

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

broken-hearted, and with the tremendous responsibility of maintaining seven children weighing heavily on her shoulders, an aged woman was exiled from her home and forcibly separated from her children to fend for herself among strangers in a strange environment.

In June, 1952, I and about fifty other friends were arrested in Johannesburg while taking part in a defiance campaign and removed to Marshall Square. As we were being jostled into the drill yard one of our prisoners was pushed from behind by a young European constable so violently that he fell down some steps and broke his ankle. I protested, whereupon the young warrior kicked me on the leg in cow-boy style. We were indignant and started a demonstration.

Eventually, the deputy-commissioner and other senior police officers entered the yard to investigate. We drew his attention to the injured man and demanded medical attention. The commissioner, with a snarling smile, curtly told us that we could repeat our request the next day. And so it was that Samuel Makae spent a frightful night in the cells reeling and groaning desperately with pain, maliciously denied medical assistance by those who had deliberately crippled him and whose duty it is to preserve and uphold the law.

In 1941 an African lad appeared before the Native Commissioner in Johannesburg charged with failing to give a good and satisfactory account of himself in terms of the above Act. The previous year he had passed the Junior Certificate with a couple of distinctions. He had planned to study Matric in the Cape but because of illness, on the advice of the family doctor he decided to spend the year at home in Alexandra Township. Called upon by the police to produce proof that he had sufficient honest means of earning his livelihood, he explained that he was still a student and was maintained by his parents. He was then arrested and subsequently ordered to work at Leeuwkop Farm Colony for six months as an idle and disorderly person. This order was subsequently set aside on review by the Supreme Court but only after the young man had languished in jail for seven weeks, with serious repercussions to his poor health.

The breaking up of African homes and families and the forcible separation of children from mothers; the harsh treatment meted out to African prisoners and the forcible detention of Africans in farm colonies for spurious statutory offences are a few examples of the actual workings of the hideous and pernicious doctrines of racial inequality. To these can be added scores of thousands of foul misdeeds committed against the people by the Government: The denial to the Non-European people of the elementary rights of free citizenship; the expropriation of the people from their lands and homes to assuage the insatiable appetites of European land barons and industrialists; the flogging and calculated murder of African labourers by European farmers in the countryside for being "cheeky to the baas;" the vicious manner in which African workers are beaten up by the police and flung into jails when they down tools to win their demands; the fostering of contempt and hatred for Non-Europeans, the fanning of racial prejudice between whites and non-whites, between the various non-white groups; the splitting of Africans into small hostile tribal units; the

instigation of one group or tribe against another; the banning of active workers from the people's organisations, and their confinement into certain areas.

All these rapacious misdemeanours are weapons resorted to by the mining and farming cliques of this country to protect their interests and to prevent the rise of an all-powerful organised mass struggle. To them, the end justifies the means, and that end is the creation of a vast market of cheap labour for mine magnates and farmers. Everything must be made to conform rigorously to this. That is why homes are broken up and people removed from cities to the countryside to ensure enough labour for the farms. That is why Non-European political opponents of the Government are treated with such brutality. In such a set-up African youth with distinguished scholastic careers are not a credit to the country, but a serious threat to the governing circles for they may not like to descend to the bowels of the earth and cough their lungs out to enrich the mining magnates nor will they elect to dig potatoes in farms for wretched rations.

**Nevertheless, these methods are failing to achieve their objective. True enough they have scared and deterred certain groups and individuals, and at times even upset and temporarily dislocated our plans and schemes. But they have not halted the growing struggle of the people for liberation. Capable fighters and organisers are arising from amongst the people. The people are increasingly becoming alive to the necessity of the solidarity of all democratic forces regardless of race, party affiliation, religious belief and ideological conviction.**

Taking advantage of this situation, the people's organisations have embarked on a broad programme of mutual co-operation and closer relations. The Freedom Charter recently adopted by people of all races and from all walks of life now forms the ground-plan for future action.

However, the Fascist regime that governs this country is not meeting this situation with arms folded. Cabinet ministers are arming themselves with inquisitorial and arbitrary powers to destroy their opponents and hostile organisations. They are building a monoparty State, the essence of which is the identification of the Nationalist Party with state power. All opposition to the Nationalists has become opposition to the State. Every facet of the national life is being subordinated to the overriding necessity of the party's retention of power. All constitutional safeguards are being thrown overboard and individual liberties ruthlessly suppressed. Lynchings and pogroms are the logical weapons to be resorted to, should the onward march of the liberation movement continue to manifest itself.

The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald is haunting South Africa. It can only be repelled by the united strength of the people of South Africa. Every situation must be used to raise the people's level of political understanding. If attacks on the people's organisations, if all discriminatory measures, be they the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, Bantu Education or the classification of the Coloured people, are used as a rallying point around which a united front will be built, the spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald will never descend upon us.