FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA

Peter Mackintosh

FOLLOWING THE TYPICAL pattern of all fascist regimes, the South African Government is becoming more and more aggressive in the conduct of both its internal and external affairs. Just as Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were driven by the contradictions of their social system to seek solutions by way of ever-increasing repression at home and extravagant adventures abroad, so now the South African Government is forced by the contradictions of apartheid along the self-same road to ruin. By this I do not mean that the Nationalist regime is on the verge of collapse. But I *do* wish to suggest that the Nationalist regime is set on a course from which it cannot turn back, that it will plunge the country into one crisis after another, that it will seek ever more frantically and desperately for one solution after another, that as the untenability of its position becomes more and more manifest it will become more and more reckless in its methods and policies, clinging tenaciously to power in the face of the growing hostility of both local and world opinion. Believing that their whole way of life is at stake, the Nationalists can never be brought to compromise or retreat. As they repeatedly emphasise, a single concession must lead to the destruction of everything they stand for. Therefore the only answer is more, not less, apartheid, backed by force to overcome opposition no matter from what corner it may come. As Verwoerd indicated during the last session of Parliament:

> nobody will deny that a crisis exists in South Africa. . . . All over the world there is a crisis. One sees this in the United Nations, in developments in Africa and in threats to South Africa by agitators. These agitators will not be able to achieve anything, but it is a time pregnant with trouble. The Government will continue to take the necessary steps to preserve peace and order.

What Verwoerd calls 'peace and order' is in fact the suppression of all visible signs of opposition. 'If it becomes necessary to combat communism and the deeds which flow from Communist agitators, I will not hesitate to place the security of the state and its citizens above technicalities . . . in the ordinary administration of justice.' The security of

the state! It is a phrase pregnant with many meanings, but what Verwoerd means by it is simply the security of White domination, the maintenance of White supremacy. If White supremacy is threatened, in other words, Verwoerd will not hesitate over technicalities in the ordinary administration of justice. The rule of law will be swept away. Naked force will be the order of the day.

FASCIST STATE

Today, South Africa is a fully fascist state. By this I mean not merely that she is a police state and that the rule of law is no longer applicable. I mean also that the apparatus of the state is becoming more and more inextricably merged with the monopoly-capitalist economy of the country, that the Government, by means of its control of private Nationalist capital and the State sector of the economy, is able to determine the financial destiny of the country. There is a growing alliance between the political and economic centres of power in South Africa which bears many similarities to what happened in Germany and Italy before and during the last war.

The steady erosion of freedom in South Africa has been patent for all to see. It started with the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, which for the first time since the Nationalist Government came to power placed the fate of South African citizens *of all races* in the hands of the Minister of Justice, who could ban them from meetings and organizations, order them to resign from office in trade unions, prevent them from becoming or remaining members of Parliament and the Provincial Council, prohibit the publication of newspapers etc. Gradually the administrative powers of the Government were extended. The bans, which had at first been for two years, were extended for five. Victims were restricted to certain magisterial areas, townships and ultimately, under the Sabotage Act of 1962, to the confines of their own homes. They were forbidden to enter non-White areas, factories or harbour areas, to belong to any organizations which discussed the affairs of any state, to take part in the preparation of any matter for publication in the press. Perhaps the worst feature of all was the clause of the Sabotage Act enabling the Minister to prohibit his victims from communicating in any way with other named or banned persons. All this really meant, in the words of the leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, that they were sentenced to a state of civil death, deprived arbitrarily of their democratic right to play a full and open part in the political life of the country. By 1963, not only the Communist Party had been banned, but also the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Congress of Democrats. Not only Communists were the recipients of banning orders. In fact, the majority

of the banned had never been members of the Communist Party, and even a number of anti-Communist liberals were included in their ranks. The newspapers New Age, Spark and Fighting Talk were silenced. Not only Communists were anathematized by Government speakers, but also Liberals, Progressives, churchmen and indeed anybody who espoused the cause of multi-racial government—by which is meant that people of all races should be able to sit and vote in Parliament, even if not on a basis of equality. The lone Progressive M.P., Mrs. Helen Suzman, was accorded the treatment formerly reserved to the Communist M.P.s, hounded and execrated by her opponents, threatened with expulsion from the House, abused as an enemy of the state.

THE RULE OF LAW

Yet despite all this mass of repression, it was still possible until 1963 to claim that South Africa observed the rule of law. True, the majority of the people were denied the franchise, and forced to obey laws framed only by and in the interests of the Whites. This in itself in fact rendered the South African form of government not only undemocratic but also immoral, because no man should be expected to obey laws in the passage of which through Parliament he has been able to play absolutely no part. Nevertheless, no man could be arrested without being brought before a Court and properly charged within 48 hours, and this one slender safeguard was the barrier which distinguished South Africa from an out-and-out police state. The change-over to the naked rule of force was inaugurated in 1953, with the passage of the Public Safety Act, enabling the Government to suspend all law and rule by decree in an emergency. This Act was used during the 'state of emergency' which was declared after Sharpeville, when 2,000 people of all races were detained in prison for up to five months without ever being brought before the Courts. The emergency was lifted in September, 1960, but in December of the same year emergency rule was once again proclaimed to deal with the Pondoland rebellion, and to this day proclamation 400 has enabled the Government to detain anybody for any length of time in the Transkei without being under any necessity to bring them to trial.

Finally in 1963 the passage of the General Law Amendment Act extended the Government's powers throughout the whole country. It is now possible for any police officer without warrant to arrest or cause to be arrested any person whom he suspects 'upon reasonable grounds' of having committed or having intended to commit any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organizations Act (outlawing the A.N.C. and P.A.C.) or the offence of 'sabotage' and cause him to be detained for interrogation in any place

up to 90 days 'on any particular occasion when he is so arrested'. No person save a magistrate shall have access to such person and no court shall have jurisdiction to order his release. With the passage of this Act South Africa can now only be characterized as a police state. The safety and security of the individual are at the whim of any police officer, who may order the incarceration of any individual at any time he likes. The safeguard that he must have 'reasonable grounds' for his action is purely illusory, for no court may order the release of the detainee. The 90-day limit is also no safeguard for the detainee, for a Cape court has ruled that at the end of that period he may immediately be re-arrested, and many detainees have in fact been so re-arrested and are faced with the prospect of lifelong imprisonment unless they answer questions to the satisfaction of the police.

The General Law Amendment Act perpetrated two further legal atrocities: the creation of retrospective offences for which people can receive the death penalty (though what they did was legal when it was done) and the indefinite detention of political prisoners on the expiration of the sentences imposed on them by the courts. Clearly Verwoerd meant what he said when he promised that he would allow no legal 'technicalities' to stand in the way of the defence of White Supremacy. The present position in South Africa is that illegal methods are being employed by an illegal government to crush all opposition to apartheid and prevent social change. No greater justification could be required for revolutionary action by the people to end the fascist dictatorship in South Africa.

A FORM OF TORTURE

When the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 was being debated in Parliament, Minister of Justice Vorster announced quite openly that its intention was to extract information from prisoners which could not be obtained by normal police interrogation. Faced with the accusation that prisoners could be beaten up in jail without anyone being the wiser, Vorster agreed to an Opposition proposal that all detainees must be visited at least once a week by a magistrate. It was a cunning move on his part, for it has done a great deal to silence criticism of the administration of the Act. The public has been satisfied that there are to be no steel whips and torture racks in South African prisons. The impression has been created that all 90-day detainees are being treated on the same basis as awaiting trial prisoners.

Nothing could be further from the truth. 'Ninety-day detainees lose all the traditional privileges of suspects and witnesses', states a newsletter issued by the Civil Rights League in Cape Town in August 1963. 'They may be required to answer incriminating questions; they may be

asked to answer questions which would expose them to civil claims; they may be asked to give evidence against their own husband or wife; professional legal advisers may be asked to inform the police what their clients have communicated to them. . . . These provisions appear to leave detainees almost powerless before the police.'

But the worst aspect of 90-day detention is that it does in fact constitute a form of torture all the more hateful because it is secret and insidious instead of open and blatant. Detainees have all been kept in solitary confinement, isolated not only from one another but also from other prisoners. In many cases they have not even been kept in the same jail but have been scattered in jails throughout the country so that there is no possibility of communication between them, and one man will never know what is the fate of his comrades in distress. They have been locked in their cells for up to 23½ hours a day, and all the time over week-ends. They have been refused reading and writing materials. Warders have been forbidden to speak to them. In their cells they have nothing except a mattress and blankets and a change of clothing and they are forbidden to smoke. From one end of the day to the other they have nothing to do, but are left alone with their thoughts. Once a week the magistrate comes, listens to their complaints and goes away again. Once a week or more often the security police come to ask whether the detainee is now willing to answer questions.

During the last war solitary confinement of internees *as a punishment* was restricted to a maximum of 30 days. Now, in peace time, solitary confinement is the rule, and it is limitless. The purpose is quite clear—it is to break the prisoners without incurring the stigma of using torture on them. But this evil must be exposed for what it is—a sadistic form of torture which has already had a damaging effect on the mental health of many of the detainees and which Vorster has openly boasted has in many cases succeeded in its object—the prisoners have broken down and have talked. Is the forcible destruction of a man's personality any less hateful than the laceration of his body? Is the damage done to his brain any less real than that inflicted by the lash? The desperate attempts to escape which have been made by some detainees is testimony to the mental agony which they must be undergoing.

Nor is the torture of detainees confined, as the Government would wish the world to understand, to mental torture alone. At least one case is known of a no-trial detainee who died in captivity—Looksmart Solwandle, a young healthy vigorous man when he was arrested, but reported to have hanged himself in his cell in Pretoria on September 4, a few weeks after his arrest. People who knew Looksmart remember him as a fearless freedom fighter, the last man on earth to take his

life because he was ever full of confidence about the future. It is known that he was brutally beaten up in the police cells in Cape Town before being transferred to Pretoria, and detainees in Pretoria confirm that he was savagely assaulted there as well and subjected to electric torture. After his death, the other detainees were told the same fate awaited them if they did not talk. Whether Solwandle was tortured to death, or driven to take his own life in order to escape further torture will never be known, but his blood is on the head of the police who held him and who can be called into account in no court because the General Law Amendment Act expressly excludes the jurisdiction of the courts in respect of 90-day detainees.

Another death which can be laid at the door of the police is that of the young Indian Ebrahim Siyanvala who was detained under the 90-day no-trial law and later released. On his way home he was stopped for a traffic offence and taken to a police station. While the police were preparing to charge him, he disappeared. Two days later his body was found in a river near the police station. Murder? Suicide? If the latter, he had obviously got into such a state during his period of detention that he simply could not face any more.

Another death which the police have never cleared up is that of John Simon in Worcester jail.

The whole civilized world should cry out against the continuance of this horror in South Africa, a horror foisted on decent-minded men and women simply because thay have had the courage to oppose the hideous monster of apartheid and to fight for social reform.

The Government's own shame at what it is doing is revealed by its refusal to provide any information about 90-day detainees. The press is not told the names of those arrested or the total number held under the Act. Information which the press may obtain from other sources it is afraid to publish because of the provisions of the Prisons Act. The result is that the whole question of detentions and the conditions in the jails is surrounded by a sinister fog of silence. In the murky gloom the police continue to torture their victims in the hope that they remain unseen and that their crimes against the people will go undetected. It is time to warn the evil practitioners of apartheid that they will not escape retribution at the bar of history. Those who are guilty will be punished with the same severity as was meted out to the Nazi war criminals, for their offence is no less. And those South Africans, white and black, who tolerate without protest what is going on in their midst will be branded as were the Germans who connived at the atrocities of the Hitlerites.

PEOPLE'S LEADERS

Those South Africans who are languishing in Vorster's jails at the moment include some of the most tried and tested leaders of the people, men and women who have devoted their lives to the cause of liberation. Those already sentenced include Nelson Mandela, volunteer-in-chief of the historic Defiance Campaign, leader of the 1961 general strike against the inauguration of the Republic and afterwards leader of the underground movement; Walter Sisulu, former Secretary General of the African National Congress and successor to Nelson Mandela as leader of the underground; George Peake, prominent Coloured leader and Cape Town City Councillor; Ben Turok, secretary of the Congress of Democrats and former Cape Provincial Councillor; and many others who have spent years in the political service of their people. The sentences on some of these men may be academic, because the Government has the power to detain them on completion of their sentences, just as it has already detained Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, who completed his sentence in May of this year but is now being held on Robben Island. For political prisoners who are caught, there is no longer any pretence of justice. They can be held indefinitely with or without a trial, with or without a sentence. Among those held under the 90-day law are Govan Mbeki, former Bunga member, A.N.C. leader in the Eastern Cape, prominent journalist on the staff of *New Age*; Raymond Mhlaba, another A.N.C. stalwart from the Eastern Cape; A. M. Kathrada, Indian Congress leader, veteran of the treason trial and the Defiance Campaign; 'Rusty' Bernstein, former leading member of the Communist Party, foundation member of the Congress of Democrats, ex-treason trialist; Lilian Ngoyi, President of the Federation of South African Women—and many other men and women of all races who have spearheaded the resistance to Nationalist tyranny for the last decade and more.

Some may be held in jail indefinitely under the no-trial Act, some may be brought to trial on a trumped up charge of treason or sabotage. Vorster has denied press rumours that as a result of the Rivonia arrests he is planning another mass treason trial. He says the accused will be charged with sabotage, as though that is a lesser offence. The fact is in South Africa today it is better to be charged with the common law crime of treason than with the statutory offence of sabotage. The maximum sentence in both cases is the death penalty. But a charge of treason has to be proved beyond reasonable doubt and must involve an element of violence. There is no minimum sentence for treason, and an accused who is convicted may even get away with a fine. With 'sabotage' the whole situation is different. An accused may be found guilty of as little as trespass; if charged with sabotage, the onus is then placed on

him to prove that his trespass was not for the purpose of sabotage. Once convicted an accused must receive a minimum sentence of five years imprisonment. No wonder so many accused today are charged with sabotage and not with treason. Merely to be charged with sabotage is already half-way towards conviction. The discretion of the court is reduced to a minimum.

Not that the courts are by any means reluctant to play the Government's game. The sentences which have been meted out for sabotage and other political offences have been vicious in the extreme. On June 13, 1963, Mr. Vorster gave the following figures:

Sabotage—126 people convicted since the Act was passed; 511 still to appear.
Poqo—124 members found guilty of murder; 77 awaiting trial. More than 100 had appeared charged with attempted murder. A total of 3,246 Poqo members arrested.
Furthering banned organizations—action taken against 690; cases against 1,357 pending.

The September issue of the monthly paper 'Forward' listed 45 trials during the period January 1, 1963 to August 10, 1963, involving 517 persons. Of these 36 were sentenced to death, 6 to life imprisonment, and 333 to various jail sentences ranging from 20 years to 18 months, totalling 2,352 years in all. The remaining 142 were acquitted or the charges against them were withdrawn.

On the whole the judiciary has shown itself the faithful servant of the South African ruling class. Vorster can certainly have no complaint against the Bench on the basis of its record in political trials over the last few years.

Thus the picture presented by South Africa today is the squalid one of a hated minority government struggling by every means, legal and illegal to maintain itself in power. The opponents of the Government are banned, restricted and hounded in every possible way, many of them in jail without trial. According to the annual report for 1962-1963 of the Civil Rights League, Cape Town, 'we shall have to wait till Parliament reassembles for further official information, but it is even now clear that close on 100 Africans have been banished to places far distant from their homes; that about 20 South Africans are under house arrest; that many hundreds, of all races, have been banned; that about 300 South African citizens have been imprisoned under the 90-day law; and that in none of these cases has the law been openly administered. There have been no warrants for arrest, no charges framed for the accused to meet in open court where witnesses can be cross-examined'. Many opponents of the Goverment have been forced

to carry on their activities underground; others have been forced to flee the country. The apparatus of the Special Branch has been trebled as the Government turns the heat on against its enemies.

Vorster has already announced that 165—more than half—of the 300 men and women detained under the 'no trial' law are to be 'tried' for sabotage. A special case is being made of the trial of Walter Sisulu and six others arrested with him at Rivonia who have been joined with Nelson Mandela and three others on a charge of sabotage. The full list of accused is: Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel ("Rusty") Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Bob Hepple. The first seven are named as members of the National High Command, the national executive committee of the national liberation movement and Umkhonto we Sizwe. The charge sheet alleges that the eleven are responsible for 222 acts of sabotage stretching in time from December 15, 1961, until August 5, 1963, and that this sabotage was preparatory to guerrilla warfare in South Africa coupled with an armed invasion of and a violent revolution in South Africa.

Senior state prosecutor Yutar is in charge of the proceedings against the eleven. (Interestingly enough, like many who collaborated with the Nazis in Europe, Yutar is a pillar of the local Jewish community.) Yutar was also the man in charge of the sedition case against the members of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1946. He made a mess of that case and failed even to get an indictment accepted by the court. Today, however, the law is twisted in his favour. He does not have to prove the accused guilty, they have to prove their innocence. He spent three months preparing the case against the accused at his leisure, while they were subjected to the harrowing experience of solitary confinement for 88 days, 23½ hours a day, unable even to consult with a lawyer until a few days before they were brought to court. Not surprisingly when the accused finally appeared in court, defence counsel drew attention to their drawn and haggard appearance and applied for a remand of at least a month to enable them to recover.

At the time of writing it is believed the State will ask for the death penalty against some if not all the accused, and the danger that these brave leaders of the South African liberation movement will be sentenced to death should not be underestimated.

It is obvious that under present conditions, Sisulu, Mbeki, Bernstein, Kathrada and their colleagues have no hope of a fair trial under existing conditions in South Africa. Unless the full glare of international scrutiny is directed on these sordid 'legal proceedings' Vorster will try to use the trial as a staged demonstration to panic the Whites into the apartheid laager and terrorize the masses into submission. In the words of the

African National Congress: *The conscience of the world must not allow Walter Sisulu and his brave companions to be sacrificed on the altar of apartheid and white supremacy.*

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

The amazing and heartening fact is that despite all the repression, despite the severe blow of the Rivonia arrests, despite everything the Government can do or threaten, the morale of the people has been unshaken and the struggle for freedom continues. After Rivonia, the police said they had captured the headquarters of Poqo, the A.N.C., P.A.C., Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Communist Party, and that it would not be long before the remaining members of these organizations were rounded up and rendered harmless. Within a few weeks of this ridiculous boast (and how could Poqo and P.A.C. share headquarters with the A.N.C. or the Communist Party anyway?) both Umkhonto we Sizwe and the A.N.C. had issued leaflets to the people declaring that the struggle must continue; the board of the *African Communist* had issued a stirring call to 'stand by our leaders'; the Cape Town suburban railways were disrupted by the most daring and carefully planned act of sabotage the country had seen for many months, while other acts of sabotage were committed in Natal and the Transvaal, though unreported in the South African press. No one can pretend that the loss of men like Sisulu, Mbeki, Bernstein and Kathrada is not a severe blow to the liberatory movement. But for the police to imagine that by capturing a few leaders they had destroyed all opposition was naive in the extreme. Even Vorster has now changed his tune. Speaking at a Nationalist stryddag in the Free State on September 7, he promised his audience that the days of the White agitator in South Africa were numbered—'their time is running very, very short'. These fascist gentlemen are making two very grave miscalculations. Firstly, their inbred racialism makes them think the Non-Whites of South Africa are incapable of resistance unless led by Whites; secondly, their contempt of the people makes them think that the masses would have no grievances unless instigated by 'agitators.'

Let us remind the South African fascists of some of the lessons of history—that resistance is born of the oppression of the people, and is not created by magicians; that Non-Whites are perfectly capable of appreciating the fact that they are oppressed, and don't need Whites to tell them so; that the liberatory movement in South Africa is spearheaded by the organizations of the African people, and that if every last 'White agitator' were jailed, deported or driven into exile, the fight would still continue. Political movements are fashioned by the objective conditions in which the people find themselves. Leadership, of course, is

important; organization even more so. We can be thankful that in South Africa today there are a thousand signs that the people are on the march, that they have not been cowed by setbacks and reverses, that their militancy is throwing up new men and women every day who are prepared to play their part in the struggle and whose initiative and devotion to freedom is a guarantee that the movement will never lack leaders, no matter how many 'agitators' Vorster's narks may track down and throw into prison.

IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

Meanwhile, faced with increasing difficulties in trying to implement its ridiculous Bantustan policy, the Government is seeking an answer in a policy of imperialist expansionism. In 1962 Verwoerd formally renounced any intention of incorporating the Protectorates in South Africa. By September, 1963, however, swelling criticism within his own party of the Bantustan policy, coupled with fears that the High Commission Territories would shortly win a level of self-government or even independence which could be dangerous to South Africa's security, led him to revise his attitude. The Nationalists are haunted by the existence of certain democratic rights and a measure of asylum for refugees (however limited both may be) in Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. South African police activity on the borders of and even right inside the Protectorates was intensified, despite the protests of the peoples of these territories themselves and even of the British Government. Finally Verwoerd came forward with the outrageous suggestion that South Africa should take over from Britain the administration of these territories as she was in a far better position than Britain to lead them towards 'independence'.

Verwoerd's 'offer' was rejected with contempt by the leaders of African parties in all the territories and so shocked world opinion that he was forced to issue an explanation that he had made no take-over bid for the territories but had simply pleaded for the South African case to be put to the peoples so that they could decide what they wanted for themselves. The world has had too much experience of fascist-rigged plebiscites to be taken in by Verwoerd's 'offer'. This is the prelude to aggression, as the world learnt to its cost when Hitler proposed to hold a 'plebiscite' in the Sudetenland. Britain pretended not to hear. She continued her familiar policy of verbal 'disapproval' of apartheid while doing everything in her power to block international action against the Verwoerd regime and prop it up with arms, investments and trade. Sir Hugh Stephenson, British Ambassador to South Africa, continues to urge still greater British investment and trade with apartheid South Africa, as he did in his notorious Pretoria speech of September 17.

Yet only the day before Sir Hugh spoke, the egregious Mr. Eric Louw was threatening 'the West' with reprisals if they persisted with their 'hostile' policies towards South Africa, stopping the sale of gold through London, and cancelling the Simonstown naval defence agreement. The truth is that Louw and his colleagues are in no position to threaten or bargain. But for the support of British and United States imperialism the people of South Africa would have overthrown Verwoerd and his fascist gang long ago. Washington and the City of London are not concerned with moral principles but with hard cash from their huge investments in South Africa—the profits of apartheid and sweated African labour. That is why they protect Verwoerd at the United Nations and that is why—though the United States has now promised to end this evil traffic 'in five months time'—they have supplied the South African fascist dictatorship with the weapons it needs to suppress its own people and threaten Africa with aggression.

WILL NOT TOLERATE IT

But Britain, the United States and other imperialist powers which protect Verwoerd are rapidly being forced into a position where they will have to throw him to the wolves. The aggressive fascist apartheid state in the South is not only a threat to its small neighbours in the High Commission territories, it threatens the peace and security of the whole of Africa and indeed the whole world. No one is more conscious of this fact than the people in the rest of liberated Africa itself. The African peoples, as they showed so clearly at Addis Ababa in the middle of this year, are determined to end the scandal of African slavery in the South. And they are just not prepared to tolerate continued imperialist intervention on behalf of the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. The 'West' cannot afford to jeopardise its position throughout Africa and in Asia too, just for the sake of the investors in the Rand gold mines—however important and influential they may be. That is why, sooner or later—and the time is coming very close—the White bosses who have lorded it for so long in South Africa will find themselves without a friend in the world, and face to face with reality and the twelve million non-whites.

Since the Addis Ababa conference in March of this year the independent African states have already taken a number of important measures in implementation of their resolutions to contribute their utmost to the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa from White domination. South African Airways planes may no longer overfly the African states, and must make a long detour round the western bulge of the continent to carry their passengers and freight to Europe. Many of the Afro-Asian states have taken steps to impose an economic

boycott, though a lot more remains to be done before the South African economy will be seriously affected. But already South Africa is feeling the pinch and is beginning to fear the future. That the Verwoerd Government has chosen the road of aggression rather than of conciliation as a way out of the impasse is a sign of weakness rather than of strength. The Nationalists make no concessions in their external policy any more than in their internal policy. They know that a single compromise could lead to the total collapse of white supremacy and they are determined to cling to their privileges to the bitter end.

We South African freedom fighters call upon the peoples of the world to intensify their fraternal efforts to help us free our country from fascism. To the peoples of Africa and Asia we say: Thank you for what you have already done, but do more and do it quickly, for our sufferings are intense. To the peoples of Europe and America we say: Before you buy South African oranges or tinned fruit, think of the men and women who are enduring a living death in South Africa's jails. Expose the capitalists in your country who put their profits before the good name of your people; force your Government to stop selling arms to Verwoerd. You would not trade with Hitler were he in power in Germany today. Do not trade with Verwoerd, Hitler's disciple, who is in power in South Africa today.

The peoples of South Africa of all races are locked in mortal struggle with their oppressors, determined to liberate their country from the Nationalist tyrants at the earliest possible opportunity. We have entered the stage of outright civil war and revolution, when men and women are dying that their children may live in freedom and equality. We appeal to you—do not put weapons into the hands of our enemies, do not put money into their coffers. Isolate the fascist aggressors who want to dominate the whole of southern Africa! Help destroy the White Supremacists who threaten to plunge a whole continent into war!

We call upon the freedom-loving people of all countries to unite in a mighty international campaign for the release of South Africa's political prisoners.

Down with the Verwoerd-Vorster gang who are turning our country into a gigantic concentration camp!

Forward to a free South Africa in which all people will enjoy equal rights irrespective of race, creed or colour! Forward to the socialist South Africa which is struggling to be born!