

FIGHTING

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TALK

NOVEMBER, 1962

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

by J. KOZONGUIZI

ZEKE MPHAHLELE ON S. RHODESIA

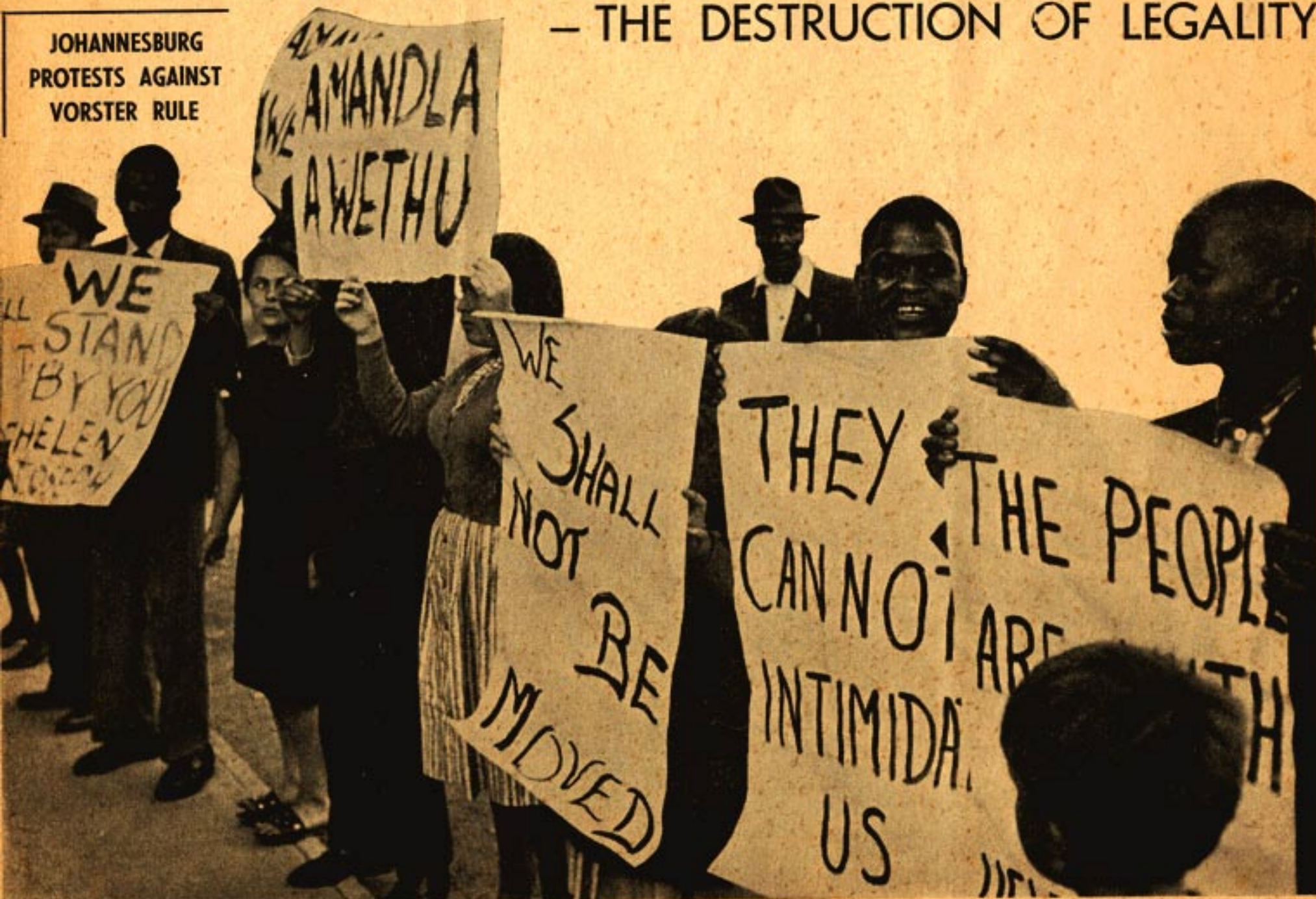
COLOURED EDUCATION

RULE BY VORSTER

— THE DESTRUCTION OF LEGALITY



JOHANNESBURG
PROTESTS AGAINST
VORSTER RULE



RULE BY VORSTER

The destruction of legality can only mean organised illegality — lawlessness is no less lawlessness when it's practised by the state. The only real alternative to the rule of law is the rule of the club; where Might is everything and Right is nothing.

The Destruction of Legality

"Civil liberty is the rule of law, not the rule of individual Ministers or officials . . ."

—Edgar H. Brookes and J. B. Macaulay, *"Civil Liberty in South Africa."*

THE expression "Rule of Law" is more familiar to students of constitutions and legal theory than it is to the man in the street. Yet it expresses quite a simple idea — that no one should be punished

unless it is proved that he has broken a known and defined law.

There are other principles of good government which are of major importance. The laws themselves should be fair and acceptable. They should be decided fairly, by majority vote. But no one should underestimate the importance of this basic idea of *legality*. Even if the law is unfair, and even if it is decided by an absolute monarch or dictator, there should at least be a law. You must know, precisely, what you are supposed and what you are not allowed to do. To be placed at the mercy of an official, who can decide behind closed doors to punish you according to his whim, which may change from day to day or from one incumbent to another; to be punished without even being told exactly why — this is slavery. It is intolerable to the spirit of a free man.

Nothing could be more autocratic than the average household. Parents lay down the law; the children must obey or suffer punishment; there is no appeal. Yet even here, this simple principle prevails.

"You never said I wasn't allowed to do that!"

It has an unanswerable ring of natural justice about it. Parents who disregard this logic are petty domestic tyrants. Their moral level is that of a potentate who has a subject's head cut off because he doesn't like the squint in his eye.

South African institutions mock democratic principle because they exclude four out of five adults from the process of law-making. Yet even these institutions recognise and claim to derive from the principle of legality. We have plenty of laws — perhaps a world record per head of population — all printed in great fat books that only lawyers can understand. We have a very large body of magistrates and judges and advocates and attorneys devoted to studying and interpreting and arguing about these laws. Presiding over the whole edifice we have an officer entitled the Minister of Justice who is supposed to be the principal guardian and upholder of legality and the Rule of Law.

To a large extent it has always been a mere façade and a sham. Millions of Africans are hauled before White magistrates and judges charged with a breach of some sub-clause in the complex and incomprehensible ramification of pass or urban areas regulations or some other law made by White men without asking or even informing their victims. To suggest that

these accused persons are getting a fair trial on a known charge is as remote and absurd as it is in Kafka's profound parable "The Trial".

Though it is so largely a sham and a façade, all South African governments have been at great pains and expense to maintain this imposing edifice of The Law. Nor is this surprising, when you come to consider that nine-tenths of the legal establishment is devoted to legitimising and preserving Property which was got by means we shall not go into in this article. Possession is nine points of the Law. Courts preserve Title Deeds; that is why Contempt of Court is almost blasphemy.

Contempt of Court

Yet, who is it today who is committing Contempt of Court and disdain of legal procedures on a scale which is rapidly undermining the entire structure? No one else but the Nationalist government. And leading this process of sapping and undermining have been a whole succession of Nationalist Ministers of Justice — supposed to be the very custodians and high priests of Legality — beginning with Oswald Pirow and culminating with the Hon. Johannes Balthazar Vorster.

This is no place to recount all the innumerable acts of sabotage and treachery which have demolished, one by one, the pillars of the palace of justice, till today the whole edifice crumbles on the verge of ruin.

It started, perhaps, with the unknown number of Africans, chiefs and commoners, transported to nameless platteland Siberias, for nameless charges, without charge, judge or hearing.

And it goes on with a mountain of Ministerial orders: bannings, confinements, banishments, house arrests, outlawing of organisations, newspapers, meetings, slogan painting, strikes . . . there's no end to it.

All without benefit of Court proceedings, without the right of appeal to the Courts.

And the Courts themselves? The bench of judges is packed with Ministerial nominees selected for political, not legal, reasons. Even the lawyers are to be hand-picked by the Minister to see there are no Communists among them.

And what is a Communist? Anyone the Minister deems to be one.

Patrick Duncan is a Communist. The Minister says so.

Liberals are Communists. The Minister says so.

(Continued on page 12)

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IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
The Destruction of Legality, by A.N.	2
Foundation Whitewash, by W. Hastings	3
United Nations Action on South West Africa, by J. Konzonguizi	4
Power Centres in S.A.'s Economy: 7: Two Monopoly Giants, No Third Force	6
The Pebble in the Rice: Zeke Mphahlele on Southern Rhodesia	7
Dollars, not Missiles behind the Cuban Crisis, by W. Hayle	9
Coloured Education: Retreat from Opposition, by J. B. Booth	10

FOUNDATION WHITEWASH

by W. HASTINGS

IT IS NOW just over a year that the South African Foundation has got into stride with its programme to win friends and influence people overseas in favour of White South Africa. The question arises: what people, and to what end?

South Africa's strongest opponents at the United Nations are the newly emergent African and Asian states. The Foundation has not, however, lavished its attentions on these, but significantly, on those most ready to shield South Africa from the harsher blasts of world criticism—on Britain, Western Europe and the United States.

Opinion-Makers

The Foundation claims to have brought out to South Africa about thirty "opinion-makers" — leading financiers, industrialists, editors and parliamentarians, on three-week luxury tours. Its guests have come mainly from Britain but also from France, Belgium, Austria and Greece. The only one in any way resembling a representative of a newly emergent state has been Mr. P. Massemba, Minister of Economic Affairs and Planning in the Brazzaville Government. Quite obviously the Foundation is stalking far different and, from its point of view, bigger game. Later this year it expects to entertain Mr. Clarence Randall, American steel tycoon, adviser on foreign economics to United States presidents and in 1954 acclaimed "Business Statesman of the Year". It hopes also to receive no less a person than the Governor of the Bank of France, Jacques Brunet.

Man to Man

Besides sponsoring visits the Foundation has set in motion an MM (Man to Man) campaign, designed to enlist the support of South African Whites of foreign origin to promote the objects of the Foundation in their own countries. Seventeen MM committees of business and professional men have been set up with parallel committees in their home countries, the United States, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland.

In all this South Africa's non-Whites are not without their special role. The Foundation has made informal approaches to "non-political" leaders of the Coloured, Indian and African communities and

aims to set up MM clubs among them to "assist the MM Committees in their international goodwill programme". By this means, no doubt, the Foundation hopes to bring its overseas visitors into touch with uncommitted and moderate Africans, Indians and Coloureds, in preference to militants of the Freedom struggle. They will also, it seems, be candidates for lengthy tours abroad, as in the case of Mr. G. Golding, president of the Coloured Peoples' National Union, whom the Foundation sent to lecture on South Africa in Britain, and who is to spend a year in the United States to speak on radio and television. There are plans also to send an African to lecture in Britain.

Why, it may be asked, are such efforts being exerted to win the good opinion of the West where, as it is, White South Africa is not altogether friendless? Why has the Foundation set up offices in London and Munich, and not in Cairo, Accra or New Delhi?

Money and Markets

The answer is quite clear if one remembers that the Foundation came into being after Sharpeville. It was the response of big business in South Africa to plunging share markets, the flight of capital following on the declaration of a state of emergency and threats of boycott from overseas. It aims to convince would-be investors in the affluent societies of the West that South Africa is still a safe and profitable avenue for investment. To this end it seeks to create an image of a prosperous, stable South Africa indefinitely yielding high dividends for foreign capital. Through the mass media of the press, radio, television and film it hopes to influence the general public, but in particular the monied interests of these countries.

The Foundation claims to be channelling "positive South African material primarily financial, industrial and economic" through a "non-profit making and independent industrial news organisation in Britain" thereby expecting to "establish the clear identity of British and South African economic interests". In a review of recent economic developments in the Republic it mentions, inter alia, "new agreements" between the South African Atomic Energy Board and the Combined Development Agency of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for the exploi-

tation of South African uranium. The same document points to "favourable developments" including the steady rise of wholesale and retail prices in South Africa and the gigantic Orange River Development Project which is to be financed locally with "temporary financial assistance from abroad" (i.e. foreign loans) to the tune of R460,000,000.

The Bondage of Votes

Its economic concern is evident too from its distribution of an address by Dr. Anton Rupert to the African Affairs Society of America in New York last April, "I Plead for my Country and its Peoples". In urging investment in South Africa he emphasises her economic prosperity in comparison with the rest of Africa. He gives as reasons for this that South Africa has not imposed on her people the "bondage" of one man one vote and that she enjoys a social pattern beneficial to economic growth, being a "pyramid" society which limits room at the top. Having reminded his hearers that American companies doing business in South Africa are averaging profits of 27 per cent. he launched into the sphere of international politics giving an assurance that South Africa is so immune to Communism that even if Europe and the rest of Africa were to turn to it, South Africa would remain within "the Pax Americana". This differs somewhat from the hysterical views of our Minister of Justice but otherwise his line of argument and selection of facts resemble very much those of the powers that be, the South African Information Service and Messrs. Eric Louw and Brand Fourie at the United Nations.

In "selling" South Africa abroad, the Foundation finds it convenient to propagate the same view. Inevitably it finds its objects best served by giving general assent to the status quo. It is just possible that the financial interests that give it birth MIGHT, after Sharpeville, have chosen a different course. They might have exerted sustained pressure for major internal changes of policy to win back confidence for investment from abroad. Their failure to do so ties them, and so also the Foundation, to the aiding and abetting actively or passively, of the whole gamut of repressive laws, backed by massive arms, by which a surface calm is being maintained in South Africa today.

This year's session of the world body must plan

UNITED NATIONS ACTION on SOUTH WEST AFRICA

says *JARIRETUNDU KOZONGUIZI*, president of the South West African National Union and United Nations petitioner.

YET another chapter has opened in the story of South West Africa, this one more packed with incident and characters than usual. This year the United Nations discussions will grapple not only with the usual debates and resolutions but also with the aftermath of the details of the ill-fated Carpio mission. This, if it achieved little else has served to highlight the stubborn intransigence of the South African Government and to underline more sharply than ever the United Nations problem: how to get *action* on the South West African issue. And this year the South West African case occupies the stage not only at the United Nations but at the Hague, before the International Court of Justice.

The U.N. General Assembly will have to answer several vital questions this year. These are: How far has the Special Committee on South West Africa been able to implement last year's resolution? In the light of the Carpio-de Alva affair and South Africa's handling of this mission, are there still chances for a negotiated settlement with South Africa? Should the United Nations wait for the judgement of the International Court before deciding what action to take against South Africa? How can resolutions make way for action?

That Carpio Mission

The background to the Carpio mission is that for 15 years the United Nations appealed to South Africa to allow a visiting mission into the former mandate. The 1950 advisory opinion of the International Court said South Africa still had an obligation to account to the international community for her administration of the territory; from 1953 until this year a United Nations Committee has prepared reports on the territory; a "good offices" commission worked from 1946 to 1958 trying, and failing, to find a basis for a negotiated solution; and in 1961 a UN Committee, chaired by Professor Fabregat, was barred entry to the territory, with the connivance of the British government. Last December the United Nations dissolved the Fabregat Committee and appointed a new one with Vittorio Carpio of the Philippines as chairman and Dr. Martinez de Alva of Mexico as vice-chairman.

The Carpio committee was given specific objectives: to visit the country before May 1, 1962; to evacuate the military forces of South Africa; to release political prisoners; to prepare for general elections in South West Africa based on adult suffrage, and under the supervision of the UN, and so on.

Long before the Carpio mission ever tried to enter South West Africa I protested against the basic weakness of the resolution which stipulated that the mission should achieve its objectives "in consultation with the mandatory power".

For, contrary to expectation (it was thought that South Africa would have nothing to do with the resolution) South Africa decided to precipitate matters in her own way and favour. Dr. Verwoerd extended a conditional invitation to the chairman and vice-chairman of the new UN Committee on S.W. Africa. Prior to

this there had been talks between Mr. Carpio, the chairman, and Mr. Fourie, then South African Permanent Representative at the United Nations. The conditions stipulated that the chairman and vice-chairman would not raise during their visit to South Africa any of the objectives for which the Committee was specifically established. Yet the Committee accepted the invitation on those terms.

In my view the Committee should have rejected the invitation or should at least have insisted that the whole Bureau of the committee (chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteur, from Somalia) go. It will be recalled that this year one of the United Nations committees decided not to visit Angola after the Portuguese had indicated its willingness to allow the Committee in only if two members (Bulgaria and Guinea) were excluded.

Arriving in South Africa the representatives of the Committee (Carpio and De Alva) were once more outwitted by the South African authorities. According to De Alva they were made to agree to the issuance of a joint communiqué with the South African Prime Minister at the end of the visit. It appears this was set as the condition for being allowed to visit S.W. Africa.

The most controversial paragraph in the joint communiqué is the following:

"... at the request of the Prime Minister both the chairman and vice-chairman gave their impressions gained during their ten days' visit to the territory. They stated that in the places visited they had found no evidence and heard no allegations that there was a threat to international peace and security within South West Africa; that there were signs of militarism in the territory; or that the indigenous population was being exterminated. . . ."

Both the South African and overseas press played up this paragraph, concluding that the South African Government had been whitewashed. UN delegates were stunned and rumours of bribery were rife. But chairman Carpio remained silent until he reached Cairo, where his new post as Ambassador was at stake. Then he categorically denied any knowledge or association with the joint communiqué. Conveniently he avoided all South Africans there including the representative of the South West Africa National Union. In New York Mr. Carpio stated that he did not make a statement while he was in South Africa for fear of his life—and as a matter of fact, he added, he had been poisoned.

He spoke of having had coffee with the Prime Minister.

The Communique

The wickedness of that communiqué is not in that it was issued at all but in its irrelevance to the issues at stake and the calculated omission of the facts. It was completely silent on the policy and practice of apartheid, the extent of its effects on the African population, and ultimately on the country itself. No opinion was given on the denial of political rights and the exploitation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of S.W. Africa for the good of a minority of South African settlers. These are the issues that form the basis of the case against South African administration in South West Africa.

With regard to the points mentioned in the communiqué, suffice here to say that nobody could sensibly expect, in the circumstances under which the visit took place, that there could be overt incidents to demonstrate that the situation was a threat to peace and security. Incidents usually take place at the provocation and more often on the initiative of the South African officials in S.W. Africa: these were at the time under strict orders, for a change and for the time being, to behave themselves. The white policemen, for instance, who are normally armed, did not even carry batons during the visit. Africans meeting the visitors were free to demonstrate in any numbers for the duration of the visit and could even enter the "whites only" Grand Hotel to see the UN visitors. (After the visitors had left some who had spoken to the UN men were summarily dismissed by their employers at the instigation of the South African police.) In one day 25 members of the South West Africa National Union, including five members of the National Executive Committee, were arrested and charged with "holding a procession".

Furthermore, South Africa could not

have troops stationed in South West Africa having extended an invitation to the UN Committee to visit the territory. According to the documents submitted by the chairman and vice-chairman to the United Nations, people in Ovamboland had told them that the troops which were there in 1961 had been removed in 1962. No word was said about the military base at Walvis Bay. South Africa claims that Walvis Bay is part of their territory. The people of South West Africa reject that completely. In any case, the remotest point of S.W. Africa is only a matter of hours away from South Africa's military might.

The point on the extermination of the African population is as irrelevant as the others to our present case. What we have said at the United Nations, and it is a fact, is that the rate of population growth and the life expectancy of the Africans in South West Africa are much lower than that of the white settler. This we maintain is a direct outcome of the appalling conditions under which the Africans are forced to live by the South African administration.

Thus the communiqué was irrelevant to the case, just as its contents were devoid of any factual basis.

When the Carpio mission came under review at the United Nations I demanded that the Special Committee trace the origin of the communiqué, and dispose of it systematically rather than ignore it as was done by resolution of the UN Special Committee. Tackling the communiqué would have cut the ground from under the feet of South Africa; instead South Africa has been provided with something to hang on to in the debates.

As for the respective positions taken by Carpio and De Alva on the issue of the communiqué the latter seems more truthful. But his admitted role in the drafting and presentation of the communiqué with all the shortcomings we have pointed out is a caution against any trust being placed in him. Indeed his role ought to be vehemently assailed.

Carpio appears to be not only unreliable but to have taken up a dishonest position as well. He has admitted that he saw beforehand the memorandum on which the communiqué was based, but he did nothing as chairman to prevent its adoption, let alone its publication (that is if his disclaimer can be accepted). He was in South Africa for about a week after the publication of the communiqué, but did not disavow his association with it then.

In his letter from Cairo to the under-secretary for trusteeship affairs in which he explained his position on the communiqué, the highly important element of his being poisoned is not mentioned. He said it only in New York for the first time. There is no alternative but to condemn Carpio's role without reservation if for nothing else than the fact that he saw a memorandum to a dangerous communiqué and its publication, and allowed it to cause confusion which has done much harm to the case of South West Africa which he, under the protective atmosphere of the United Nations, claims to champion.

Enough of the Carpio and De Alva affair and communiqué.

Parting of the Ways

Two lessons emerge clearly from the communiqué debacle:

- As far as any negotiated settlement is concerned, South Africa and the United Nations have parted company.
- The clever manoeuvring on the part of South Africa should convince the United Nations that more attention has to be given to the question of implementation rather than to the mere passing of resolutions.

Up to now the United Nations has appealed to South Africa to co-operate, has appointed committees of investigation into South West African conditions, and has tried to negotiate. The great majority of countries in the world, their governments

and people abhor what South Africa is doing in South West Africa. The Whites in South West Africa have been forced to think about the future of the country, and are very conscious that their role is under attack. But this is where the achievement of the United Nations ends. Mounting world opinion has not changed the situation in South West Africa. South Africa is more firmly based and consolidated there than ever.

The Legal Case

The South West African case is before the International Court of Justice at the present time. Liberia and Ethiopia charge that South Africa has violated the mandate and are asking the Court to declare so, and to order that the position be rectified. In the meantime South Africa has filed preliminary objections querying the com-

(Continued on page 11)

KOZONGUIZI ON UNITY

WHILE WE HOPE for action against South Africa launched from abroad, no change can come about in South West Africa without a strong movement of the people there. Unity is a pre-requisite for a strong political movement.

This has been expressed through various recommendations on unity by South West Africans abroad, conveyed to the organisations at home. In South West Africa SWANU has approached SWAPO leaders on the unity question, just as SWAPO leaders abroad have broached the idea of unity with SWANU.

The idea of one political organisation for South West Africa is a good one, and would be most effective for launching positive action against the forces of oppression. But to shout "One Party" from the rooftops, and particularly from abroad, is easy; to bring about this unity one must leave it to those on the spot.

The "one party" plan formulated by Mburumba Kerina, formerly of SWAPO was ill-conceived. Kerina's own associates in SWAPO were not in favour of his moves, though they stood by the Accra unity declaration signed by Nujoma and myself; and steps towards unity seemed senseless if they were not acceptable to the elements concerned with unity.

Apart from the two political organisations there are various tribal groupings which must be reconciled to bring them together in one organisation.

The idea of one party is feasible insofar as SWAPO and SWANU have constituted executive committees and memberships. Support from the

Chiefs must be solicited at a different level.

Political organisations should strive to convert government stooge chiefs into progressive heads of tribes; to solicit the good offices of the well-disposed chiefs to influence their followers to join the political bodies (and not for the parties to join the tribal council), while allowing the political bodies organising latitude to canvass support among tribespeople; to link the various tribal groups into a national group through the assertion of a national sentiment as opposed to a tribal one; to lead the national movement in the struggle for liberation.

In South West Africa unity at this stage can be achieved along the following lines:

- SWAPO and SWANU will have to come together to decide on a form of unity. This can be either in the form of merging the parties into one organisation, or establishing an executive committee council with members from the executives of the two organisations — a united front.
- The establishment of a Council of Chiefs bringing together all the anti-government chiefs in South West Africa for the purpose of giving political support to the political movement.
- The SWANU-SWAPO front to launch a common programme of positive action while continuing to draw support from the anti-government chiefs either in Council or individually; and at the same time using its good offices to promote unity amongst the various Chiefs.

Two Monopoly Giants, No Third Force

by G. FASULO

THERE are two giant economic groupings in the South African economy. The mining houses are dominated by Oppenheimer's Anglo-American empire (R2,000 million) and are closely linked with foreign capital in South Africa (R3,077 million). On the other side are ranged state-supported farmers' capital (R? m.) in close Nat.-directed alliance with state capital (more than R2,917m.) and Nat. capital (more than R627m.).

Politically it is well known that the first grouping supports policies ranging from U.P. to Progressive while the second grouping is the economic base of the Nationalists.

In the end both policies are White supremacist, but the differences between Nats. and U.P.s and especially Progressives are considerable. Political realists bear in mind at all times the importance of their opponents' splits.

Is there any real basis for the political differences between the two great groupings or are these historical accidents? Is there any possibility of a third, more progressive, anti colour-bar group arising among the ruling class?

The Groups Differ

There are social and economic differences which underline the political differences between the big groupings. Mining and foreign capital have very strong links with the rest of Africa and overseas countries and they are strongly influenced by social and political developments there. Oppenheimer has indicated that he would like to end the migratory labour system for at least a part of his labour force in order to obtain higher productivity from a settled working class. Concessions to the Africans are a necessary part of the economic and social policies of this grouping. They are confident of their ability to continue to rule through their wealth and influence, especially in the means of mass communication, even in a more democratic bourgeois parliamentary system.

The second great monopolistic grouping cannot and will not consider any concessions. The farmers' production is based on the most vicious relations of production in the country such as the tot system, labour tenancy, farm jails, the compound system at Bethal, etc. Any democratic advances by the Non-White masses would completely disrupt these customs and relations, drastically decrease the degree of exploitation and no doubt lead to a major change in the ownership of the land. This is the reason why the farmers are the most

IN PREVIOUS articles several concentrations of economic power in South Africa have been dealt with. The political consequences of this analysis are discussed in this final article. It is argued that no "progressive capitalists" are possible because all the smaller businesses are dominated by one or the other of the two great groupings made up of mining and foreign capital and of Nat., state, and farmers' capital, and both of these are, in the final analysis, reactionary. There are economic and political differences between the two big groupings which may be important at times however. The existence of a vast sector of state capital and the great extent of state interference in the South African economy means that a democratic government will have the possibility of immediately and effectively carrying out its social and economic policies provided it has a well thought out programme and competent people ready to direct the work.

reactionary force in the country and always have been.

Nat. control of state capital and their use of it to enrich themselves depends upon the continuance of their monopoly of political power. Any significant concessions would immediately threaten this and therefore the Nat. capitalists and civil servants are another solidly and unlimitedly reactionary section of the population.

The political differences between the two groupings are real and deeply rooted and the possibility of making use of these differences at times by taking a different approach to the two groupings must be borne in mind.

No Independent Force

No independent, progressive capitalist third force is possible. Only the very largest capitalist groups are strong enough to take a lead in the affairs of the rulers, and to make use of the major channels of

propaganda to propagate their views on a mass scale. There are no really giant groups outside the mining and Nat. groupings. Even the biggest remaining groups such as the Schlesinger group or the Frames group are pygmies by the standards which matter in this respect.

No real leader can arise for any small business men who might genuinely wish to see democracy in South Africa. The smaller businesses are also strongly dependent on the two big groupings. The Nats. control state contracts and state aid which can make or break any smaller business. Mining and foreign capital have vast investments in secondary industry, provide the main market for much of industry and commerce and control most of the banking and insurance funds in the country. Any small business man who runs counter to the wishes of the two giants will be wiped out very quickly, and they all know it. This is the reason that the appeals of people like Solly Sachs, in the past, and Ralph Horwitz and the *Forum* today, to the business community to remove the colour bar fall on deaf ears.

Patterns of Planning

The pattern of economic power which the Nationalists have built in South Africa has advantages in the long run despite the fact that it constitutes one of the biggest obstacles on the road to democracy. A democratic government would immediately take over the whole of state capital and the economic activities of the government departments. This will give a democratic government control of most of heavy industry, the whole of the transportation system and a great deal of other industry. Through the control boards and co-operatives it will have a great deal of power in agriculture. It will also take over some experienced economic planning bodies such as those which have planned the Orange River Project, the Tugela Valley Development Scheme, border industry development, the Iscor and other expansions. This planning machinery can be used to draw up plans based on quite different progressive and democratic ideas and designed to help the poor and oppressed sections of the population to emerge from poverty, ignorance and disease and not, like the present plans, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The financial resources of the state and the technical resources of state capital will be available to carry out these plans.

It seems certain that the political struggles leading to democracy will involve

(Continued on page 12)

THE PEBBLE IN THE RICE

★

Zeke Mphahlele writes on
SOUTHERN RHODESIA

★

THE day I left Salisbury, Joshua Nkomo arrived from Dar es Salaam. He found the police waiting at the airport to whisk him off to Plumtree where he was going to be restricted within a radius of three miles for three months. His return had long been awaited. Several Africans were already talking of "betrayal"; others were saying that he had been an embarrassment to Kenneth Kaunda when he was in Lusaka, seemingly not sure whether he should return immediately to his country. Questions were being asked: Is Nkomo a real leader? Can he take punishment? Can he inspire more than the outward visible signs of nationalist determination? Was the social worker in him still a predominant factor?

Nkomo had formed a committee of four in "Dar" by the time he returned; a committee lead by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, writer of *African Nationalism*. The authorities have the situation well under control, to put it in their jargon. The indignation of the Africans at the banning of ZAPU (the Zimbabwe African People's Union) was played down by the government and the police for obvious reasons.

Formula for Repression

I had arrived in Salisbury to see familiar scenes: convoys of land rovers, lorries filled with police and soldiers, the airport and other strategic points guarded by soldiers and so on. And my insides had turned. The stimulus-response process can almost be reduced to a mathematical formula in Africa, so often has one been through it and read accounts of it: a headstrong fascist White minority; the rape of the Black man's rights; the rise of African resistance; bannings and the outlawing of African political organisations; arrests — a recurring decimal. Territorial troops, the air force, and the Southern Rhodesian police had been called out by Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Southern Rhodesian Premier, in anticipation of trouble that might result from the banning of ZAPU.

The Unlawful Organisations Act had been rushed through Parliament and invoked to make it impossible for leaders of a banned organisation to form a new one under another name. Instead of banning the leaders, as Verwoerd does, Whitehead simply makes it illegal for them to form another body. But the effect is the same.

Nkomo rushed out of the country just when arson and beatings-up had begun and

thus avoided being restricted together with the others. No fewer than 110 ZAPU men have been restricted, including two lecturers at the University College, who are former members of the banned ZAPU. (The Premier has ruled that it is illegal for anyone to say someone is a member of ZAPU.) The men are Mr. John Reed and Dr. Terence Ranger.

More than 1,000 Africans have been arrested since the demonstration of indignation began. The police are reported to have been brutal and reckless during the arrests. They crashed into houses when they found them locked. They still patrol the townships of Harare and Old Highfields with arrogance and a skittish bravado. Protecting law-abiding Africans, preventing intimidation, purging the townships of loafers and hooligans — that's the stock justification of the presence of heavily-armed troops and police amidst defenceless communities. There is an absurd irony in the fact that where the constitution is heavily weighted in favour of one group and against another, and therefore the only methods the underprivileged can use to overthrow such a constitution must needs be illegal, intimidation is inevitable. And when Whitehead announces steps against intimidation, it must sound to any man schooled in orthodox politics as if right were on his side. But who said coercion was an African monopoly?

Comfort of the Police

Now that ZAPU has *fallen* (to italicise my bewilderment at his use of the word), Sir Edgar Whitehead said in a broadcast to the "nation", there was a vacuum. This vacuum, he said, should be filled by something *positive*. About three days later the first "positive step" was announced. Simply this: in the next fortnight Cabinet Ministers, including the Premier, would address more than 100 meetings designed to explain to rural Africans the reasons behind the recent events, and what they might expect in the future. The *Rhodesia Herald* commented with a fat smugness: "The campaign is . . . to counter the effects of manoeuvrings by African nationalist agitators who have been striving to poison the minds of people whose understanding of the aims and ambitions of Pan-Africanism is severely limited by their own gullibility." That clinches Sir Edgar Whitehead's "positiveness". To cap the inanity of it all, the paper said further: "There must be sympathetic understanding of the difficulties facing the rural African who, frequently, is miles away from the *comforting presence of policemen and*

Native Department officials." (My italics.)

What can one make of the present situation? For all Welensky's blustering talk, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is tottering on its short legs. He will soon be out of a job, and the small kraal of the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia will soon have to accommodate two rival knights or bust — Sir Edgar and Sir Roy. Come the day of the long lances, the party may split. It is now well known that when Sir Edgar wanted to remove the running sore that is the Land and Apportionment Act (the equivalent to the Land and Trust Act of 1935 in South Africa), Sir Roy wrote him a letter opposing the repeal. So the Act is still hanging about. What has happened is that the rural areas have been opened up for "mixed" habitation, but in the towns, residential areas remain segregated. Only business and commercial premises are procurable by Africans in town. And because of poverty, not many Africans are likely to move into the "open" rural areas.

Sever the Thin Cord

Nyasaland is as adamant as ever, and there remains but a thin cord to be severed before she is out of the Federation. There is no communication, no dialogue now between Dr. Banda's government and the Federal authorities; Mr. Kanyama Chiume, Minister of Education, has removed eight Nyasa students from the University College in Salisbury on the grounds that "they were being brain-washed". A commercial house in Rhodesia sent £3,000 to Nyasaland for some project or other, and Dr. Banda sent it back: no donations from a firm in the Federation. A South African firm bought expensive advertising space in *Malawi News*, weekly organ of the ruling Malawi Congress Party: the advertisement appeared once and then the newspaper scrapped the deal. Malawi Congress Party has nothing but unadulterated contempt for Southern Rhodesian authorities. As it is, there is much closer contact and consultation between Kaunda and Nkomo than between either of them and Banda.

So much at the Federal level. What is the future of nationalist resistance in Southern Rhodesia? If ZAPU goes underground, a long and bitter struggle will ensue that will wreck the chances of the European here to enjoy life in a non-racial society. Even the Whites who sympathise with ZAPU will not be able to inject commonsense into the ruling class. But can ZAPU sustain underground activities? Frankly, I think not — not just yet. It is not experienced enough for this, even

THE PEBBLE IN THE RICE

By
ZEKE MPHAHLELE

(Continued from previous page)

allowing for its previous existence as the African National Congress and later as the National Democratic Party. And from what one can see, there would merely be undisciplined, ineffectual acts of arson such as have been going on these last few days.

Bones to Chew

The fact is that Whitehead sees a non-racial government coming, with an African majority. He has admitted this, although he suffers from far-sightedness and dates the event 15 years from now! He has been trying to postpone the day by throwing a bone at a time for the chewing. For instance, cinemas are desegregated, so are three hotels (where very few Africans go anyhow), while most restaurants and eating houses where Africans can afford to go, are closed to them. The City Council has closed the swimming baths rather than obey Federal orders to open them to all races. But if Federation cracked up as it is certain it will do, Southern Rhodesian Whites are going to sharpen their teeth, ready to "protect their civilised standards", with their backs to the wall. They will certainly feel called upon to blame their condition of isolation on Britain's betrayal of the White man's trust. And yet, strangely enough, they don't have the tough fibre and fanatic conviction which would be needed for them to last the pace set by South African Whites if they linked up with the friends across the Limpopo. Notice the half-hearted three months' ban on the leaders of ZAPU.

No doubt, ZAPU has bungled things and shown a total lack of experience. They had succeeded in whipping up enthusiasm among their adherents sufficient to drive them into the general present-day mood of Pan-Africanism. Also, Nkomo did magnificent lobbying in the African countries which earned him their full support at UNO. But these gains cannot be a substitute for political strategy and wisdom in a country with a White settler population. To connive at arson and intimidation conducted by the youth so early in its development as a political movement without either the experience to contain such acts and use them in a positive way or the presence of a basic South African type of irresistible force on the side of authority, was plain folly on ZAPU'S part.

The events leading to and including the ban clearly show that ZAPU and White authority overestimated each other's strength, and the situation is grotesquely tragic, particularly in the light of what I

was told by a most perceptive African journalist who is writing a political work about Southern Rhodesia. It is that ZAPU would have been content, for a start, to work for the breakdown of the two-thirds majority the Whites enjoy in Parliament (50:15). Once they made White majority ineffective on certain issues, they could drive in a wedge to win over a few more who are not dedicated to the cause of White supremacy. My informant told me that the government would now most likely sponsor an African party to take the place of ZAPU. But ZAPU's former adherents, he asserts, need to form a movement to operate on the surface, because public meetings were the most convenient way of arousing and sustaining enthusiasm. It would necessarily have to exclude the banned leaders.

Thin at the Top?

Leadership in Southern Rhodesia has been operating on a very weak intellectual base owing to the scarcity of manpower in the professions. It is only since recently that Africans have been sent overseas to study in something like a fair-sized batch. It is significant that most of the outstanding persons among the crop of educated men here were trained at Adams College in Natal and Fort Hare (before the cloud of Bantu Education descended on them). Only two secondary schools, for instance, serve the large African complex that comprises Harare, Highfields and Mufakose townships. And these schools only go as far as Form 2 and are headed by Whites. There are a few mission secondary schools scattered over the country. Girls have largely been denied the opportunity of higher primary education, to say nothing of secondary schooling. For many years now the policy of the education department has been to allow only top-grade passers in Std. 3 to proceed to Std. 4. This has meant that only very few pupils ever reach secondary school. Thus the South African system of ruthlessly cutting down on numbers in Std. 2 and later in Std. 6 has been practised without the legislative fanfare of the South African parliament. The reason has always been that there are not enough secondary schools to accommodate large numbers. On the other hand, European education has been very well looked after — too well for the few thousand Whites in the Federation. European education in these territories is financed from the Federal treasury, while African education is a territorial responsibility. The manner

in which White politicians like Sir Roy Welensky gloat over the thinness of the African intellectual and literacy layers, which he conveniently uses as an index of the Black man's slowness in catching up with civilisation, is most sickening.

A White right-wing party has been formed to succeed the defunct Dominion Party which upheld segregation. This is the Rhodesian Front: the same old tattered clothes, the same old cockeyed views, and sterile outlandish politics. There is one African in the Front, to add local colour. The African counterpart of this is the Pan-African Socialist Union although the two have nothing to do with each other. The Union would like to see exclusively Black rule.

The Force of Leadership

It remains to be seen what UNO's committee on colonialism will do to try to knock some sense into the Whites in Southern Rhodesia. Joshua Nkomo and his lieutenants will have to use the period of their ban for hard thinking and study. The law forbids their forming another movement; so they have now, in any case, to rely on political strategy rather than slogans and public applause. In the absence of a truly seasoned leader who inspires *profound* respect, they have to build up a leadership. From UNO's performance in the Congo and in relation to South West Africa, it does not seem as if the world organisation will ever possess the machinery to carry out its resolutions where there is a probability of the use of force. So the Africans of Rhodesia will have to outgrow the illusion that either Britain or UNO will help them win their freedom. Something tells me that it would be a great blunder if ZAPU launched acts of sabotage. I don't say this out of any urge for passive resistance or belief in non-violence and all that kind of religious clap-trap. It is pure commonsense. To see the police and troops prancing and driving about skittishly makes one feel that they believe that they are operating in a revolutionary situation. In this mood they are capable of pillaging in the name of "law and order". It would be something to write home about. In fact, the way in which Southern Rhodesians take one another seriously — out of all proportion to the actual strength and resilience either side has — makes the whole situation grotesque. There is no irresistible force and immovable object in the country, such as can be said to exist in South Africa. On the other hand, Britain's reluctance to assume responsibility in this "self-governing colony" will lead to unnecessary suffering. Even if Mr. Butler, Minister in charge of Central African Affairs, decides to dismantle the Federation, Southern Rhodesia will remain a pebble in a mouthful of rice for Britain. We come back to the same old problem: what needs so badly to be done by external intervention won't happen, because the powers that could intervene with effect are so heavily economically committed in the Rhodesias, South Africa and elsewhere. Also, the African nations are too poor to act even as a bloc. They are united in UNO and divided in Africa.

DOLLARS, NOT MISSILES

BEHIND THE CUBAN CRISIS

THE ABILITY of the organs of capitalist propaganda to stand truth on its head induces feelings of desperation in people who hold out against the deluge. Thus, in our press, the electioneering Kennedy, who brought us all to the very brink of extinction, becomes the "hero" who has cried halt to "aggression"; while Khrushchev, who in time to come will be revered as the saviour of life on earth is described as "bellicose" and "belligerent". The US has bases in 35 countries throughout the world, including Turkey, with missiles aimed at the heart of the Soviet Union, yet the "Star" writes of Soviet "pressures round the world becoming more numerous . . . time to call a halt."

The purpose of this article is to attempt to set out briefly some of the bare facts of the recent world crisis.

At the heart lies the question of self-determination. The United States has always regarded Latin America as her economic hunting-ground, and reserved the right to act as policeman, to approve or disprove of governments, to intervene by force if necessary.

The policeman's job was to protect property. US investments in South America are immense. Over one-third of US foreign investments are there, a total of about 9,000 million dollars. Between 1946 and 1956, US monopolies got 3.17 dollars for every dollar invested in Latin America, and shipped out profits amounting to 5,600 million dollars. Among other things, most of the services like electricity and power belong to US companies, and Latin American countries must pay US prices both for these and for the raw materials produced by US companies in their own countries.

Military Aid

There is more. US aid, through the so-called "mutual security programme", is distributed by a number of organisations. The basic element of the "mutual security programme" is military aid. The twelve Latin American countries with mutual aid and defence agreements with the US spend from 9 to 10 dollars of their own for every aid dollar received. This is a US gold mine, since 85 to 90 per cent of the US budgetary allocations go to pay for orders with them. Thus the bulk of the cost of military aid dollars is poured back into the US economy.

These, and not missile bases, are the hard facts behind the crisis.

In 50 years of formal independence, Cuba never emerged from dependency on the US; the symbol of this, the US naval base in Guantánamo, remains; but the substance of the dependency has gone.

Cuba's principle industry, sugar, was largely operated by US corporations, and depended nearly exclusively on US markets. Telephone and telegraph services, electric



"One thing is certain: Planes and guns won't solve the problem of Cuba and Latin America and they will bring disaster and shame to our country (U.S.). It is time for the United States to return to the principles on which it was founded. It is time for the United States to begin to practice the democracy it preaches."

—Leo Huberman, June 1961.

"Imagine the task of those who undertake to tell the truth to the people of the U.S., where public opinion has for years been under a ceaseless deluge of propaganda—films, the big press, the great radio and TV networks engaged in a veritable contest of falsehood and hysteria. Imagine the difficulty of bringing this public opinion back to reason." —Fidel Castro.



power, petrol, radio and TV sets, consumer goods and a large proportion of the country's food were all supplied by US business.

This was not all the US supplied to Cuba.

"Gangsters, gamblers and shady operators of all kinds invaded Havana from New York, Chicago, Miami and turned it into a preserve and amusement park of the American underworld. Consecutive dictators closely connected with US business interests, participating directly or through stooges in a multitude of crooked deals promoted by Yankee speculators, acted as US Gauleiters in Cuba and were at the beck and call of the American Ambassador. As Mr. Kennedy nostalgically remarked, the Ambassador holding office in

Havana in 1957 told him that he, the Ambassador, was 'the second most powerful man in Cuba'. The Ambassador under-estimated his position." — (Paul A. Baran in "Reflections on the Cuban Revolution", *Monthly Review*, January, 1961.)

Batista

The US backed the criminally corrupt and terribly cruel Batista dictatorship in Cuba. Vice-President Nixon commended Batista's "stability and efficiency". Efficient he was, in killing opposition and suppressing all freedom, while maintaining a system of great riches and infinite poverty. But stable—no. The Revolutionary Government, under Fidel Castro, took power on January 1st 1959, by which act they toppled not simply Batista, but all US interests; and shook, not only the United States, but all Latin America.

Even so, Castro himself had at that time limited objectives. It was more than two years later that he first characterised the Cuban revolution as socialist. US hostility was the "powerful catalyst" that pushed Cuba towards socialism. The Cuban government learned what all other underdeveloped countries are learning—that their choice lies between capitalist imperialism, the cause of all their ills, and socialism, the cure. To accomplish their aims, Cuban revolutionaries found they had to discard the system of exploitation.

In May, 1960, the US cut off all economic aid to Cuba. Two months later, they cut the Cuban sugar quota, to disrupt Cuba's foreign trade. Then they placed an embargo on exports to Cuba, while dropping arms to counter-revolutionary bands. In January, 1961, the US broke off diplomatic relations following a Cuban request that the US Embassy in Havana be reduced. The State Department advised US citizens to leave Cuba, and banned travel to Cuba by Americans.

Finally, last year, the US government openly backed and helped prepare the ill-fated invasion of Cuba which met disaster at the Bay of Pigs.

Thorn in the side

So Cuba has become, to the United States, a monstrous thorn, the socialist David challenging the capitalist giant and winning the unequal struggle. Only a short while ago, Castro could not have lasted a month if the US wished to topple him. But the Cuban revolution took place in a

(Continued on page 11)

RETREAT FROM OPPOSITION?

THE education of the Coloured section of our population seems doomed to the same fate that the Africans have suffered under "Bantu" education. This is part of the overall plan of the Nationalist Govt. to control the minds of all. But what is alarming is that there is apparently to be no real opposition from the Coloureds to this policy of calculated indoctrination for subservience.

The defeat of anti-baasskap candidates in recent School Committee elections in the Cape, and the announcement that the Teachers' Education and Professional Association (TEPA) has decided *not* to oppose the transfer of Coloured education to the Coloured Affairs Department seem to be symptoms of capitulation.

Pattern of Retreat

More than a year ago, plans were drafted for a fight against transfer.

Anti-Transfer Committees (ATAC) were set up in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and elsewhere, and began a campaign of protest and education of parents in preparation for the projected transfer. It seems that for once a campaign was being mounted well in advance of the danger, so that it would be reasonably well-prepared to cope. On to the ATAC committees came sympathetic bodies like the Liberal Party, Black Sash and the Civil Rights League, with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) playing a leading role.

Now, all that is left apparently, are the *sympathetic* organisations. But bodies representing the teachers, parents and students—the people who are directly affected—are conspicuously absent.

The Teachers' League of South Africa, which together with the other segments of the Non-European Unity Movement, made anti-transfer one of its main campaigning plans, is completely absent. This may be simply because of their customary insularity or obscurantism, but it is noteworthy that they have not, on their own, conducted anything which has made a significant impact on the parents, teachers and pupils.

It would be reasonable to expect that, as a result of their many years of "educating the people" on precisely this subject, they should now be able to reap the biggest reward for the work done. But nothing of the sort has happened. It is true that they have been able to have their viewpoint represented on several school committees in

the Cape, but it is also true that they have failed to win seats in several other committee elections.

The pattern seems to be one of retreat. And the pattern for the future will follow that of Bantu education. Dismissals of teachers, expulsions, the closing down of

By
J. B. BOOTH

schools, a general process of retardation of education, while indoctrination will proceed apace.

Teachers and Carpet-Baggers

The fact that the Coloured section have tended to place their faith in the leadership of teachers begins to take its toll. For teachers, by virtue of the fact that they draw their pay from the enemy, can often only go through the motions of resistance, while keeping an eye peeled for infringements of the innumerable ordinances which keep them in line.

And the emergence of a crop of Coloureds on the make—carpet-baggers of the new order—is a further handicap. These are men who seek a comfortable niche in the Nationalist order: themselves so servile or indifferent to the enslavement of others that they will seize at any opportunity to improve their own lot. *These are the men who emerge as "representatives" of the Coloureds.*

The Coloured People's Congress—which is much more firmly based among the mass of the Coloured people, started off well with leaflets and meetings attacking transfer to the C.A.D. But it has lapsed into its chronic dilatoriness (as with the Convention movement) has failed to attend ATAC meetings, let alone give it the lead it required.

The Liberal Party, after considerable

exertions, succeeded only in attracting a few people to its public meetings in the Cape.

Resistance from the Victims

What of the future? And where do we go from here?

It is unthinkable that the years of opposition to the Coloured Affairs Department and the very clear understanding that many Coloureds have of the programme of baasskap can simply evaporate into thin air. Resistance there will surely be—even if it has to come from the students—victims—themselves. It is certain that we shall see many expulsions, closing down of schools and all the other consequences of protest.

And the teachers, many of them already exposed to action because of their opposition, are the people who will be found "unsuitable for education" as hundreds of African teachers were found—some of them will surely continue the fight—there is nothing left for them to lose.

The Anti-Transfer Action Committees (ATAC) must continue to publicise the implications of the transfer and to give expression to the protests of the people: the need for it as a watchdog and a recorder of the iniquities of indoctrination will be even greater in the future when the system gets into gear.

New Platforms?

One other possibility must be considered.

When the stooge bodies are set up to control Coloured education, they will do so in the pretence that they represent the true voice of the Coloured section of the population. Should not the people ensure that these voices also give expression to their true feelings? With organisations proscribed (and more to follow), with the people intimidated and organisations scattered and ineffectual, should not these very "organisations representing the people" be used to give voice to the real opposition which is felt?

And could not these bodies be used as platforms to attack the vicious schemes which loom in the future?

Whatever happens, the fight must continue and means must be devised for this.

The present retreat must stop and a resolute stand must be made wherever possible against "education for baasskap".

Dollars, Not Missiles Behind Cuban Crisis

(Continued from page 9)

changed international setting. In the absence of a powerful bloc of socialist countries, they would have long ago been crushed. The assistance given Cuba by the Soviet Union, China, and by socialist countries of Europe is not simply "mutual aid". It is the very existence of this powerful socialist bloc which saved Cuba politically. Economically, it tided them over the fatal crisis imposed by the US embargoes. By supplying them with oil, the Soviet Union prevented their remaining suddenly without any kind of fuel. By opening their markets to Cuban sugar, the socialist countries saved Cuba's most important single industry. By granting Cuba credits and shipping to Cuba industrial and agricultural equipment, as well as by despatching to Cuba experts and technicians, they enabled the country to maintain and begin to develop its agricultural and industrial economy.

Stakes

And this is not all. It is not Khrushchev's pressures, as our papers state, but the existence of socialism that menaces US imperialism. Bad as it was in the past, at least it was confined to Europe and the Far East. Now it has spread to their very doorstep.

American corporations have too much at stake in Latin America, their interests are too great to tolerate this victory of the Cuban people.

The Cuban revolution stirs and divides every country of South America. Brazil, Argentina, Chile, all show evidence of the profound effect internally and in their foreign relations. Castro's speeches are heard all over the continent. Even the O.A.S. (Organisation of American States set up in 1948 as successor to the Pan-American Union, the basis of US hold in Latin America) refuses completely to toe the line.

How does the US justify its determination to overthrow the Cuban revolution? It accuses Castro of selling his country to the "Sino-Soviet bloc", the proof being the fact that Cuba now trades with socialist countries (as though it is by choice that Cuba now does so much of her trading with countries so far away. The solution is so simple: if the US restored the sugar quota and allowed US goods to sell freely in Cuba again, the socialist bloc would no longer have a monopoly of Cuban trade.) Even more outrageous, the US accused

Castro of betraying the Cuban revolution. The US State Department, backer of every really rotten and corrupt regime — of the puppet Franco, the hated Chiang Kai Sheks and Syngman Rhee's of the world — now sets itself up to judge the purity of revolutions.

"No one would deny that the presence of Communism in Latin America adds immensely to the difficulties facing the West," says the *Observer* (October 7th).

"But the real danger of Castro's Cuba is political, not military. His weapons are ideals, not missiles, and they cannot be kept out, either by the Monroe Doctrine or by force."

But what of the missile base?

"Soviet assistance in strengthening the defences of Cuba has been necessitated by the fact that the Cuban republic, from its very inception, has been subjected to continuous threats and provocations on the part of the United States" (Zorin).

The US created the crisis in the first place by announcing a blockade of Cuba; followed by the despatch of big armed forces, not only to the region around Cuba but directly to Cuban territory, the military base at Guantánamo. How can the US with its ring of missile bases round the world, cynically and hypocritically complain when a missile base is established in Cuba? For what purpose, and at what cost? The Soviet Union has visibly proved the ability of its war-heads, their power and accuracy, and the expense and pointlessness of shifting them to Cuba is understood by the US State Department as well as anyone. They have no need for sites beyond their own borders. Soviet assistance to Cuba, has been in the face of US blockades, embargoes, in the face of one armed invasion, and the constant threat of more.

In a dozen different countries, many of them on the borders of the Soviet Union, the US gives military and technical aid to governments and even builds air and missile bases aimed at the USSR. What leads Americans — and many South Africans — to deny Castro the right to seek Soviet help in developing Cuban economy and bolstering Cuban military defences against the constant (and active) threat of attack?

"The real danger is political, not military . . . ideas, not missiles . . ."

Against this real danger, US imperialism has no defence. It is doomed. We know today that their time is now short. However, they may be spiritually destitute, but they are physically enormously powerful. They are prepared to plunge the world into obliteration, rather than see socialism triumph. This time, world pressures built up over the years through thousands of peace movements, together with Khrushchev's determination not to allow war to break out, has brought a temporary breathing-space.

Pressures for peace must be built into an invincible force. We may not have much time. It is not Cuba and Soviet missile bases which are at stake, but human life, our children, the future.

W. Hayle.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

(Continued from page 5)

petence of the Court. She claims that new facts have come to light since the advisory judgement of 1950.

The lawyers are through with their arguments on the preliminaries and judgement is expected in six weeks' time. If the Court upholds South Africa's position that should be the end of the present proceedings. If, on the other hand, the ruling goes against her, argument will start on the merits of the case and this is not expected to end before the end of 1963.

Is it thus clear that we cannot rely entirely on the legal action as this is bound to be protracted. Even then legal proceedings alone cannot be enough, or enforceable against a habitual delinquent like South Africa.

A Plan for Action

A new approach to the question is needed. All the resources of the United Nations must be concentrated on action against South Africa. I would like to see this year's UN session work along these lines:

The S.A. Administration in South West Africa should be condemned in the strongest of terms for gross negligence of its duties and obligations in regard to South West Africa under the mandate.

The most drastic action should be called for to force South Africa's removal from South West Africa, lock, stock and barrel, and to effect the transfer of the government to the people of South West Africa, through the United Nations.

For the sole purpose of planning compulsive action a UNITED NATIONS ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE should be appointed:

- To study all possible measures that can effectively be imposed by the United Nations including sanctions, economic and otherwise against South Africa; and
- to make positive recommendations to the Security Council in favour of such measures not later than a date to be stipulated, in any case not later than February, 1963.

In a nutshell a negotiated settlement of this problem is no longer possible. South Africa is determined to maintain its position of intransigence.

Further resolutions and declarations on the part of the United Nations will only expose this body — the greatest experiment of its sort in the history of mankind — to accusations of being a dummy, that is, unless these declarations are accompanied by a show of forceful determination to remove from South West Africa the maladministration and oppressive regime of South Africa.

Legal proceedings alone cannot be sufficient or enforceable especially against

(Continued at foot of next page)

TWO MONOPOLY GIANTS, NO THIRD FORCE

(Continued from page 6)

some nationalization as well and so increase the economic power of a democratic government. It will be impossible to break the power of the Nats. without removing all three of the economic bases: Nat. capital and farmers' capital as well as state capital. Democrats should think seriously about these matters, because otherwise they will be fighting blindfolded. It is necessary to have a clear idea of who the enemy is and how to deal with him. It is also necessary to have at least a general idea of the problems that will immediately have to be faced when democracy is achieved and how to solve them. The possibilities which have just been mentioned for carrying out progressive social and economic policies will remain unfulfilled unless the policies have been worked out and the people who have to carry them out are prepared. To take over and run a complex and developed economy like South Africa's is no simple thing. Moreover, because all state posts are filled by Nats. and because almost all technical posts are filled by Whites sabotage or simple desertion as in the Congo are likely to be encountered on a wide scale.

The fact that South Africa has a modern industrial economy and a structure which favours planning means that the achievement of democracy is also a very long step towards socialism. It will be possible to solve the problems of educating, housing, feeding and clothing the people here much more rapidly and easily than anywhere else in Africa or Asia. This perspective of socialist or semi-socialist development of the country should be stressed. It should inspire all democrats and it can act to attract large numbers of Whites to help in the fight against White supremacy and in the task of rebuilding South Africa afterwards. Democrats should not only stress these things in their political propaganda, but should also begin to think about and prepare for them.

[This series of 7 articles is now concluded.]

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

(Continued from previous page)

such habitual delinquents as South Africa. The judgment *must* be underlined by a force which can effect compulsive action. This can be provided if every conceivable body with respect for the ideals of the United Nations, governmental and non-governmental, can vow to carry out, in conjunction with the legal action, a concerted programme of sanctions which can be undertaken through the orderly but possibly effective machinery of the United Nations.

RULE BY VORSTER

(Continued from page 2)

Tomorrow he will say the Progressives are Liberals and therefore—obviously—Communists. And no one will be able to argue, because the Minister says so and his word is final and his word is law.

Pas op, de Villiers Graaff! Pas op, Ben Schoeman!

Cancer

If you listen to the Special Branch broadcasts at twenty to seven on the SABC you'll have heard them say, the other day, that Communism is like cancer. Well, I'm not going to defend Communism—I couldn't even if I want to—but I must say if anything is like cancer it's the Special Branch itself.

A cancer is a "wild" growth that keeps on multiplying and spreading in an organism until it stifles and kills all the healthy cells.

They've got a good many people already working for the Special Branch, full-time and part-time. They have to.

Think of it this way. They start off spying on a few people, say, a couple of hundred, tapping their telephones, opening their letters, making a note of the numbers of cars that park outside their houses. Then they've got to follow up the people who phone, or write to, or visit them and check up on THEIR visitors, telephones, etc. You can see the work multiplies fantastically. And don't forget they're busy all the time listening for subversive talk in university canteens and staff rooms, factory restrooms and pubs. That means still more people to be checked up on. How long can it be before they've got half the population employed spying on the other half?

It's not only in size that the S.B. waxes and grows. It's even more in power and influence. If you get banned, or restricted or house-arrested the Minister's signature will appear on your conviction order. But the Minister didn't really decide—how could he? He's never even seen you. A Special Branch man gave him the paper and he signed it. There's your real judge and jury. Not Mr. Vorster who is at least responsible to a Parliament of some sort, and who has a name and a face, but an anonymous policeman who's responsible to no one at all; for no appeal court will ever weigh his judgment, his evidence or his competence.

Lawlessness

There is no doubt where this process is going to end. The destruction of legality can only mean organised illegality—lawlessness is no less lawlessness when it's practised by the state. The only real alternative to the rule of law is the rule of the club; where Might is everything and Right is nothing.

Nor can there be any real doubt why this happens in this South Africa at this time. It is not a question of the Nazi views and leanings of men like Vorster and Verwoerd—one should rather ask how men with such well-known leanings happen to be at the

head of affairs here now, and whether, in fact, Graaff or Oppenheimer would behave differently.

The real issue is whether the preservation of White Supremacy, under powerful challenge, is compatible with the maintenance of any sort of civil liberty, free speech, democracy or rule of law. Vorster and Verwoerd say no. One must concede that they have a point there.

Vorster's real complaint against the Communists is not that they accept Marx's theory of surplus value but that they want "one man one vote". Looked at from this point of view one can understand why Liberals are equated with the "Commies" (to use Murray's coy Americanism).

If we're seriously going to defend White Supremacy then clearly they've all got to be named Red—Libs, Progs, heretical Churchmen, Congressites, the lot—and locked up or shut up. If you don't want Lutuli as State President you'd better start digging trenches and learning to shoot. Freedom of speech, movement, the press, religion, organisation, the individual—all such sentimental notions must be thrown overboard.

Well, that's Vorster's case and as I said, one must concede that he has a point there.

Except that more and more of us are going to start thinking that if that's the price of White Supremacy, is it worth paying? Especially since it seems that it's not so much White Supremacy but Vorster Supremacy.

And wondering if it might not be better after all to have Lutuli as President, and a government that respects civil liberty and the rule of law—rather than live out one's life in fear and insecurity under the rule of Balthazar Vorster and his bully boys of the Special Branch.

A. N.

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