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NEW ANC CENTRE TO OPEN IN ALGERIA

Nokwe, Kotane Sent on Mission Abroad

JOHANNESBURG

THE first freedom mission abroad of former African National Congress general Advocate Duma secretary Nokwe, since he and Mr. Moses Kotane were sent out of South Africa one week ago by the underground ANC, will be to represent his Congress at the important Afro-Asian meeting at the end of this month.

at the end of this month.

No sooner had Mr. Nokwe left
South Africa for Lobatsi, on his
way north, that Dar es Salaam was
alerted for hette rival at this conference schewest to last from
January 28 to last from
through the polars
anonymously yellow appers.

The unside the last from the liberation of the African people."

The two would join and augthe state of the property of the liberation of the African people."

The two would join and augment the overseas team which is headed by one-time ANC deputy president-general Mr. Oliver R. Tambo, and which includes Messrs Robert Resha, Tennyson Makiwane, James J. Hadebe and M. L. Piliso

MANDATE

Their specific mandate, said the statement, was to tackle two jobs.

ONE, to open new offices of the
ANC in foreign and African capi-

ANC in foreign and African capitals. Plans to open an ANC office in Algeria are already far advanced, at the invitation of the Free Algerian Government.

TWO, to add their organising weight and ability to the mounting internation recampaign for economics decision are a gainst tion with the Bantuston against tion with the Bantustan raign, ("Spark" of December canstia picture of the wounded Chief's

WARNING

After his release from hospital chief Mayeza went to live with relatives at Bojane Location, near

of their organisation, pledged to return to South Africa when needed "and to fight on whatever front, and in whatever way, that the organisation should decide."

Both Duma Nokwe and Moses Kotane were among the first house Rotane were among the first house arrest victims—Kotane imprisoned in his home in Alexandra Township for 24 hours every day; and Nokwe 101 121 hours, Both were arrested and tried in the Treason Trial. Both were members of the ANC national executive before the ANC national executive before the arganization was hanned in March organisation was banned in March

Moses Kotane was secretary-general of the Communist Party before that party was declared un-lawful in 1950, and concurrently with occupying that post he was a respected and senior national executive member of the ANC, for the leading role he played in the African liberatory movement since the twenties. He represented the ANC at the Bandung Afro-Asian conference.

DUE IN COURT

Duma Nokwe, former school teacher turned defier in the 1952 campaign, was the first African barrister in the Transvaal but though admitted in the Supreme Court, was refused permission by Dr. Verwoerd in terms of the Group Areas and Urban Areas Acts to occupy Chambers in

Johannesburg.

He has been subject to one prohibition after another: confined to the Johannesburg magisterial district, gagged from speaking and writing, ordered on pain of imprisonment not to attend any gatherings and, finally house

At the time of his secret departure from the country Mr.
Nokwe was standing trial on a charge of having carried on the activities of an illeral organisation, the African National African Nation



MOSES KOTANE



DUMA Not

THE COST OF INNOCENCE

THE Whites who run Paarl are taking a terrible revenge on the African people on account of the recent riots. But the methods they are adopting can only result in deepening resentment and bitterness among the Africans, leading to further tension and possible outbreaks and bloodshed in time to come.

When the riots first occurred, it was reported in the press that the column of Africans who marched from Mbekweni into Paarl numbered about 100. The police, however, managed to round up a total of something like 300 Africans, all of whom appeared in court on allegations of murder arising from the riots

Now the number of accused is being whittled down, and the charges are being withdrawn against Africans against whom no evidence can be found.

These who are being discharged at this stage, therefore, can be presumed innocent. Yet this is what they have had to suffer:

- (a) arrest and imprisonment for two months, during which period their families were left without means of support;
- (b) loss of earnings at their place of work;
- (c) in most cases loss of jobs as well, because the majority of those discharged have been refused their old jobs back by
- (d) endorsement out of Paarl when they went to the location authorities to get permission to seek work;
- (e) the break-up of their homes and families as a result of the endorsement out.

This is the fate which has apparently overtaken dozens of innocent men in Paarl who are being penalised for no other reason than that they are Africans. This is the White man's justice at work as the Black man sees it.

Those who run Paarl, both the employers concerned and the authorities, as well as the Government behind them which has decreed that the Africans must be removed from the Western Cape, may think they are safeguarding their future by getting rid from their midst of a source of possible danger.

They are living in a fool's paradise. Far from creating contentment and racial harmony, they are stoking up hatred and bitterness. It is precisely this sort of arbitrariness and inhumanity on the part of the authorities and the employers which eates a sense of frustration, discontent and desperation among the African people.

White South Africa, as represented by those who exercise power, must stop thinking they can shunt off their troubles to the Transkei and there let Chief Matanzima and his cronies with them. For the Transkei is part of South Africa and ulation plays a vital part in the economy of the country

> Paarl or in the Transkei, the attitudes adopted ins will play a decisive role in determining the untry. If the African is continually treated as, attitude towards e hostility.

BRIGHT SPARKS

HOWARD LAWRENCE

The other day I saw a jellyfish for the first time, and you want to know something? It reminded me of the United Party. It's got no spine. Lowdown, huh!

A man I know says that a lot of the attacks and criticism levelled at the Government is unfair. I agree. In fact it's getting out of hand. Some people have even been saving that Chief Sabata will get into trouble with the Nats because the hero's welcome planned for him in Cape Town is going to put Dr. Verwoerd's arrival to shame. Now that's unfair. After all Dr. Verwoerd had an army of special branch policemen to welcome him. Sabata will be welcomed only by the people!

Everytime I come across one of those innumerable acts of inhumanity that are a direct result of apartheid laws and Nationalist madness, I can't stop myself from thinking about the kid I once knew who used deliberately to vomit on its What a midular white Western Africa! civilization &

There's a saying ple will n Coloured peogood businessmen". ning to believe that-of

Take oured Affairs' Counc They're try-Coloured vested in the Coloured Development Corporation.

And in 1834 a mere 35,000 Coloured slaves were bought for £2,824,284. Truly, there's no sense in a slave mentality!

But we shouldn't be too harsh on the few men in the Coloured Council. They have won many freedoms since those slave days. They have (a) won the right to be organised in support of their masters' policies of oppression;

(b) won the right to freedom of speech and now have the right to speak with their masters' voice when before they could not even speak to him.

(c) won the right to more pay for their difficult job of selling their masters' oppression to a world that isn't interested and are thus exercising

BPP Conference Demands New Constitution For Bechuanaland

Enthusiastic Gathering at Mahalapye

MAHALAPYE

A DEMAND for the immediate abrogation of the present constitution of the Bechuanaland Legislative Council and the convening of a constitutional conference representing all active political parties was expressed in a resolution passed unanimously at the second annual conference of the Bechuanaland People's Party held in the Hands Memorial Hall here from December 28 to 30.

The presidential address was delivered by Mr. Motsami K.

Highlight of the conference was the comprehensive character of the ten delice onlying season, and alhough the delegation from the Transvaal branches had a break-down on the way and did not reach the conference, a total of 105 accredited delegates attended from branches all over the terri, tory, from as far south as Kanye in the Ngwakesse reserve, to the extreme north-west Maun in Ngamiland, and Francistown in the

RECEPTIO

ng into Delegations started Mahalapye by vans flying the by velloy colours of ple's Party of who arrived by train we the station and led in p

In addition to the annual national conference, the youth's and women's conferences were also held and national working committees were elected and charged with the responsibility for organising a national conference of both bodies at which their national officials will be elected. Both conferences were opened by Mr. Mpho.

ADDRESS

In his presidential address, Mr. the were not prepared to live his onperialism, colonialism or of blonialism.

ted/hy? For the simple reason the breed contempt. They tribe's decision with the Bantustan oples.

("Spark" of December carry a picture of the wounded Chief in literature such a hospital bed).

WARNING

After his release from hospita. chief Mayeza went to live with relatives at Bojane Location, near

and kingdoms and replaced them with the paid-up chiefs and African Authorities.

"They have introduced their own laws in our land. They hate dictatorship, curse communism and preach democracy. But they never put democracy into practice where they share the land with the black man as is the case in Bechuanaland. Cut and dried White hypocrisy"

DECISIONS

Mr. Mpho said they must emerge from the conference with definite plans and decisions about how they were going to end colonial rule in Bechuanaland.

"The Bechuanaland People's Party was formed for the purpose of awakening the people of Bots-wana politically. To unite them and form one mighty nation of Botswana, in order to break the chains of slavery, oppression, exploitation of man by man, racial discrimination and finally to gain freedom and independence for

"To form a Government that will industrialise Botswana, in order to rid ourselves of starvation, disease, illiteracy and the evils of White domination."

LAND PROBLEM

Condemning the plans for opening up the land of Bechuanaland for private sale, Mr. Mpho warned that the B.P.P. would treat both Crown and European-owned land as but a portion of the whole of Bechuanaland. "That is, it will belong to the indigenous people like any other part of Botswana. to the reception prepared at Mr.

O. K. Menyatso's residence, where a cow was slaughtered for the occurrence of the indigenous casion. have never sold any part land.

erence unanimously ena sed the decision of the emergency conference of the B.P.P. held at Lobatsi on August 19, 1962 and confirmed its full confidence in the present leadership.

A resolution was passed demanding the immediate lifting of the restriction on Sunday political meetings in the tribal reserves and that political organisations should be allowed to hold public meetings throughout Bechuanaland without seeking permission.

CENSORSH skeik vehemently the practif Bechuanaland Gove plying the viciou laws in Bechu



MR. M. K. MPHO

laws in the territory. After the conference a mass meeting was held in the open air attended by about 1,500 people and addressed by the President, Mr. M. K. Mpho.

Special Branch at Girl's Funeral

EAST LONDON

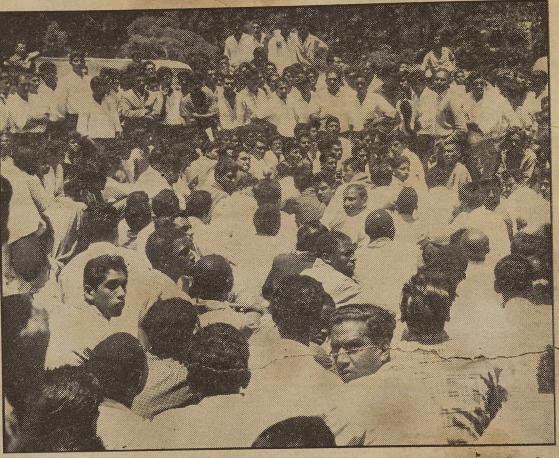
One of the victims of the recent petrol bomb attack in Duncan Village here, 14-year-old Daphne Hoyie, was interred at the Duncan Village Cemetery recently.

The funeral service was buducted by the Rev. A. K. Nombamba at the St. Barnabas Mission.

Because of certain threats against the residents in the township many people were afraid to attend the funeral service. Members of the Special Branch, as well as members of the S.A.P. (in uniform), were present to maintain law and order.

Daphne died in Frere Hosppital from serious burns received when 2 petrol bombs were hurled through a window of the home of Chief Inkie Hoyie, in Duncan Village (see "Spark" 27.12.62).

The chairman of the East Loudon City Council's Native Affair Committee and chairman Duncan Village No. L arrest order



Workers outside the factory gates, at the meeting where the decision to strike was taken unanimously.

Bomb Blast At Factory

BATA WORKERS STORTER IN DEFENCE OF L

Victimisation Alleged

DURBAN

THE Durban offices of the Bata Shoe Company were blasted by a home-made bomb last week after over 800 workers—almost the entire labour force—walked out of the Company's Pinetown factory in mpathy with 50 of their prades who were dismissed factory re-opened

some of the most active members of the Leather Workers' Union and among them are the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and several shop stewards of the organisation.

BONUS DISPUTE

The strikers allege that the dismissed men were victimised as a result of a dispute that arose between the management and them-selves before the factory closed for the holidays.

The dispute at the end of last year connected the issue of R3 voucherque place of a cash bonus. demanded cash when they were p) returned them

that the Company had extended its works and would undoubtedly require more workers.

Apart from this they want to know why mainly leading trade unionists had been chosen for dismissal, more especially since most of those dismissed had worked for the company since its inception.

STOOD FIRM

The workers stood firm for a whole week. Each day, at mass meetings of the workers on striles a decision to remain out unanimously adopted.

After two days, the emp made it known that all i taking part in the strike sacked. Still the strikers

THREE OF SABATA'S COUNSELLORS ARRESTED

JOHANNESBURG

Three of Paramount Chief Sabata's Counsellors who were due to form part of his 15 man deputation to meet the Minister of Bantu Administration to discuss the future of the Transkei have been arrested under the Emergency regulations.

These arrests took place 13 days before the scheduled talks now cancelled by the Minister.

The arrest of these councillors is regarded by Paramount Chief Sabata and the Tembu people as yet another scheme to weaken the opposition of the Tembu people and the Transkei to nationalist schemes

STRONG PROTEST

Chief Sabata said: "This is how the Government wants to weaken Tembu people. Even last year win Windland our car ional committee to draw a consutution to counter the Kaizer Matanzima-Government one, the chairman of the constitution committee w arrested and detained.

"Over the years many my ablest councillors have I n* rested gas orted away from

Transkei. But this does not make us deviate from our path of fighting for true democracy. Deportations, arrests and detentions steel the Tembu people to fight even

CHAIRMAN

The imprisoned men include Mr.
Louis Majija, who was elected chairman of Tembuland's 1962
Constitutional Committee, the body appointed by this tribe to draft a constitution to counter the government—Matanzima version.
Mr. Majija's sister, a teacher, was arrested at the same time, but she has since been released.
Councillor Anderson Joyi one

Councillor Anderson Joyi, one of chief Sabata's main advisers, was also sought by the police, but when they could not find him at his kraal they arrested his uncle

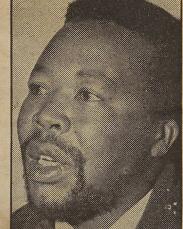
Mr. Mthawelanga Joyi, instead.

The latter is a man of 58, and was ill in by at the time of his arrest.

TARGET

Mr. Anderson Joyi is a regular target of the police, and has been arrested three times before.

His first arrest was in connection with the holding of an illegal meeting in the Engcobo district last year. Then he was detained



CHIEF DALINYEBO SABATA

during the Transkei emergency period—still not over, despite all the talk of 'independence'—and was charged with the murder of headman S. Matyhile.

It transpired during the trial that Mr. Joyo had been detained in prison by the police at the time of the murder of the headman.

Another councillor being held by the police is Mr. Alfred Xobo-

lolo, one of the leading citizens of

TRANSKEI " UNK

NED CHIEF TAKES REFUGE

Four Arrested on Murder Charge

UMTATA

THE AmaQwati chief attacked and injured by members of the secret underground Transkei freedom movement fled to Umtata after his release from hospital, and is now living there guarded by twelve armed men of headman Yengwa, whose own kraal was burnt out a few months ago.

The chief is Mayeza Dalasile of the AmaQwati, who had to leave his own area to escape the anger of the people after he had accep-ted Bantu Authorities money from the Government in defiance of his tribe's decision of non-collaboration with the Bantustan policy. ("Spark" of December carried a picture of the wounded Chief in a hospital bed).

WARNING

After his release from hospital chief Mayeza went to live with relatives at Bojane Location, near Engcobo. The morning after his arrival there a letter was seen hanging on the door of the house warning the owner of the kraal not to keep 'unwanted dogs'. The Chief was asked to leave the kraal.

He then went to Baziya Mission where he pow lives, guarded by twelve arr en. Bayiza is out-side the area or his own jurisdic-

In Chief Mayeza's area there was an attack on the kraal of Chief Mxakeki Sigidi, his senior chief in the area. Nobody was injured but the kraal was burnt out.

Following the attack on the Sigidi kraal four Transkejeans have been arrested and chara with the murder of senior chief who was the uncle

Appeal JOHANNESBURG

THE appeal by the Justice agaird' aside of thesi arrest order

The four a

Kanye Location, and cousin to Chief Mayeza. He was one of the first chiefs to oppose Bantu authorities and was deposed, but later re-i. tated after pressure from his

people. The four were at first detained under the Emergency Regulations but have now been charged with murder. They are being held in the Qaka Police Station, in the Engcobo district.

Date Set for Vorster's

DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE



These Port Elizabeth women accompanied the delegation to the Mayor. They are giving the 'Amandla' salute after singing 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika'.

Passes For Women

WILL TEAR FAMIL TO PIECES

PORT ELIZABETH

THE carrying of Reference Books, due to be enforced as from February 1, will tear family life to pieces, states a memorandum presented to the Mayor of Port Elizabeth by a deputation of African women last Thursday.

"We want to make it clear to everyone," said the memorandum, "that the Reference Book is a ss. Nothing that the government for said can alter this fact."

Dalt is not the same as the Iden-inCard that the Whites must prades writy card bears only nti The Reference and, carries

women and 'humble them to dust', continues the memorandum.
Women, together with their young children, will fall prey to ill-mannered members of the police thrown into gaol and thrown out of the proclaimed urban areas.' phans, while both parents are still alive but lingering in gaols."

up like that.

force, be exposed to brutal assault, "Children will be rendered or-

'The government wants to kill us as a nation", declared the mem-orandum," but this we cannot tolerate. We cannot give ourselves

"We never asked for passes; we have always; opposed them. We shall continue atprinst passes until this won is repealed. we have the Pi ur own des(Continued from page 6)

-says

I. Memo

Bata Workers Strike

position of those who were originally dismissed will be reviewed. BOYCOTT CALL

In the meantime, anonymous leaflets calling for a boycott of Bata Shoes have been distributed in Durban.

Workers interviewed by Spark indicated that their struggle for the re-instatement of the workers dismissed was far from over. They had to take into account the fact that they had just returned from holidays and that most workers were without any money and ould not be expected to sustain ing drawn out struggle.

le shall, however, continue fight inside the factory and if do not get satisfaction the workers will once again be called upon to strike", said one leading 4-page SPECIAL

AFRICA and the WORLD

GUERRILLAS DEFEAT U.S.

VIETNAM

The war in Vietnam looks as if it is going to have the same bitter history with the same inevitable result as all the wars in Asia in the last two decades.

The revolutionary liberatory movement, the Viet Cong, not only have to fight a reactionary and desperate regime within Vietnam, but they have also to fight an 'mode ation' in Soul's pure Vietnam to audiences of busines India, makes speec press statements freing he left for India heing

that he would tactic adopted by the U.S. for-sanctions of helicopters against the Viet This was thought by the the final answer to the rate.' Viet Cong. By shoots over rice marshes afficting a devastasouthwe ting ro at forces, the Viet en the most modern Cong pro can defeat a popuweapons a lar n. ement.



WHAT THE U.S. FACED

LIKE SHOOTING DUCKS

The U.S. strike plan called for ten US troop-carrying helicopters escorted by five rocket firing helicopters to ferry 400 government troops to the drop zone in waves of 100 men each.

The first three groups landed with no ground fire from the Viet Cong. But as the fourth lift fluttered over the paddies the communists let loose with a blaze of bullets from the woods at the edge of the rice fields. Virtually motionless, the helicopters were helpless targets at point blank range; five of the hovering helicopters were shot down, and nine others were riddled with bullets.

GOVERNMENT TROOPS WAVER

on the ground, the governmer Un forces were pinned down in the mail of fire. The stunned survivors burrowed into the slimy mud of the paddies and stayed there, refusing to continue the assault.

After eight hours of continuous bombardment, the US brought up

reinforcements. Blating away with machine guns, armoured cars re-peatedly attacked the entrenched Viet Cong positions at the tree line; each time they were driven

Overhead, government planes pounded the Viet Cong with bombs and napalm, but the communists did not break.

GOOD ESCAPE

As dusk fell, the Viet Conslipped into sampans ar a escaped down the darkened canal with their dead and wounded. A battalion of paratroops, assigned by the US to block the escal route, was dropped into the wron cosition. When government to started to shell Cong position

"Religious" Radio Station for Africa

LONDON

The Lutheran World Federation s opening a radio station in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in late February or March. Financed from the United States, it will broadcast in 15 Afro-Asian languages, inclu ding Afrikaans, and will cover, whole : States ndonesia (expending the states ndonesia) ars).

'us to a truth which often been denied to thesean cris

CUBA IN PERSPECTIVE

an analysis of the world on the brink of war

We have said it many times before and will say it many times again; the Cuban Revolution is no isolated event affecting a small island inhabited by a mere two-tenths of one per cent of the world's population. It was and is a phase, the most important phase to date, of the Latin American Revolution which in turn is an integral part of the great 20th-century world-wide revolution of the exploited and hungry nations against the yoke of colonialism and the misery of underdevelopment. These undoubted facts give to Cuba an importance out of all proportion to its size; nay more, they assign to Cuba a role in the historical drama unfolding before our eyes which is in many respects just as important as that of the United States and the Soviet Union. For the pollicies of both of the superpowers are quite literally dominated by their relations and attitudes to the world revolution and at this historical moment little Cuba represents the world revolution. Any interpretation which ignores or belittles this, which sees in Cuba merely a pawn in a chess game between the giants is thoroughly false.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

In tracing the genesis of the present crisis, the first fact that has to be taken into account is that from the moment it was clear to American policy-makers that Fidel Castro was bent on carrying through a genuine social revolution, it became the overriding aim of Washington's Cuba policy to overthrow his regime. No target date was set, no specific plan of action espoused; but among those who really wield power there was no serious dispute about the aim.

RUSSIAN ASSISTANCE

The fact that the pre-revolutionary Cuban economy was completedependent on trade with the United States (60 per cent of exports to the U.S., 75 per cent of imports from the U.S.) put powerful weapons at the disposal of Washington, and the early attempts to undermine or overthrow the Revolution all involved various forms of economic pressure.

First, was the withholding of badly needed aid and threats to reduce the Cuban sugar quota. When these methods failed to induce the revolutionary regime to change its course, the U.S. proceeded to the action stage.

The big oil companies cut off the vital flow of petroleum, and the Fisenhower administration Eisenhower administration closed the U.S. market to Cuban sugar, measures which, judging from the history of relations be-tween advanced and underdeveloped countries, should thave brought the Castro government down in short order.

But the Cuban army, no matter how well equipped, could obviously not repulse a direct attack by the United States. Premier Khrushchev therefore issued a warning to the U.S. that the Seviet Union could not receive the first but nonetheless real. When in the Soviet Union could not remain indifferent to an American attack on Cuba and had the means of retaliation from Sov

The era of illusions was not yet over, however. At about this time, the Cuban economy was entering a period of grievous troubles owing to a number of non-recurring and largely unrelated

MISINTERPRETATION

Once again, the U.S. seems to have misinterpreted the situation. dieving that the economic crist is alled the degeneration and untimate failure of the Revolution

From Washington's point of iew, nothing could have been view, nothing could have been more welcome, which is doubtless one of the main reasons it was believed. If the Cuban Revolution should fail in spite of large-scale Soviet assistance, the rest of Latin America would be effectively deterred from following in Cuba's

Harassment of Cuba was not abandoned but for the time being receded in importance.

END OF ILLUSIONS

brought the Castro down in short order.

Fortunately the It able to turn to the Russianites massistance, and parades wray card bears only the will and what was the address and an what was born in evidence throughout the bo Nineteen sixty-two finally brought pi ina and Peru; some coun-pi ur uela and Ecuador are

addition, during the summer of 1961, the Sovie Union agreed to step up its economic and military break down of its own accord went a-glimmer

With the announcement of the expanded Soviet aid, U.S.-Cuban relations entered a new stage. All attempts to bring down the Castro regime manimo other than direct n had definitivein Cuba were every sign of eve; the rest of as a shambles and ised Alliance for They're complishing nothne I mmediately, an unintervel broke out in congress.

SOVIET DIFFICULTY

This new situation put the Soviet Union in an excruciatingly difficult position. Soviet leaders were in imminent danger of being faced with the horrible choice of abandoning Cuba to its fate or counter-attacking the U.S. with atomic rockets, thus in all probability precipitating the universal disaster of World

It was in these circumstances (the Soviet Union decided upon the well-nigh desperate gamble of reaching the U.S. mainland.

On the military side, the missile might be expected to exercise deterent effect on U.S. aggressive ness for two main reasons. Firs they would permit an attack from Cuba on an invasion port or an assembled invasion fleet, thus multiplying the cost to the U.S. of direct military intervention. Second, since for technical reasons the missiles would have to be manned by Soviet personnel, their stationing in Cuba would greatly increase the chances that a U.S. attack on Cuba would involve the killing of Russians with all the possible implications and consePOLITICS

On the political side, the pre-sence of the missiles in Cuba would give the Russians a bargaining counter they did not have before. In the event, this turned out to be their only use, with the Soviets trading their withdrawal for a (conditional) promise not to invade Cuba. We do not for a moment suggest that they "planned that way." No one in Moscow—Washington either for that mattial menace to the U.S. This argument will not stand up

could have known in advance the U.S. reaction to the in-of the missiles would be. To understand why this is so, other hand, it is highly that the Soviet leaders to put the missiles into vithout at the same time ating the possibility of ir with rawal in exchange for sessions of some sort.

If this analysis is correct, it surely constitutes proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the Soviet Union was acting to protect Cuba against aggression and that the missiles were in the most literal sense defensive weapons. It was U.S. reaction to those defensive preparations that precipitated the the brink of thermonuclear destruc-

U.S. ARGUMENT

Many Americans who might be disposed to concede the substantial accuracy of this reasoning nevertheless argue thus: It may be true that the missiles were installed in order to deter an invasion from the U.S. Once they are there, however, they become a serious poten-

to serious analysis

we must recall a basic fact about Soviet military strategy. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union has never made any attempt to build a "first strike" nuclear capacity but has instead adopted the strate gy of the so-called minimum de-

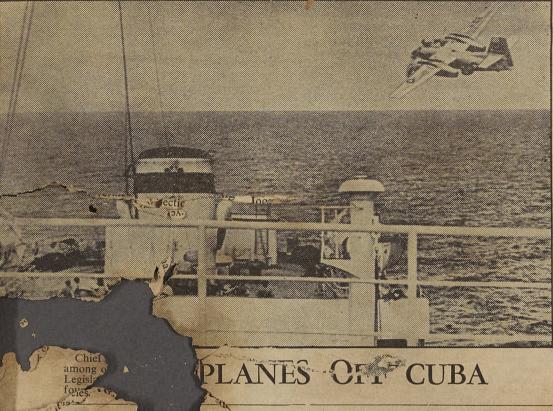
Now is clear that the lation of missile bases could not bossib mean Soviet U from a first-strus missiles

tute the U.S. nuclear strike capacity. It follows that it is only as an element in Soviet deterrent power that the U.S. would need to be concerned about the strategic importance of missiles in Caoa. And it is precisely in this respect that it can be shown that they

CUBAN CONTEST

Who, one may wonder, was practising deception on whomthe Soviet Union on the U.S. government by openly installing bases under the surveillance of U.S. planes? Or President Kennedy on the American people by telling them that these bases would upset the strategic balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union?

This brings us to a truth which has all too often been denied overlooked: to thesan crisi



WAR and WATCHFULLNESS

BERTRAND RUSSELL savs . . . Atomic War is Certain Unless World's Peoples Take Action

MOSCOW

'DO you agree that accidents may happen in a moment, if people are passive? We must all be persistently active to preserve Peace. . . What do you think of West Berlin? What is the way out?" —these were my words in a letter addressed to Earl Russell the world famous philosopher and fighter for the future of mankind.

Here is what Earl Russell writes

in reply:
"The danger of accidental nuclear war is overwhelming. Rockets may be dispatched in a brief moment. Radar cannot distinguish between missiles and natural phenomena. Around the world men are waiting for a signal with only a few minutes in which to act, and it is impossible for accidents to be avoided over a period of time in the light of such facts.

'I am convinced, as you say, that if people are passive in the sense that they do not act against governments which prepare these horrors, that accidental war will

"I believe that people must cease to be passive about this danger and must vocally and actively oppose their own government's willingness to use nuclear anons, no matter what excuse is

eir governments for this

GERMAN PROBLEM

"I believe that the two German States are equally dangerous. Western Germany is fanatically ob-sessed with the cold war and Eastern Germany is a cruel, ous tyranny, capable of keeping population within its borders "the with barbed wire and machine

> sank that the Government of Union and the Govern-United States have a rades to come to an agreeno cts the interests of interests of either

a. carries

"Unfortunately, the problem does not lie in formulating schemes, the problem lies in obliging two Governments to recognise that they have very little time in which to solve the problem of

"Ideally, what is needed is an end to the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the neutralisation of all of Western and Eastern Europe. The German problem will not be solved until Germany is rendered neutral and united out of NATO, out of the Warsaw Pact, and part of an overall settlement in Europe."

FRANK OPINION
I should like to acquaint the readers of "Spark" with this frank opinion of Earl Russel on the German problem, since world events are moving fast and Germany is



Earl Russell has quite a different point of view to mine on some things. For example, I disagree with Earl Russell's estimate of the German Democratic Republic when he says that it is "a cruel, vicious tyranny, capable of keeping its population within reted the ders only with ling that the econ machine guns analed the

I think that the German Democratic Republic is a freedom-loving and peaceful country. As to 'barbed wire and machine guns,' they are intended to bar the Bonn militarists who prefer the risk of atomic war to a peace settlement

with Germany. Well, I'm afaid, I rather differ from Earl Russell in some other things, but I am united with this grand old man and great champion of Peace in his desire to lift this terrible shadow of nuclear war from the world. People must be active, the battle must be won!

Opinions may differ, but we have one great thing in com-mon, THAT IS OF COURSE THAT WE WANT FEACE.

Baldwin On The 'New' Negro

A young American Negro by the name of James Baldwin has recently established a reputation in American literary circles in a series of novels and essays—"Go Tell it on the Mountain", "Giovanni's Room", "Another Country"

Baldwin writes of themes he knows well: Harlem (where he was born), poverty, American whites. His style has been hailed as "brilliant' (Time Magazine).

NEW BOOK

His latest Book, which is to be published shortly, shows Baldwin as one of the most bitterly eloquent voices in the American scene. The Negro, says Baldwin, "has the Negro, says Baldwin, has the market advantage of having of myths to which white Americans cling: that their ancestors were all freedom-loving heroes, that they were

born in the greatest country the world has ever seen, or that American onte the brheace, that Americans analims orner than direct dealt honourably in had definitivecans and I s in Cuba were every sign of every sign of as a shambles and ised Alliance for other neigh € that

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Again, Baldwin writes, "The Negro himself no longer believes in the good faith of white Americans . . . When the country speaks of a 'new' Negro, which it has been doing every hour on the hour for decades, it is not really referring to a change in the Negro, but only to a new difficulty in keeping him in his place."

THE FUTURE

For Baldwin all is not darkness, however. Of America and indeed the whole world he writes: "If we (whites and blacks) do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world. If we do not now dare everything, the fulfillment of that prophecy, re-created from the Bible in song by a e, is upon us:

God gave Noah the rainbw sign, No more water, the fire next time!"

Contrasting Profiles

TWO PRETORIA INDIANS

The Scab . . .

MR. JOOSUB

control, not through revolution or sabotage, which would bring only horror and disaster, but through the growth of that moderate element among Whites and Africans . . ."
H. E. Joosub, speaking in Bombay,

January 1963

MR. Joosub, wealthy Pretoria Sverm merchant advising Africa Tsmen in v. Before nnounced ise against

> ned himself g a 'mode-

pleas for 'mercy', an eals to the better nature of the oppressor, and in no time Mr. Joosub was wearing a new coat—spokesmen for "responsible" Indian opinion in South Africa.

"Responsibility" meant willingness to strike a compromise bargain with the government-the exchange of secure trading rights for voluntary acceptances of Indian residential segregation.

DEPUTATIONS

Once the principle of non-segregation was sold down the river, Mr. Joosub campaigned for a policy of "consultation" with the government, and led several depugovernment, and led several deputations to the Minister of the Interior, and later, the Minister of Indian Affairs. Here the 'loyalty' of the Indian people was tendered and a plea made for the protection of Indian business interests.

On occasions Ministers went on record as stating that these deputations had welcomed the Inden Acairs Department and accept the maintenance of certain forms of discrimination against Inidans.

Mr. Joosub was seldom seen at public meetings but little groups of frightened 'moderates' met

"...the safety of the Indian com-munity in South Africa depends . . on the moderate element gaining his drawing room—and when they did speak out, it was to attack the militant leadership of the South African Indian Congress.

WIDE OPEN

During days of national protest
and strike, May 31 1961, the entire Indian community of Pretoria closed shop, but Mr. Joosub ostentatiously left his doors wide open, asked for police protection and publicly attacked the strike.

When the Indian group area of I andium was proclaimed Mr. Joosub issued a press statement welcoming it. Negotiating the sale of his residence in the now white area of Arcadia to the state for a sum of R108,000, Mr. Joosub was among the first to indicate that he was willing to live in the Laudium group area, and he is now building a house there, estimated to cost something like R30,000.

ENCLOSURE

And in that strike month, when places in the special enclosure for Non-Europeans at the state ceremonies held outside the Palace of

toria-ceremonies to launch the Verwoerd-Vorster Republic.

For his loyalty to the Government Mr. Joosub has been rewarded with a petty concession: the archaic law preventing Indians domiciled in one province from entering another has been relaxed in his case by the issue of a yearly permit authorising him to travel to Natal, where he has a large wholesale depot, in Durban.

GOA

Always quick to seize the chance of a good behaviour mark from the Government Mr. Joosub rushed to the press to disassociate himself from India's efforts to liberate Goa from the Portuguese!

Anything for government approval, for this means safe business. This seems to be the formula. Mr. Joosub has extensive property interests not only in South Africa, but also in Portuguese East Africa. Swaziland, Rhodesia, India and

Early in 1962, Mr. Joosub gave a grand banquet in the Culenborg Hotel ostensibly to honour a guest from Pakistan. The affair was a grand 'toenadering' campaign with the government.

The guests at the main table included the director of the South African Foundation, leading members of the Group Areas Board and prominent Nationalists.
Speeches were made and toasts
drunk to the 'good name of South

The Resister

MR. NANA

REAL leader of Pretoria Indians is not Mr. al. E. Joosub at all, but Mr. Nana Sita, 64-year-old, ailing, satyagraha presently serving a septence in a cell in the Pretoria Gaol for his defiance of an order to move from his home and live in the Lau ium group

Modest, quiet-spok geous Mr. Nana modest observ idea remain

paign, locked up Emergency, Mr. P again in gaol—for believes in.

These beliefs

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MISS THEIR MOTHERS



Five of the nine children who will be motherless for six months when their mothers ing the aims of the African National Congress. The women in the picture are Mrs ever seen, or Mrs Eve Hall.

EX-COD WOMEN TO PRISON

ons, no eir HANNESBURG vomen members of GERMAN banned Congress

"I believe that the States are equally dang tern Germany is far sessed with the co Eastern Germany ous tyranny, cap population with with barbed win

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of Democrats decided this week to surrender their bail and serve their prison sentences. Their crime was of carrying on the activities of an unlawful organisation, the African National Congress: they were arrested puting up ANC posters.

The three women are Mrs Mary Turok, wife of Ben Turok, now Turok, wife of Ben Turok, now serving a three year prison term under the Explosives Act, Mrs Eve Hall and Miss Molly Anderson. They will be f Nowed in a few weeks' time Mrs. Pixie Benjamin, who is mey school before the property of the pro

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Imprise the line of our change for direct our view ing for the care of our children, and that of chers. We cannot be accused of breaking up and the and that of owners. We cannot be accused of breaking up our families: this is the responsibility of the government. It is not only our going to jail that breaks up families: thousands of families are broken up every day by discriminatory laws like influx control, group areas and the pass laws.'

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East London House Arrest

EAST LONDON

Mr. Judas C. Fazzie, of Duncan Village Extension No. 1, because the first person in East London to be placed under house arrest when an order was served on him just before Christmas.

A banned man for some time, Fazzie was formerly an exeand one of the most inuential politicians in the Border

DE WET NEL DUCKS MEETING SABATA

Cape Town Africans Prepare Big Welcome

ALTHOUGH Mr. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration has suddenly cancelled his scheduled meeting with Paramount Chief Dalinyebo Sabata of the Tembus in the Transkei, the African people of the Cape are continuing with the preparations to welcome him to the city of Cape Town at the week-end.

The cancelled meeting with Mr De Wet Nel was to have been a inal attempt by the Tembu to get evernment to listenate their

mount) and o

Assemblies of the have several times rejected the terms of the Matanzigna constitu-

tion.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town, a committee of nine men was elected. at a meeting of 3,000 people held at Langa on Sunday afternoon to discuss what should be done to welcome Chief Sabata, should he still visit the city this week-end.

African members of the Liberal Party, led by Mr. Hammington Majija, were shouted down by a large section of the people present. They said they were 'not prepared to be controlled by Liberals, be they White or Black'. One member of the audience then took the mi-

that they be hand it back. Mr. Majienslave the indigenous of from the
They rob the indigenous pet
of their best lands, and sometimes
they grab the whole land.
"They are racialists and believe

in white supremacy as they call themselves whites. They have destroyed the Black man's kingship

It was also decided by the meeting that a 'bodyguard of the peo-ple' should accompany and watch over Chief Sabata during his stay in the Cape

Among members of the commit-

tee are Messrs Huna, Marawe, Gila and Xamlashe, The welcome planned for Chief

Sabata is in sharp contrast to the treatment handed to a Matanzima depuation that recently visited the Cape. Their meetings, held under strong police protection, were en-ded abruptly. Petrol bombs were thrown through the windows of the house in which the deputation were staying and the members of the deputation moved around the city under armed guard.

London call to Indians on Group Areas

"STAND FIRM AND UNIT

the South African Indian Congress have addressed a Group Areas crisis letter to South African Indians urging unity and firmness in the struggle.

"We are all deeply perturbed by the latest actions of the authorities in forcing families living in Martindale, Ventersdorp, Nylfbiological and cooperation of the pre-

ferent colour skins. There can be no Though we may about the intenrially, politically vernment — the to'e will never our people.

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"Our who one of continu injustice and so and selfless we must -de

LONDON representatives of just Group Areas Act. It is my sacred duty to resist injustice and

oppression.'

"We must stand united and firm in our resolve to beat back the onslaught on our very existence. To oppose every facet of the Group Areas Act is part of the common struggle of the African and all sections of the South Arrican people against expertised and can people against apartheid and for freedom

"In so far as the is concerned, the d

"Political Prisoners Have World Support"

British Couple Write To Sobukwe and Mandela

Dear Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe,

My wife and I are a young English couple, married for eight years, with a small daughter aged 5 months. We are socialists, humanists, pacifists and vegetarians. Our sympathies are with you both, and all those who, like you, are political prisoners in South Africa.

We feel very helpless and impotent, being so far away from the Treason Trial, Sharpeville and the spate of house arrests. All these events come as more than mere 'news' to us, of course, though the house arrests, coming after so much retribution and social injustice; were no revelation to us. It is so difficult for English citizens to imagine such a thing as house arrest, without any legal sanction. Mr Mandela will appreciate this, being a lawyer himself.

We read all we can about Africa, and we have constant contact with students from

CAPE TOWN

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Asia and Africa in Glasgow University. We therefore feel that although we are some 6,000 miles from your great country physically, in spirit we are very close. We have also spoken to South Africans of European descent, and noted their shame (untypical, alas) at what is happening in the country they too love.

Many times I have had cause to write to the South African Embassy in Madon, as has my wife, in protest as has my wire, in protest against some injustice or other. Usually there has been no reply. Occasionally a stereotyped response, akin to the old monthly column in 'The Observer'—'paid for by South Africa House', full of half-truths and outright lies.

We will never cease our struggle with the present undemocratic government of South Africa—not until the battle is won, and it will be a victory for democracy we believe. History is on our side. Right, not might, will prevail.

We want you to know, as surely you must, that you have countless supporters the world over who would offer

you every encouragement in your struggle against tyranny. We thought that the speech made by Mr. Mandela in his own defence was one of the noblest perorations a man has ever made in the struggle for freedom and dignity. South Africa should feel proud to have men of such quality! This speech was published in British copies of "The Observer' but excised from South African copies. Censorship is a pernicious practice.

Please accept this brief letter as a token of our support and encouragement. It is little enough, we know, but if it heartens you to know that many are your friends, the world over, then it is some-

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accused of breaking up our families: this is the responsibility of the government. It is not only our going to jail that breaks up families: thousands of families are broken up every day by discriminatory laws like influx control, group areas and the pass laws.

PARENTS PLEA FOR SICK BAB "My pleas fell on deaf ears

eir HANNESBURG of Democrats decided this ess. vomen members of week to surrender their bail and serve their prison senten-GERMAN banned Congress ces. Their crime was of carrying on the activities of an unlawful organisation, the Africa National Congress: they were arrested puting up

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The three women are Mrs Mary Turok, wife of Ben Turok, now serving a three year prison term under the Explosives Act, Mrs Eve Hall and Miss Molly Anderson.

They will be followed in a few weeks' time Mrs. Pixie Benjamin, who is anging to settle her independent the school before

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East London House Arrest

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A banned man for some time, from member of the banned A.C. and one of the most inuential politicians in the Border

Called Communist for Attending a Conference

At the conference of the Bech-uanaland People's Party held in Francistown from December 28 to 31, 1962, the Vice-President of the Party, Mr. Philip Matante, and the Resolutions Committee wrongly and mistakenly alleged that I advocate Communism. They said I should be banned from teaching in Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland schools and further that the Francistown African school should be boycotted if I continue to be attached to it.

I write to refute the allegation.

What happened was this:
Since the split in the ranks of the B.P.P. people in Francistown have been told only one side of the story. I felt that I should dig for the truth and accordingly decided to attend the conference of the rection of the B.P.P. at

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tion.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town, a committee of nine men was elected

at a meeting of 3,000 people held

at Langa on Sunday afternoon to discuss what should be done to welcome Chief Sabata, should he

African members of the Liberal Party, led by Mr. Hammington Majija, were shouted down by a large section of the people present. They said they were 'not prepared to be controlled by Liberals, be they White or Black'. One member

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that they be hand it back. Mr. Majija and that they hand it back. Mr. Majije enslave the indigenous of from the They rob the indigenous per of their best lands, and sometimes they grab the whole land.

"They are racialists and believe in white currency on they call

in white supremacy as they call themselves whites. They have destroyed the Black man's kingship

still visit the city this week-end.

ernment a communist. To the S.A.B.C. we say, "We are not interested in what the oppressor calls himself—whether an Afrikaner Nationalist, a U.P. capitalist, an imperialist, a communist or what you will. We shall fight him until he thinks differently—until he grants us our rightful freedom!"

To Mr. Vorster we say, "We are not interested in what you like

to call our leaders. We shall stand behind them in life and death. It is futile any Government to try and di orce us from such lead-ers as Chief Lutuli, Nelson Man-dela, Alex la Guma, Anton Gizen-ga, Denis Brutus, Holden Roberto and others.

Mr. Vorster should impose his house arrest order on each of the members of the Afro-Asian and Communist block which are giving Eric Louw such a time at U.N.O. Freedom is our goal. Amandla

Ngawethu! HONEST

New Brighton

Confused by Ian's Myths

as done much to nking of the "Tran-ndence" and some that freedom can

y to them that free-is at its height. Some that the colour white f to other colors. It is f biological geographical reasons the geogra-ferent colour skins. There can be no

Assemblies of the report of the have several times rejected the terms of the Matanzima constitution.

Assemblies of the report of the have several times rejected the tally, politically vernment—the terms of the Matanzima constitution.

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"Our who one of continu injustice and so and selfless we must -d

China has repeated some of the mistakes of Russia in the over-emphasis of heavy industry you

This is utter nonsense. China's agriculture is still in the stage of man and animal-power. However well organised it cannot make any spectacular advance until machinery takes the place of man and animal. How then can over-emphasis on heavy industry make any difference to the relations of production in agriculture?

South Africa has more than

doubled her grain production simply because of heavy investment in tractors by the farmers in the post war years.
Until China can produce mil-

lions of tractors for her vast country no dent can really be made in

agriculture production.

She only can do that with a vastly increased heavy industry.

OBSERVER

Students Back Anti-Apartheid

A number of students has formed an Anti-Apartheid Group at the London University Institute of Education in order to act in whatever ways possible against the inhuman state of affairs in South Africa under Mr. Verwoerd's gov-

At a joint meeting of the Group and the Socialist Society a resolu-tion was carried unanimously ex-pressing full support for the work being done by Anti-Apartheid and related organisations, and asking that this support be made known inside South Africa to all who would benefit by this knewledge.

ROSALIE MIDDLEDITOR

Secretary, Anti-Aparthei University of London Ins Education

SIR STANLEY'S BULLYING INCENSES SOCCER OFFICIALS

Next round in the soccer fight will be fought out in Cairo this weekend, and Sir Stanley Rous, FIFA's chairman trying hard during his visit here to prepare the way for the lifting of the suspen-sion from FIFA of the colour bar Football Association of SA (FASA), will have a rough time defending his line and his treatment of the SASF men at the Carlton interview.

The SASF spokesmen were Messrs Singh, Lutchman, Siga-money, Twala, Albertyn and Van

Rous, knighted for his services to British soccer, might be used to pushing soccer players around, but not these men of SASF.

They listened in astonishment as he interrupted them in midsentence. They protested—but to no avail—when they found the White soccer bosses of FASA, and

JOHANNESBURG. officials of the new stooge Bantu in the soccer fight and Indian football unions, sitting in on their interview.

INCENSED

"If they are allowed to be here now we must be present when they present their case" the SASF delegation declared, but Rous said abruptly: "Leave that to me. We are the Commission. We decide the

are the Commission. We decide the procedure. I rule that . . ."

Incensed at their handling by Sir Stanley Rous—"he didn't give us a chance to say our piece" said George Singh—the SASF Deputation moved to walk out, and only the impassioned intervention of the second member of FIFA's South African Commission Mr. South African Commission, Mr. MacGuire, stopped that.

The gist of the non-racial Fede-

ration's case remains unassailed by Sir Stanley's bully tactics: that the suspension of FASA cannot be lifted because the Association is still practising race discrimination resolution which laid down that no member association shall practise race discrimination.

SANROC TAKES **GLOVES** OFF

JOHANNESBURG THE South African Sports

Association Rennial ing held kobert collection and which white by pre cling: that their vere all freedomes, that they were

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is d done all it could to a sis but now SANROC would challenge the colour-bar South African Committees right to representation, because even at this last moment it would not meet SANROC at all.

To SANROC's demand that lon whites he admitted to mem-

Non-Whites be admitted to memberhip in gymnastics, swimming, atheltics and other sporting codes, Major-General Klopper urged that they "develop local competition" and not strive to build bodies that would promote international participation.

The meeting adopted SANROC's constitution and this body is now relaunched and ready for the battle for international Olympic recog

A Printed by Pioneer Press (Pty.) Ltd., Othelley Rd., Salt River, for the proprietors, Letble View Printing and Publishing Co., 22 relarmes Buildings, 6 Barrack Street, Cape and a, and published by Real Printing and installshing Co., 20 Chames Bulldings, 6 parrack Street, Cape Town.

The Soccer Federation

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JOHANNESBURG

THE 15 page memorandum presented to FIFA's two man commission by the South African Soccer Federation his its points home sharp an

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The three women ar arted off with Turok, wife of Ben ut no players. It serving a three year I a single match under the Explosives A burg City Countail and Miss Molly leading White They will be following the closure of the min, who is that dis to SASL hildren that dis to SASL hildren that dis to SASL hildren that as a single match.

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