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SPARK

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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 secretary Advocate Duma 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.

No sooner had Mr. Nokwe left South Africa for Lobatsi, on his way north, than Dar es Salaam was alerted for his rival at this conference scheduled to last from January 28 to February 2.

The African National Congress announced the departure of its two top leaders, the letters sent through the papers delivered—*anonymously—yellow papers.*

The unnamed papers said that the two leaders had left temporarily to head the team of ANC representatives aboard engaged on that front of the organisation's work for "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 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 international campaign for economic sanctions against South Africa, ("Spark" of December cast a picture of the wounded Chief in a hospital bed).

WARNING

After his release from hospital, chief Maseko 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 arrest victims—Kotane imprisoned in his home in Alexandra Township for 24 hours every day; and Nokwe for 12 hours. Both were arrested and tried in the Treason Trial. Both were members of the ANC national executive before the organisation was banned in March 1960.

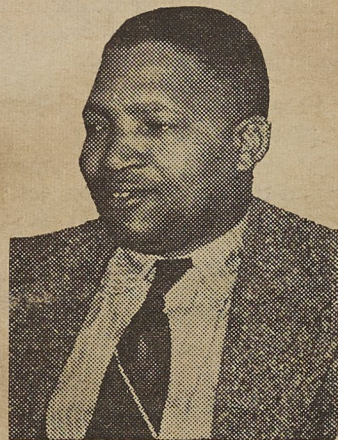
Moses Kotane was secretary-general of the Communist Party before that party was declared unlawful in 1950, and concurrently with occupying that post he was a respected and senior national executive member of the ANC, for the leading role he played in the African liberatory movement since the twenties. 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 arrested.

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 illegal organisation, the African National Congress. His arrest order was due to an appeal against his resumed presence in the country on Monday.



MOSES KOTANE



DUMA NOKWE

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COMMENT

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 their employers;
(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 creates 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 shut off their troubles to the Transkei and there let Chief Matanzima and his cronies deal with them. For the Transkei is part of South Africa and its population plays a vital part in the economy of the country

in Paarl or in the Transkei, the attitudes adopted by the Whites will play a decisive role in determining the future of the country. If the African is continually treated as a second class citizen, the attitude towards him will be one of hostility. This is the real problem.

BRIGHT SPARKS

by 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 saying 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 his white Western civilization in Africa!

There's a saying: "Coloured people will never be good businessmen". It's time to believe that. Take the Coloured Affairs' Council. They're trying to get the Coloured people to invest the R1,000,000 invested 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 their democratic rights.

(d) won the right to a hospital bed.

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. Mpho.

Highlight of the conference was the comprehensive character of the agenda. Although it was the ploughing season, and although the delegation from the Transvaal branches had a breakdown on the way and did not reach the conference, a total of 105 accredited delegates attended from branches all over the territory, from as far south as Kanye in the Ngwaketse reserve, to the extreme north-west Maun in Ngamiland, and Francistown in the north.

RECEPTION

Delegations started pouring into Mahalapye by vans and trucks flying the blue, yellow and green colours of the B.P.P. and People's Party. Those who arrived by train were met at the station and led in procession to the reception prepared at Mr. O. K. Menyato's residence, where a cow was slaughtered for the occasion.

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. Mpho said the people of Bechuanaland were not prepared to live his imperialism, colonialism or of bionialism. Why? For the simple reason that the people of Bechuanaland were not prepared to live his imperialism, colonialism or of bionialism. Why? For the simple reason that the people of Bechuanaland were not prepared to live his imperialism, colonialism or of bionialism.

WARNING

After his release from hospital, chief Meyeza 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 Botswana 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 ourselves.

"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

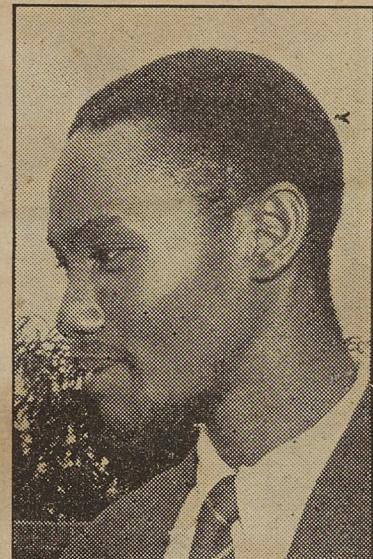
Condemning the plans for opening up the land of Bechuanaland for private sale, Mr. Mpho warned that the B.P.P. would treat both Crown and European-owned land as but a portion of the whole of Bechuanaland. "That is, it will belong to the indigenous people like any other part of Botswana. There shall be no compensation for those who claim to have bought land, as we (the indigenous people) have never sold any part of our land."

The conference unanimously endorsed 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.

CENSORSHIP

The conference condemned vehemently the practice of the Bechuanaland Government in playing the vicarious role of censoring literature, such as "Unofficial History of Bechuanaland" and "The Story of the B.P.P."



MR. M. K. MPH0

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

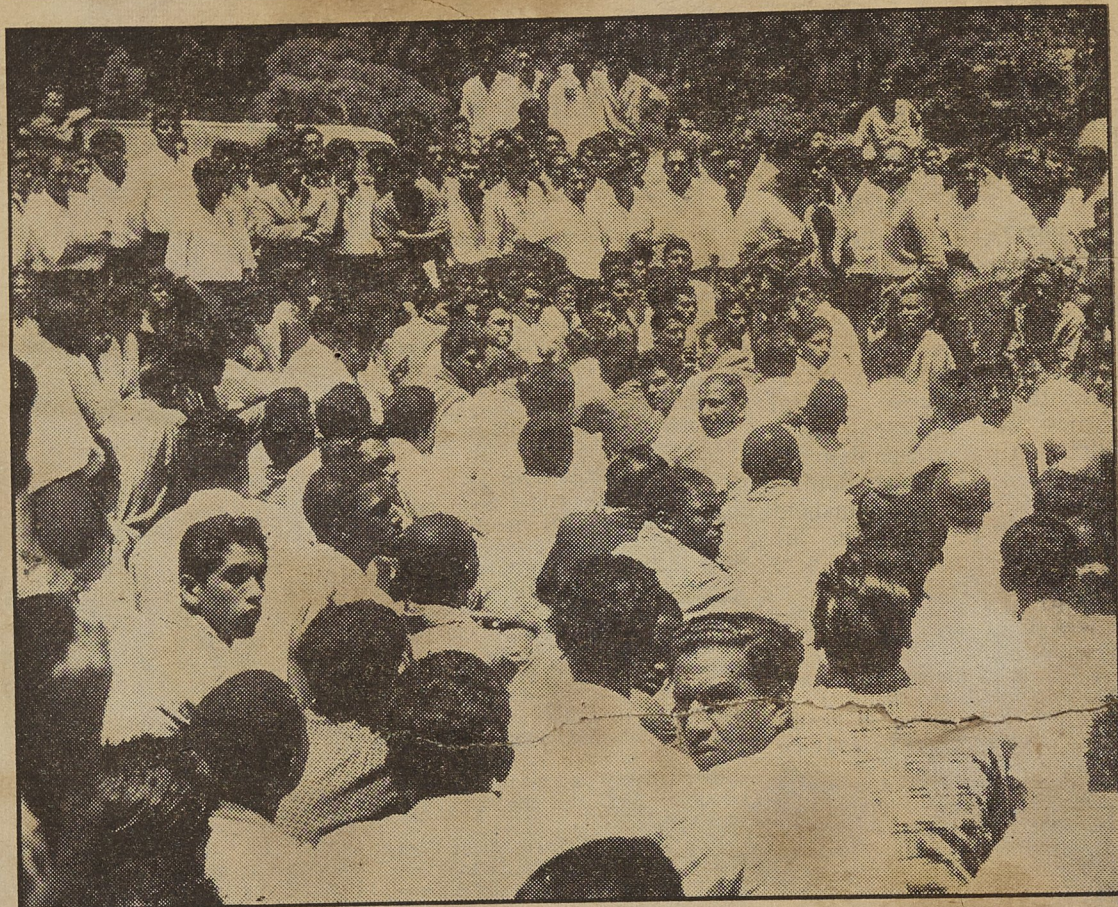
One of the victims of the recent petrol bomb attack in Duncan Village here, 14-year-old Daphne Hoyie, was interred at the Duncan Village Cemetery recently.

The funeral service was conducted 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 Hospital 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 London City Council's Native Affairs Committee and chairman of the Duncan Village Native Affairs Board, Mr. Roy M. Mphahlele, issued an arrest order against the Special Branch officers who were present at the funeral.



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

Bomb Blast At Factory

BATA WORKERS STRIKE IN DEFENCE OF LEADERS

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 sympathy with 50 of their comrades who were dismissed from the factory re-opened last week.

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 themselves before the factory closed for the holidays.

The dispute at the end of last year concerned the issue of R3 vouchers in place of a cash bonus. The strikers demanded cash when they were given vouchers the following year.

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 strike a decision to remain out was unanimously adopted.

After two days, the employer made it known that all those taking part in the strike would be sacked. Still the strikers stood firm.

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 the Tembu people. Even last year we had to draw a constitutional committee to counter the Kaizer Matanzima-Government one, the chairman of the constitution committee was arrested and detained.

"Over the years many of my ablest councillors have been arrested and deported 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 harder."

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 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 hospital 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. Joyi 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 Xobololo, one of the leading citizens of Engcobo district.

UNKNOWING CHIEF TAKES REFUGE IN UMTATA

THE WOUNDED CHIEF TAKES REFUGE IN UMTATA

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 accepted 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 now lives, guarded by twelve armed men. Baziya is outside the area of his own jurisdiction.

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 Transkeians have been arrested and charged with the murder of senior chief Mxakeki Sigidi who was the uncle of the late headman.

The four arrested men are: Mr. Mthawelanga Joyi, Mr. Anderson Joyi, Mr. Mthawelanga Joyi, and Mr. Mthawelanga Joyi.

Kanye Location, and cousin to Chief Mayeza. He was one of the first chiefs to oppose Bantu authorities and was deposed, but later reinstated 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 Appeal

JOHANNESBURG

THE appeal by the Minister of Justice against the conviction of the late Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, for the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, will be heard by the full bench of the Appellate Court on

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 FAMILY LIFE 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 loss. Nothing that the government for said can alter this fact."

It is not the same as the Identification Card that the Whites must carry. The Reference Book, which carries employment rights, is a different matter.

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 force, be exposed to brutal assault, thrown into gaol and thrown out of the proclaimed urban areas. "Children will be rendered orphans, while both parents are still alive but lingering in gaols."

"The government wants to kill us as a nation", declared the memorandum, "but this we cannot tolerate. We cannot give ourselves up like that."

"We never asked for passes; we have always opposed them. We shall not accept them. We shall continue to fight against passes until this law is repealed. We have the right to work for our own des-

—says Memo

(Continued from page 6)

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 could not be expected to sustain a long drawn out struggle.

We shall, however, continue to fight inside the factory and if we do not get satisfaction the workers will once again be called upon to strike", said one leading worker.

4-page SPECIAL

AFRICA and the WORLD

GUERRILLAS DEFEAT U.S. HELICOPTERS

VIETNAM

VIET CONG GUERRILLAS

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 American force equipped with the latest 'moderation' in South Vietnam to audiences of business men in India, makes speeches and press statements frequently before he left for India.

that he would use the tactic adopted by the U.S. for the use of helicopters against the Viet Cong. This was thought by the rate of the final answer to the Viet Cong. By shooting down helicopters over rice marshes south of the front lines, the Viet Cong inflicted a devastating loss on the most modern weapons and can defeat a popular movement.



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 government forces were pinned down in the hail 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 repeatedly attacked the entrenched Viet Cong positions at the tree line; each time they were driven back.

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

GOOD ESCAPE

As dusk fell, the Viet Cong slipped into sampans and escaped down the darkened canal with their dead and wounded. A battalion of paratroops, assigned by the US to block the escape route, was dropped into the wrong position. When government troops last started to shell the Viet Cong position, the escape route was

"Religious" Radio Station for Africa

LONDON

The Lutheran World Federation is 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, including Afrikaans, and will cover the whole of south to Cape Town and East Africa (expending 1 1/2 million dollars).

us to a truth which has often been denied to these people in a crisis.

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 policies 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 completely dependent 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 Eisenhower administration closed the U.S. market to Cuban sugar, measures which, judging from the history of relations between advanced and underdeveloped countries, should have brought the Castro government down in short order.

Fortunately, however, the Cubans, the Russian assistance, and the card bears only the will and the address and an what was the Reference the Cuban and, carries employed of

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 Soviet Union could not remain indifferent to an American attack on Cuba and had the necessary means of retaliation from Soviet soil.

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 causes.

MISINTERPRETATION

Once again, the U.S. seems to have misinterpreted the situation. Believing that the economic crisis signaled the degeneration and ultimate failure of the Revolution itself.

From Washington's point of 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 footsteps.

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

END OF ILLUSIONS

Nineteen sixty-two finally brought the end of the era of illusions. Politically and psychologically, the Alliance for Progress hardly made an impact on Latin America; and economically it failed even to check the adverse trends that have been in evidence throughout the area for several years now. Social and political instability increased; military coups occurred in Argentina and Peru; some countries like Venezuela and Ecuador are now beset with

only did the economic collapse so ardently desired by Washington not take place; the end of the long drought marked the beginning of a recovery, tentative and spotty at first but nonetheless real. When in addition, during the summer of 1961, the Soviet Union agreed to step up its economic and military programmes, the last hope that the Cuban Revolution would 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 other than direct military intervention had definitively failed. In Cuba were every sign of a shambles and the Alliance for Progress was accomplishing nothing. Immediately, an unbridled clamour for direct intervention broke out in the U.S. press and 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 War III.

It was in these circumstances that 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 a deterrent effect on U.S. aggressiveness for two main reasons. First, 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 conse-



Chief among the legislative foies

PLANES OFF CUBA

POLITICS

On the political side, the presence 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 matter—could have known in advance the U.S. reaction to the installation of the missiles would be. On the other hand, it is highly likely that the Soviet leaders intended to put the missiles into operation without at the same time withdrawing the possibility of their withdrawal in exchange for concessions 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

crisis and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear destruction.

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 potential menace to the U.S.

This argument will not stand up to serious analysis.

To understand why this is so, 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 strategy of the so-called minimum deterrent.

Now it is clear that the installation of missile bases in Cuba could not possibly mean that the Soviet Union was acting to protect Cuba from a first-strike nuclear attack. The missiles were in the most literal sense defensive weapons and far-

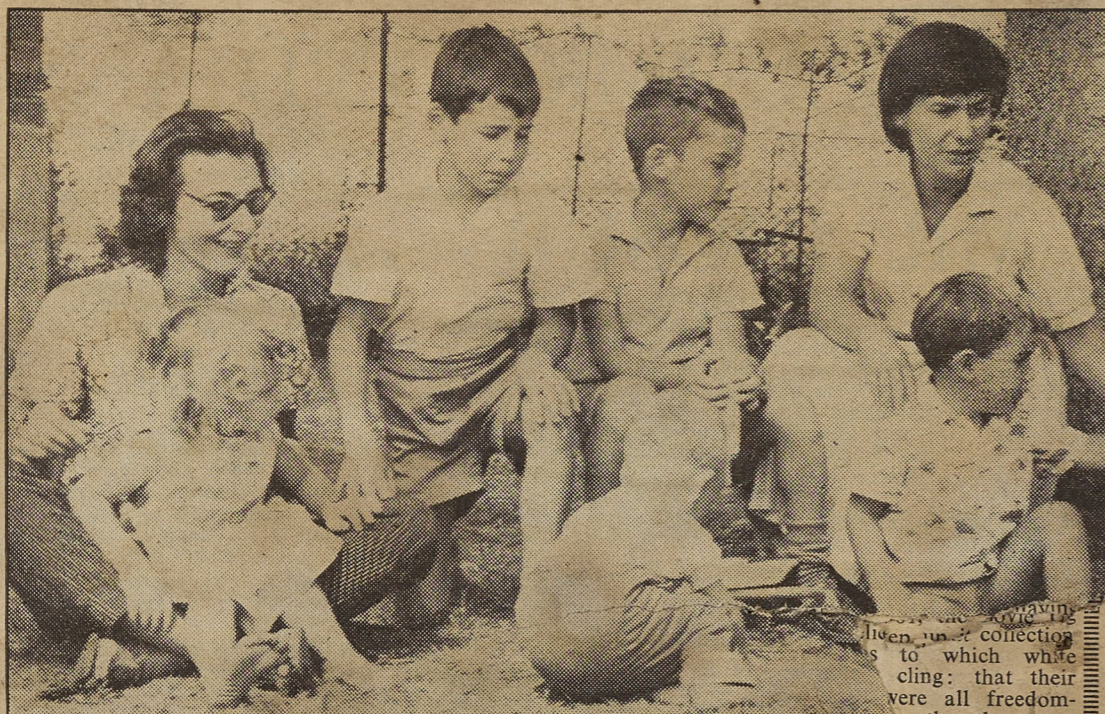
tute the U.S. nuclear strike capacity. It follows that it is only as an element in Soviet deterrent power that the U.S. would need to be concerned about the strategic importance of missiles in Cuba. And it is precisely in this respect that it can be shown that they

CUBAN CONTEST

Who, one may wonder, was practising deception on whom—the 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 or overlooked: to the crisis is about

WILL MISS THEIR MOTHERS



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

EX-COD WOMEN TO PRISON

JOHANNESBURG
Women members of the banned Congress

"I believe that the States are equally dangerous. Germany is far more dangerous than Eastern Germany. It is a tyrannical, capitalist, population with barbed wire fences."

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 putting up ANC posters.

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 by Mrs. Pixie Benjamin, who is going to settle her children in a new school before she goes to jail. The three mothers and their children, all un-

"Imprisoned women are fighting for the future of our children, and that of others. 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."

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 executive member of the banned A.C. and one of the most influential politicians in the Border area.

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 final attempt by the Tembu to get the government to listen to their demands to be consulted on the Matanzima constitution. The meeting was cancelled because the government had definitively refused every sign of compromise; the rest of the country was a shambles and the Alliance for South Africa was accomplishing nothing. Immediately, an ultimatum was issued for direct action in the Transkei.

Assemblies of the Tembu people have several times rejected the terms of the Matanzima constitution. 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 microphone from Mr. Majija and demanded that they hand it back. Mr. Majija enslave the indigenous people. They rob the indigenous people 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 people' should accompany and watch over Chief Sabata during his stay in the Cape

Among members of the committee are Messrs Huna, Marawe, Gila and Xamlashe,

The welcome planned for Chief Sabata is in sharp contrast to the treatment handed to a Matanzima deputation that recently visited the Cape. Their meetings, held under strong police protection, were ended 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 UNITED"

LONDON representatives of 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, Nylburg, and other areas of Pretoria to move to Group Areas. There can be no different reasons for the different colour skins. Though we may be politically, economically, and socially different, we are all South African people. 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 African people against apartheid and for freedom."

"In so far as the world is concerned, the national liberation struggle is a common one. 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 African people against apartheid and for freedom."

"Our whole people are concerned, the national liberation struggle is a common one. 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 African people against apartheid and for freedom."

SIR STANLEY'S BULLYING INCENSES SOCCER OFFICIALS

JOHANNESBURG.

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 suspension 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, Sigamoney, Twala, Albertyn and Van Harte.

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 mid-sentence. They protested—but to no avail—when they found the White soccer bosses of FASA, and

officials of the new stooge Bantu 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 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. MacGuire, stopped that.

The gist of the non-racial Federation'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

in violation of FIFA's 1960 Rome resolution which laid down that no member association shall practise race discrimination.

SANROC TAKES GLOVES OFF

JOHANNESBURG

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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

Non-Whites be admitted to mem-

bership in gymnastics, swimming,

athletics and other sporting codes,

Major-General Kloppe urged that

they "develop local competition" and

The Soccer Federation's Case

JOHANNESBURG

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

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