



JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1960 SCENE AT SHARPEVILLE  
For foes of apartheid, there are no trials, only police guns

## NEGRO 'TERROR' IS PRETEXT FOR WAR ON APARTHEID FOES

# POQO scare is used to spur repression

By Marius Reynecke

JOHANNESBURG

**S**OUTH AFRICA's near-fascist government has found a weapon with which to whip up white hysteria, to silence all critics, to unite whites in a solid, reactionary front, and to justify a new wave of repression. This is the emergence of the POQO scare.

Banner headlines in the daily press have alerted South Africans. POQO (the word means "pure" or "alone") monopolizes press and parliament, and is presented as Mau-Mau bogy that has loomed out of nowhere.

POQO, says a report by Justice Snyman, "plans to overthrow the government by revolution this year." Snyman was appointed to inquire into riots in the Western Cape town of Paarl last year. His report calls attention to the threat to "the national security" and recommends immediate action to break POQO.

(The government responded by rushing to passage May 2 the so-called no-trial bill," which in effect ended all legal rights for opponents of the regime. See the story on this page.)

**NEW REICHSTAG FIRE:** Snyman's report ignores the evidence presented to him on the shocking conditions in Paarl prior to the riots. Paarl is a miserable town of bachelor's quarters, where workers live separated from normal life, and where corruption and graft are rife among local officials. In the African attack on the Paarl police station, the government has found the South African version of the Reichstag fire trial. It has seized on this pretext to press plans for arming and training the white population to combat internal disorders—in reality to declare open warfare on the African people.

At Maseru in Basutoland, P. K. Leballo, new leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, capitalized on the government horror scare by announcing that PAC and POQO are one and the same organization, and that the grand and final uprising will be launched by him and his "revolutionary council" this year. PAC, Leballo said, was ready "to deliver the knockout blow" to the South African government. Two days later, however, Leballo issued another statement denying POQO and PAC were identical.

PAC policy differs sharply from that of the African National Congress, also banned, also working underground, also

committed now to struggle by any means, including violent ones, and also preparing for its first major armed onslaught against the state.

PAC is itself a breakaway movement from the ANC. Dissidents, calling themselves "Africanists" or "African nationalists," began to emerge from the ANC after the Defiance Campaign of 1952. They made an unsuccessful bid to capture leadership of the ANC in the Transvaal, when they first tried to pack a conference, then break it up by force. When these attempts were overwhelmingly defeated (they mustered only 12 delegates out of 200 from 86 ANC branches in the Transvaal) they withdrew, announcing they would form their own body. A few months later they formed PAC, with Robert Sobukwe as national president.

**PRELUDE TO MASSACRE:** In March, 1960, PAC called on people to hand in their passes, and to strike indefinitely, endlessly, until they had won their rights. The people responded to this call in three places only: in Evaton, a township near Vereeniging, in Sharpeville, also near Vereeniging, where about 5,000 Africans assembled outside the police station and were fired upon in the worst massacre in South Africa's political history, and in some townships of Cape Town, where the police also opened fire on unarmed crowds.

But PAC mustered no support in industrial strongholds such as Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, and was left shattered by the State of Emergency invoked after the Sharpeville disaster, with its leading members either in jail or having fled the country. PAC had traded heavily on the spirit of Pan-African unity sweeping the continent, but its slogan of "Africa for the Africans" rejected the cooperation of any other national group in South Africa, however committed or involved those groups might be in the national liberation struggle.

The ANC was founded on a policy of militant, revolutionary struggle for absolute African equality in every sphere. The Freedom Charter, its official policy document, is a blueprint for the type of social system for which it strives. In its struggle for national liberation, the ANC laid the basis for cooperation with other racial groups in what was known as the Congress Alliance, which included the oppressed African, Indian and Colored sections of the population in alliance with the small group of whites support-

## South Africa now a police state

Special to the Guardian

CAPE TOWN

**A**GAINST A BACKGROUND of widespread arrests and police raids, the South African government rushed through Parliament the "no-trial" bill that abolishes rights under law for enemies of apartheid, and sets up a full-fledged police state. In six days Minister of Justice Balthazar Johannes Vorster forced to passage a General Laws Amendment Act that marks the death of the judicial system in South Africa.

Moving swiftly to implement the law, the government within two weeks arrested 17 persons under its provisions. Included was Stephen Dhlamini, Durban chairman of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. And in another action under the law, Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, who was due to be released after serving a three-year prison sentence, was ordered detained.

**DRASTIC PROVISIONS:** The bill, which the government said was directed against "subversive elements and Communists and saboteurs," provides:

- Anyone may be arrested without warrant or without charge and held without trial for an indefinite number of 90-day periods, without recourse to law.
- Political prisoners who have complet-

ed terms may be kept in jail indefinitely, thus transforming into life terms any sentence imposed for such "crimes" as holding illegal meetings, assisting a banned organization, or sabotage.

- The death penalty is provided for anyone who urges forceful intervention in South Africa by an outside power, including the United Nations, and for anyone returning to South Africa after receiving training in sabotage overseas. The provisions are retroactive 13 years.

**COURT A BARRIER:** The government has long sought to bypass the courts. Frequently in the past the courts have upset government actions, prevented illegal police raids and discharged political prisoners, as in the treason trials when all 146 defendants were found not guilty.

In the two or three weeks preceding passage of the no-trial bill police rounded up hundreds of Africans, at least 500 being accused of being terrorists or members of illegal organizations. Those arrested were whisked away and kept incommunicado, while relatives searched jails and police headquarters hopelessly trying to find husbands, brothers and sons.

The secrecy lent itself to police brutality. In a Johannesburg court five Indians in an explosion case testified they were beaten and tortured.

use as an excuse for reprisals and a general assault on all liberation forces. Every POQO action to date has evoked savage reprisals. The acts so far attributed to POQO have brought three death sentences and terms of imprisonment ranging from 20 to 25 years. In one trial alone, 17 men were sentenced to 20 years, one to 25 years, and two to death.

While reports of POQO's strength and activities may be grossly exaggerated by both the government and Leballo, the fact remains that POQO does exist and

ing Congress policy.

**ANTI-WHITE:** PAC seeks to replace white supremacy with its own form of racial exclusiveness. In the fight against South African fascism it rejects allies on the grounds of skin color, regardless of whether they support equality for all.

The PAC appeal is a simple one of being anti-white. Its action slogan is "Freedom in 1963." Its seemingly African nationalist and militant slogan is in fact a shield for an anti-left stand, and its strong anti-communist bias endeared it for a while even to the reactionary white supremacy press of South Africa, which saw in PAC a weapon to destroy the prestige of the ANC.

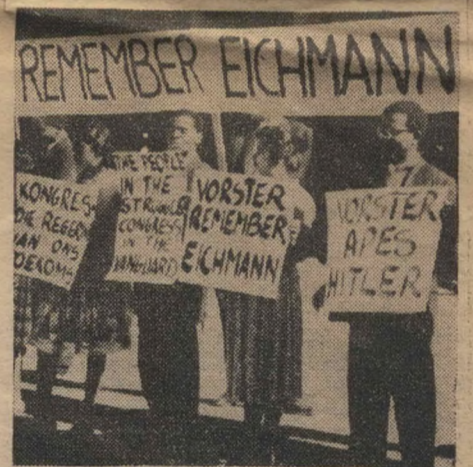
After the Sharpeville massacre PAC lost a great deal of ground (although its African nationalist slogan won some support in other African countries); its former leader, Robert Sobukwe, brought from jail, where he was serving a three-year sentence, to testify in a court trial, stated that PAC was dead.

It was in this period that POQO emerged. The name of POQO was first mentioned in a trial of farm-laborers, accused of collecting pangas and other weapons to kill whites. Then POQO was said by the police to be behind the Paarl riot, the killing of five whites at Bashee Bridge in the Transkei, and an armed clash with police on a railway station at Queenstown in the Cape.

It is doubtful if the organizational connection between PAC and POQO is strong, but the important thing is that POQO took over where PAC left off.

**ONE ASSAULT:** PAC-POQO policy, as expounded by Leballo, calls for one furious onslaught on the white supremacy state. It could be a suicidal assault, because despite what the government, for scare reasons, would have the country believe, POQO has neither the political nor organizational reserves to stand more than one attempt. The strategy is for one "night of the long knives"—one grand push this year, a general uprising into which everything will be thrown. This strategy may play directly into the hands of the government, for such an uprising appears doomed to failure. The strategy disregards the immense power of arms of the state (the Algerians fought seven long years against a heavily armed white minority).

The government is doing whatever it can to precipitate a premature uprising, which it could crush brutally, and then



JOHANNESBURG DEMONSTRATION  
Justice Minister Vorster is target

is increasingly drawing support from the young African men. For POQO provides a new outlet for people whose leaders have been imprisoned, banned or exiled; people whose liberation organizations have been illegalized; people repressed and oppressed and pushed around to the limit of tolerance; people now overflowing with misery and anger. And POQO's appeal to the desperate is a simple one; it has only one aim—destroy the white oppressors. Thus far it has been a terrorist organization lacking any program other than to replace white rule by black.

**ANC OPPOSED:** African National Congress leaders are firm in condemnation of what they consider recklessly provocative tactics. POQO-PAC policy, they say, will use the people's desperation, militancy and courage irresponsibly, so that thousands of militant young men are likely to be slain or jailed, and the whole struggle for liberation set back instead of strengthened.

Meanwhile, the South African government has gained an excuse to launch a fierce attack on the freedom movement; Leballo is gambling with African lives, and South Africa heads relentlessly into a period of agony and bloodshed, while the world looks on, condemns with words, and provides the arms and investments that bolster the white supremacy state.



## SLOVOS FLY OUT

Mrs. Ruth Slovo, former 90-day detainee, left Jan Smuts Airport last night with her children on an exit permit. This means she cannot return. Mrs. Slovo applied for a passport because she hoped to return to South Africa, but this was refused. Special Branch detectives were at the airport. She is seen, in this picture, boarding the aircraft with her daughters, Gillian (left) and Robyn.

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# South Africa

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test case to establish whether sanctions can be an effective instrument of political coercion, and South Africa looked on Rhodesia as encouragement to the UN to use sanctions against South Africa, fearing that the judgment would provide an opening. Now with the judgment and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's optimistic budget, influential people in Washington and London who dislike apartheid have increasing doubts about sanctions. The Rhodesian economy is not in a state of collapse; how would the much more powerful economy of South Africa be touched by sanctions?

In progressive circles, the belief remains that sanctions could be a truly effective weapon against Rhodesia and South Africa—if there were a sincere desire by those applying them to bring about the downfall of white supremacy. If African nationalists now turn away from sanctions as a political weapon, it will be because they doubt the sincerity of the Western powers.

- Does Britain wish to destroy Smith and bring about majority rule in Rhodesia, or simply to modify his extremism and make white Rhodesians accept the idea of some gradual change?

- Does the U.S. wish to see the downfall of apartheid and all its stands for, or simply to persuade white South Af-

ricans to remove some of its uglier features?

**THERE IS INCREASING** bitterness toward half-hearted action. The South-West African People's Organization expressed "disdain" toward The Hague judgment, warning that legal means of establishing international accountability appear a farce and a long and bloody battle remains the only way. The South African National Congress described the decision as "immoral," bringing dishonor to the judges themselves and making international law appear absurd. About the court's remark that it did not apply its mind to humanitarian considerations, Congress asks, "What on earth is the purpose of the International Court of Justice if it is not basically and fun-

damentally concerned with human rights?"

Thus the lines are drawn more clearly, the protagonists group more definitely. And the South-West Africa issue remains. The question may still come before the Security Council, not in terms of violation of international law, but in terms of the threat to peace of apartheid itself, of South Africa's arms build-up in South Africa, South-West Africa and the Caprivi Strip.

The judgment of the World Court on South-West Africa may prove to be the fatal blow that will destroy the existing structure of UN, and bring about new world organizations in which the decisive role will be played by Africa, Asia and Latin America.

May 10th 1965

# HANDLA NU

## Maning vid protestmöte i Nässjö mot Verwoerd

NÄSSJÖ (SmF). DET VAR ett imponerande tåg med en hel "skog" av slagkraftiga plakater, som visades upp, då demonstrationen mot den sydafrikanska regimen genomfördes på lördagen i Nässjö. Initiativet har som bekant tagits av folkhögskolelever och de flesta av dem som gick med i tåget — 300 — var ungdomar från Jära och Sörängens folkhögskolor. Bland plakaterna fanns sådana som riktade sig mot Asea och SKF som har fabriker i Sydafrika.

Efteråt samlades ett par hundra personer i Pigalle, Nässjö Folkets hus, där både fil mag Marie-Louise Sallnäs från Sörängen och George Odyua, Kenya, på Jära talade. Deras anföranden blev en skarp vdräkning med västerlandets slapphet och likgiltighet gentemot de svartas olidliga förhållanden. Vi kan inte vänta, vi måste handla nu, underströk Odyua bland annat.

### • HANDLA NU!

— Vi vill se ett slut på apartheidpolitiken, framhöll Odyua. De svarta har väntat och lidit länge nog. Nu är stunden kommen, då vi måste handla. Vi är sent ute, och vi skulle ha gjort något långt tidigare.

— Det är i dag och inte i morgon vi måste handla, fortsatte Odyua. Men vi söker inte någon hämnd utan vill kämpa tills vi får våra rättigheter. Om dessa fred-

liga åtgärder som bojkotterna innebär inte skulle ha avsedd effekt skall vi kämpa till det bittra slutet, om det blir nödvändigt. Och jag kan försäkra er att vi skall nå fram till seger.

### • INBÖRDESKRIG HOTAR

— Eleverna vid de svenska folkhögskolorna vill genom de demonstrationer som genomförts vädja till regeringen att de politiska och ekonomiska förbindelserna med sydafrikanska republiken avbryts, sade fru Sallnäs i sitt anförande. Många andra organisationer och korporationer har redan vädjat om samma sak.

— Genom en handelsbojkott kan man möjligen hindra att ett inbördeskrig bryter ut i Sydafrika, menade fru Sallnäs.

Om Sverige går före med gott exempel och inleder en handelsbojkott blir det något som de ang-

losachsiska stormakterna stimuleras av så att de följer exemplet. För närvarande vill de inte avstå från sina lönande förbindelser, fast det finns en stark opinion för ett ingripande mot Sydafrika.

### • BRYT FÖRBINDELSERNA

Elevkåren på Jära, som stod i spetsen för demonstrationen, framförde genom Rolf Alkebäck ett tack till Odyua, fru Sallnäs, Östen Johannesson i fredsföreningen m fl. Alkebäck läste upp skrivelsen till utrikesministern där man kräver att de diplomatiska och ekonomiska förbindelserna med Sydafrika skall avbrytas. Många andra stater har brutit förbindelserna med Verwoerd. Men än står västvärlden med sina stora ekonomiska intressen i vägen för en frigörelse. Sverige måste handla oavsett hur stormakterna gör, påpekas i skrivelsen.

Från Landets Folkblad



MASSOR AV PLAKAT bars i tåget. Här syns en liten del av dem. Många slagkraftiga saker hade man åstadkommit. Bl a Hitler är död, Verwoerd lever. Det är mord att handla sydafrikanskt osv.

## Sydafrika-demonstrationen i Nässjö gick på smågator

SSU-undomarna i Nässjö och flera av dem som på lördagen gick med i demonstrationståget mot apartheidpolitiken i Sydafrika klagade över att tåget inte fick gå på de stora affärsgatorna, Rådhusgatan o. Storgatan, utan måste dirigeras över på mindre gator omkring själva centrum.

— Det visar vilket ljumt in-

sen, säger man. Från polisen hade man nämligen sagt ifrån att demonstrationståget inte fick gå på huvudgatorna.

Om den saken säger poliskommissarie Sven Rosby så här:

— Jag funderade på att inte alla låta demonstrationen gå och samma tanke hade polismästare Iwan Ljungholm i Eksjö men hur det var så tyckte vi att det inte gjorde så mycket om man gick på de mindre gatorna.

Och orsaken? Jo, så här säger kommissarie Rosby:

— Trafiken är mycket intensiv vid den här tiden på dagen mellan kl 11—12 på en lördag. Hade man kunnat anordna demonstrationen på eftermiddagen skulle det ha gått bra att ge tillstånd för marsch på huvudgatorna. Då är trafiken betydligt mindre. Men de tiden kunde man inte gå eftersom Sörängen hade en värfest just då.

# SOUTH AFRICA

In the Humansdorp (Cape Province) Regional Court recently evidence was given that a bundle of African National Congress pamphlets, wrapped in a newspaper, was found dangling from a second-storey window of a shop in Main Street, Port Elizabeth, last July. A Security Branch detective stated that an ingenious device like a parking meter was fastened to the string from which the bundle dangled. To the time mechanism was attached a razor blade which would cut the string at a set time, causing the 1,000 pamphlets to be released on the street. The ticking of the mechanism caused it to be discovered in the women's cloakroom.

Six Africans were jailed on charges of being members of the African National Congress, paying subscriptions, or allowing their houses to be used for illegal meetings.

\* \* \*

Mike Louw, a freelance newspaper reporter, and Peter Magubane, a *Rand Daily Mail* photographer, together with Douglas Zwane, a driver, were each fined £5 (or 30 days) when convicted in a Delmas (Transvaal) court of trespassing on a farm.

Evidence was that the three entered Mr Gustav Potgieter's farm to interview African children who were working in the potato fields. The magistrate said the question arose whether press freedom could include entering a farm without permission in the name of public interest. Press freedom did not stretch that far, and a reporter should obtain permission from a farmer to investigate working conditions of his labourers.

\* \* \*

A 55-year-old white farmer, Salmon Herder Franzsen, and an African labourer, Daniel Ntantiso, were committed for trial on a charge of murder by the Humansdorp Magistrate's Court.

Evidence was given that a 12-year-old runaway boy was put in a sack and hauled up in a tree, then later beaten to death. Later Mr Franzsen summoned a doctor to his house, as he did not feel well, but did not mention the body of the child lying in his kitchen.

A 13-year-old non-white boy who worked for Franzsen described how Mrs Franzsen called him into the kitchen where the murdered child was being beaten by Franzsen with a whip with a wooden handle. Later, when part of the whip came loose, Franzsen used the wooden handle.

The assistant district surgeon said the body showed haemorrhage of the brain and there were 40 to 50 lacerations. The child was undernourished.

\* \* \*

There was a look of amazement and shock on the face of a prison warden after he shot a prisoner in the head, stated another prisoner in the Randburg (Transvaal) Magistrate's Court. The hearing arose from the death of an African prisoner, Simon Kukuane, at Leeukop Prison near Johannesburg. An African prisoner told the magistrate that 29 prisoners went to pick vegetables under the control of a warden, Ernst Pienaar. When they had finished, Pienaar told them to hold their hands in the air. "He then hit us with the edges of his hands on our necks and bodies."

Pienaar then told Kukuane to lie on the ground, and hit him in the stomach and face; next he took his rifle from his shoulder and placed it on the prisoner's forehead. There was a click, but no bullet came out; he put the rifle against the forehead again; a loud shot went off. The prisoner was shot in the head.

Afterwards Pienaar gave each prisoner a cigarette and promised to give each a packet of tobacco. "He asked us to say that the prisoner was running away when he shot him."

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