of civil rights and robbed the majority of legitimate effective political expression. It has robbed them of effective protection of their economic standards by its onslaught on and subversion of their trade union movement.

Because the Nationalist Party has done all this **for the avowed purpose of maintaining "White Supremacy"** it is presenting the anti-Nat white with the choice of submitting to these conditions (and the many similar and more wretched which are to follow) or of rejecting this principle of "White Supremacy" and ceasing to support it.

As the Nationalist Party, in the process of maintaining power and of imposing its programme, makes further inroads on the rights of the anti-Nationalist whites, and as the loss of legitimate political expression makes itself felt, as it must do, on their economic and social conditions, the nature of the choice before them will emerge more clearly.

Already the effects are beginning to make themselves felt. The allegiance of the anti-Nat whites is becoming fluid. The U.P. no longer enjoys a monopoly of this allegiance. Groups such as the Covenanters, the Women's League for the Defence of the Constitution, the Anti-Republic League, etc. indicate that some of the anti-Nat whites are beginning to look for a new political home and groping for new and more effective methods of struggle. The growing consciousness of the futility of a purely electoral and parliamentary fight and the need for more militant and realistic methods is evident from the nature of these organisations.

Left to flounder on their own, at the mercy of every political opportunist offering them stunt politics, subjected to the pressure of the Nationalist Party and inanities of the U.P., they can be lost to the democratic camp.

This must not happen. It is vital to the National Liberatory Movement that they should be won to it. Without them to support and defend "white supremacy" the colonial exploitation of the non-white peoples becomes increasingly more difficult for the imperialists. With them fighting in alliance with the non-white peoples, the Nationalist Party's programme for a fascist republic can be defeated more surely.

It is a task for the whole Congress Movement and in particular, for the Congress of Democrats, **to win them to the Congress Movement for an extra-parliamentary struggle, for the aims of the Freedom Charter.**

Its rank and file members in particular, must be clear that numerically weak as it is and despite the difficulties of the task, the Congress of Democrats has a vital role and function. It is in fact challenging all comers, including the U.P., the Bernard Friedmans, the Covenanters and Anti-Republic Leagues, for the leadership of the militant white opposition to the Nationalist Party and its programme. It must do so increasingly as the process develops.

To do this it must avoid the tendency to "tail on" to the more progressive elements among the white population. The Congress of Democrats must be itself the most progressive in that sphere and strive to draw those elements to itself. It must avoid the tendency to regard itself as an auxiliary of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., and the S.A.C.P.O.

**To fulfil its role and perform its function it must act in European affairs as an independent organisation presenting an independent policy and programme. It must go forward to the task with confidence.**

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# THE SPECTRE OF BELSEN AND BUCHENWALD

By NELSON MANDELA

**RACHEL** Musi is fifty-three years of age. She and her husband had lived in Krugersdorp for thirty-two years. Throughout this period, he had worked for the Krugersdorp Municipality for seven pounds, ten shillings a month. They had seven children ranging from nineteen to two years of age. One was doing the final year of the Junior Certificate at the Krugersdorp Bantu High School and three were in primary schools also in Krugersdorp. She had several convictions for brewing kaffir beer. During December last year, because of these convictions she was arrested as an undesirable person in terms of the provisions of the Natives Urban Areas Act and brought before the Additional Native Commissioner of Krugersdorp.

After the arrest but before trial her husband collapsed suddenly and died. Thereafter the Commissioner adjudged her an undesirable person and ordered her deportation to Lichtenburg. Bereaved and