

# MR. K. SAVES CUBA AND PEACE

## CASTRO ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

**HAVE** the colonialists and imperialists ever lacked excuses for an invasion? Never; they have always been able to find some excuse to their hand.

From man's earliest days, wars have broken out for one fundamental reason: the desire of one side to rob the other of its wealth. When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared. Colonies will disappear; the exploitation of the nations by the monopolies will disappear and then mankind will have made a real step forward along the path of progress. Until this step is taken, until this stage is reached, the world must live constantly under the threat of being involved in some crisis, in an atomic conflagration. Why? Because certain parties are interested in maintaining this despoilment; because certain parties are interested in maintaining exploitation.

We have spoken here of the case of Cuba. Our case has taught us a great deal through the problems which we have had with our imperialism; that is to say, the imperialism which is directed against us. In the last resort, however, all imperialisms are alike and all are allied. A country which exploits the peoples of Latin America or any other part of the world allies itself with the exploitation of the other nations of the world.

We of Cuba are on the side of those peoples who wish to be free, not only politically—for it is very easy to acquire a flag, a coat of arms, a national anthem and a colour on the map—but also economically free, for there is one truth which we should all recognise as being of primary importance, namely, that there can be no political independence unless there is economic independence; that political independence without economic independence is an illusion.

We proclaim the right of the peoples to integrity and nationality. In short, we are for all the noble aspirations of all the peoples. That is our position. We are and always shall be for everything just; against colonialism, exploitation, monopolies, militarism, the arms race, and warmongering. We shall always be against those things. That will be our position.

The General Assembly, United Nations, September 1960.

## THE WORLD'S DEBT TO KHRUSHCHOV

*'Dear Mr. Khrushchov,—I should like you to know of my personal feeling about your solving the Cuban crisis. I have never known any statesman act with the magnanimity and greatness that you have shown over Cuba, and I wish you to be clear that every sincere and honest human being pays you homage for your courage. With lasting esteem—Betrand Russell*



## U.S. INVASION PLOT STYMIED

**CUBA HAS BEEN SAVED, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING.**

That is the main fact that emerges after a week of gruelling tension as the United States pushed the world nearer and nearer the brink of war. To Soviet premier Khrushchov have gone plaudits from all over the globe for the calm and masterful way in which he dealt with the crisis, putting the survival of Cuba and the avoidance of a nuclear war before the national prestige of his own country.

The Western press is trying to make out that Mr. Khrushchov surrendered abjectly to a display of American power. Nothing of the sort. THE SOVIET UNION AGREED TO DISMANTLE ITS ROCKET BASES ONLY AFTER PRES. KENNEDY HAD UNDERTAKEN THAT THERE WOULD BE NO INVASION OF CUBA EITHER BY THE U.S. OR BY ANY OTHER POWER IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

### Diplomatic Nimbleness

A close analysis of the week's dramatic events suggests very strongly that the whole aim of the Americans was first and foremost to invade Cuba, and that it was only the diplomatic nimbleness of the Soviet leaders that frustrated the Americans from doing just that.

THE AIM OF THE AMERICANS WAS TO MAKE DEMANDS ON THE SOVIET UNION TO WHICH IT FELT THE SOVIET LEADERS COULD NEVER AGREE—AND THEN TO USE SOVIET 'INTRANSIGENCY' AS AN EXCUSE TO INVADE CUBA.

**WORLD STAGE** by Spectator

According to reports from America, the U.S. invasion of Cuba was only a matter of hours away when Khrushchov made his last dramatic gesture—the offer to withdraw from Cuba all Soviet weapons which the U.S. might possibly regard as being 'offensive' in character. It was this announcement by Mr. K. which pulled the carpet from under the feet of the would-be invaders.

The alleged presence of Soviet rockets in Cuba was never the real reason for the proposed U.S. invasion of the island, but merely the pretext for it.

Kennedy and his propagandists worked hard at building up the Soviet rocket threat as an excuse for destroying Castro, and, unfortunately for them but fortunately for the world, Khrushchov failed to oblige—by agreeing to remove Soviet weapons he deprived the Yanks of the very excuse that they were relying on.

### The Evidence

It is not difficult to prove that the U.S. was merely using the alleged construction of Soviet rocket bases in Cuba as a pretext for invasion. All the evidence shows that the U.S. was taking far-reaching and practical steps to invade the country before (on Kennedy's own evidence) intelligence reports had been received of the construction of the rocket sites.

● Early in September the *New York Herald Tribune* revealed that U.S. Marines had been making practice landings in the Caribbean at a place called Vieques a few hundred miles south-east of Cuba.

● At about the same time—also before intelligence reports of the rocket bases had been received—Kennedy announced the call-up of 150,000 reservists at a time when the international position was relatively quiet.

● The *London Economist* warned its readers a fortnight ago that the hysterical anti-Cuba campaign being whipped up in the United States would probably provoke Kennedy into doing something 'foolish.'

● The anti-Cuba U.S. press has used the pre-election period in the U.S. as a convenient time to bait Kennedy for being 'soft' on Castro. *Time* magazine, for example, has plugged away at this theme for weeks. On September 14, before there were intelligence reports of rocket bases, *Time* had this to say: "U.S. policy of merely trying to isolate—or contain—Cuba has had dismal results. Castro Communism has not withered away . . . Just 17 months ago Castro could have been erased by a relatively simple U.S. decision to back the Bay of Pigs invaders with the necessary arms and planes. The choices today are more difficult . . ."

"It could get the job done itself, once and for all. For whatever else, the U.S. cannot let Cuba survive

indefinitely as a Soviet fortress off its shores and a cancer throughout the hemisphere."

There you have it. Crude, cruel imperialism. A concession that Castro's Cuba will never be defeated from within, or even by external blockade and isolation, and a blatant call to "erase Castro." But the Cubans refuse to be rubbed out, and the Soviet Union was too smart to be caught providing Kennedy with a pretext for wiping out Cuba. And Cuba will continue to stand out as a beacon of anti-imperialism only 90 miles from the shores of the U.S.

In this connection it is timely to recall Castro's famous comment: "If the Yankees can't bear to have a communist country 90 miles from their border, well, they can always move."

### Blackmailer's Appetite

It would be a grave mistake, however, to conclude that now all is well with the world. There are powerful forces inside the U.S. who are pressing Kennedy to drive home what they call his advantage. Their appetite for further adventures will grow rather than diminish. The danger of appearing to give in to blackmail is that it invites further and even more brazen demands from the blackmailer.

It must never be forgotten that the U.S. army and administration are riddled with reactionaries of the most extreme kind, and at high level too. One recalls the U.S. Secretary of State (Foreign Minister) who in 1947 hurled himself to his death from a high window yelling crazily that the Reds were after him.

More recent is the case of General Walker, until last year head of U.S. ground forces in West Germany and keen supporter of the influential and well-heeled John Birch society. Last month Walker presented himself to the rioting citizenry of Oxford, Mississippi, as their saviour from the Negroes and communism. He literally strode the streets yelling to all and sundry to join his crusade—until he was whipped off by U.S. guards to a mental hospital. Walker may be an extreme example, and it is to Kennedy's credit that he eventually had Walker retired, but what did emerge at that time was that even the lunatic Walker had many and powerful friends in high-up places who backed him to the hilt.

U.S. spy planes fly over Cuba, and although the Soviet Union has agreed not to construct a base there, the U.S. troops are still on Cuban soil at the Guantanamo base. Moreover, as is shown elsewhere on this page, the U.S. has rings of rocket bases right round the world, and U.S. planes continue their spy missions near Soviet territory.

### The Lessons

The lessons of last week are harsh and must be soberly assessed. These are some of the preliminary points which emerge:

● There are powerful forces in America, which at times can control official policy, and which are quite prepared to provoke an all-out nuclear war today, probably on the theory that the U.S.'s military and political position is weakening with the passage of time;

● The Soviet Union, convinced that time is on her side, is prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to avoid a military entanglement with the U.S. that could lead to World War III (it is to be remembered, of course, that a 'local war' in the Caribbean would put Soviet forces at a tremendous disadvantage);

● The border dispute between India and China divided the peace forces of Asia at a time when unity was most necessary, and provided the U.S. militarists with a convenient opportunity for staging their provocations;

● World public opinion, the unilateralists and neutralists, played a disappointingly weak role throughout the crisis week. Even allowing for the press blockade on peace demonstrations, one would have expected protests sufficiently massive and emphatic to force themselves into even the most slanted and censored reports;

● If it should come to the push, the propertied classes of the whole world slavishly back the Americans. Whatever they might have done behind the scenes, people like Macmillan, de Gaulle, Adenauer, to mention but a few, showed themselves publicly and in sickening fashion as abject stooge leaders of satellite countries of the U.S.

● The road to peace and general disarmament is clearly a long and arduous one and much more hard work will be required to unite all peace forces and to isolate and curb imperialism.

The pictures on this page show:

**LEFT:** The people of Cuba, men, women and children, are mobilised unitedly behind their leader Dr. Fidel Castro.

**RIGHT:** Fidel Castro and Mr. Khrushchov met at the United Nations last year.



## People who live in atomic bases shouldn't throw blockades WHERE THE U.S. BASES ARE

THE United States last week threatened the world with war because the Soviet Union was constructing missile bases in Cuba.

BUT THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES TO DO NOTHING ABOUT ITS OWN MISSILE BASES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES WHICH DAILY THREATEN THE SOVIET UNION.

Here are the facts:

● The USA has nuclear bomber and missile bases in the following 12 countries shown in the map below—Alaska, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Norway, Western Germany, Greece, Persia, Pakistan, Japan, Formosa and Thailand. All are aimed at the Soviet Union.

● The USA has 900 military bases in a total of 35 countries.

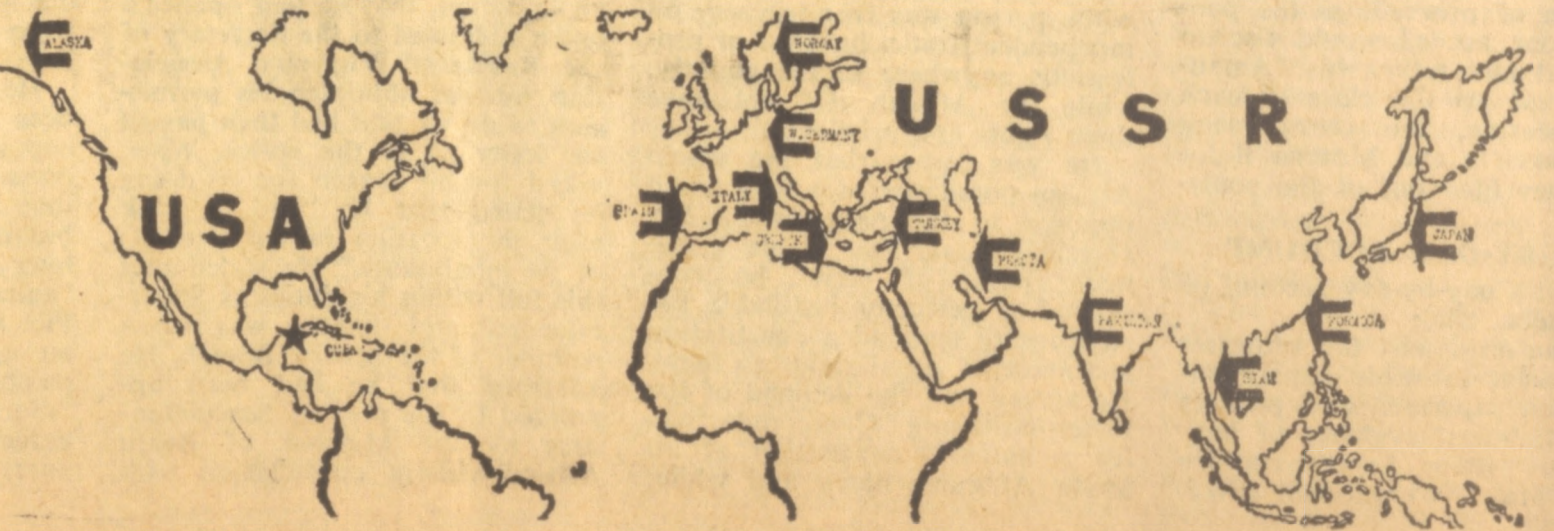
● There are more than 1 million American troops stationed in a total of 70 foreign countries.

● United States bombers armed with nuclear weapons are in the skies all the time, ready for instantaneous action against the Soviet Union.

By contrast, the Soviet Union has bases only in the neighbouring socialist countries.

THERE IS NOT A SINGLE SOVIET BASE ON FOREIGN SOIL IN ASIA, AFRICA OR LATIN AMERICA.

## WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED!



# 'I AM GUILTY OF NO OFFENCE'

## — Mandela Day By Day Account Of His Trial

### PRETORIA.

**NELSON** Mandela's ringing defence statement of only eleven loud, clear words sent a shock through the courtroom on the final day of his trial last week.

The prosecutor argued that Mandela had incited a strike against the Republic of South Africa Act from May 29 to 31, 1961; and that he had been in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, last February without a passport.

Mandela conducted his own defence throughout, cross-examining the string of policemen and detectives brought as witnesses for the State. He dominated the courtroom.

The prosecutor closed his case and the magistrate turned to accused Nelson Mandela.

### GUILTY OF NO CRIME

"Your Worship," he said: "I submit that I am guilty of no crime."

**Magistrate:** Is that all you have to say?

**Mandela**—turning slightly towards the public galleries: "If I had had something more to say, I would have said it."

At that the trial was adjourned to November 7 when the court will pronounce verdict and sentence. Nelson Mandela was returned to Pretoria Jail.

### SPECTATORS

On every day of the trial the Court—old scene of the Treason Trial—was packed with spectators of all races, the majority being African. The audience sat motionless and intent, even those at the back of the gallery who could neither see nor hear the proceedings. Many men and women wore national dress, while a large number of women wore the black and green blouses of the Women's Federation. Nearly everyone proudly displayed a Mandela badge.

Mrs. Winnie Mandela appeared one day in the national dress of Ethiopia, on another in a yellow sari, and yet again in the Women's Federation's black skirt and distinctive blouse.

Nelson Mandela himself wore every day the jackal skin kaross presented to him by the African people and a necklace of beads in green and yellow. Every time he entered the courtroom at the resumption of proceedings the people of one accord would rise to their feet and return his "Amandla" salute. At the close of each day's hearing, the crowd sang Nkosi Sikelela and Morena Boko-ka as they filed out of the courtroom.

### DAY-BY-DAY ACCOUNT

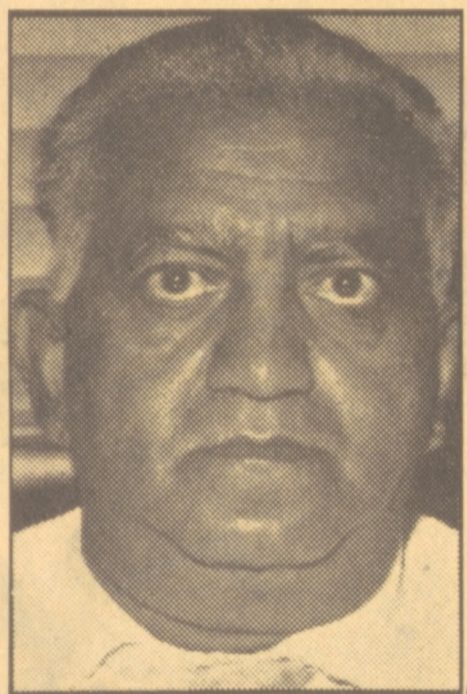
Here is a day-by-day account of the Mandela trial:

For the most part the witnesses—policemen, township superintendents, newspapermen and printers—gave technical evidence of having been witness to preparations for the May 1961 national strike.

On **Monday** after Mandela's application for the recusal of the magistrate (on the grounds that he feared he could not get a fair trial in a White man's court—see New Age last week) had been refused, Dr. Verwoerd's private secretary handed in to court two letters written by Mandela to the Prime Minister demanding a national convention before May 31, the date of the founding of the Republic. Dr. Verwoerd had passed the letters on to the Minister of Justice. The witness did not think it improper of Dr. Verwoerd not to send a reply on the issues raised in the letters.

### THE PASS LAWS

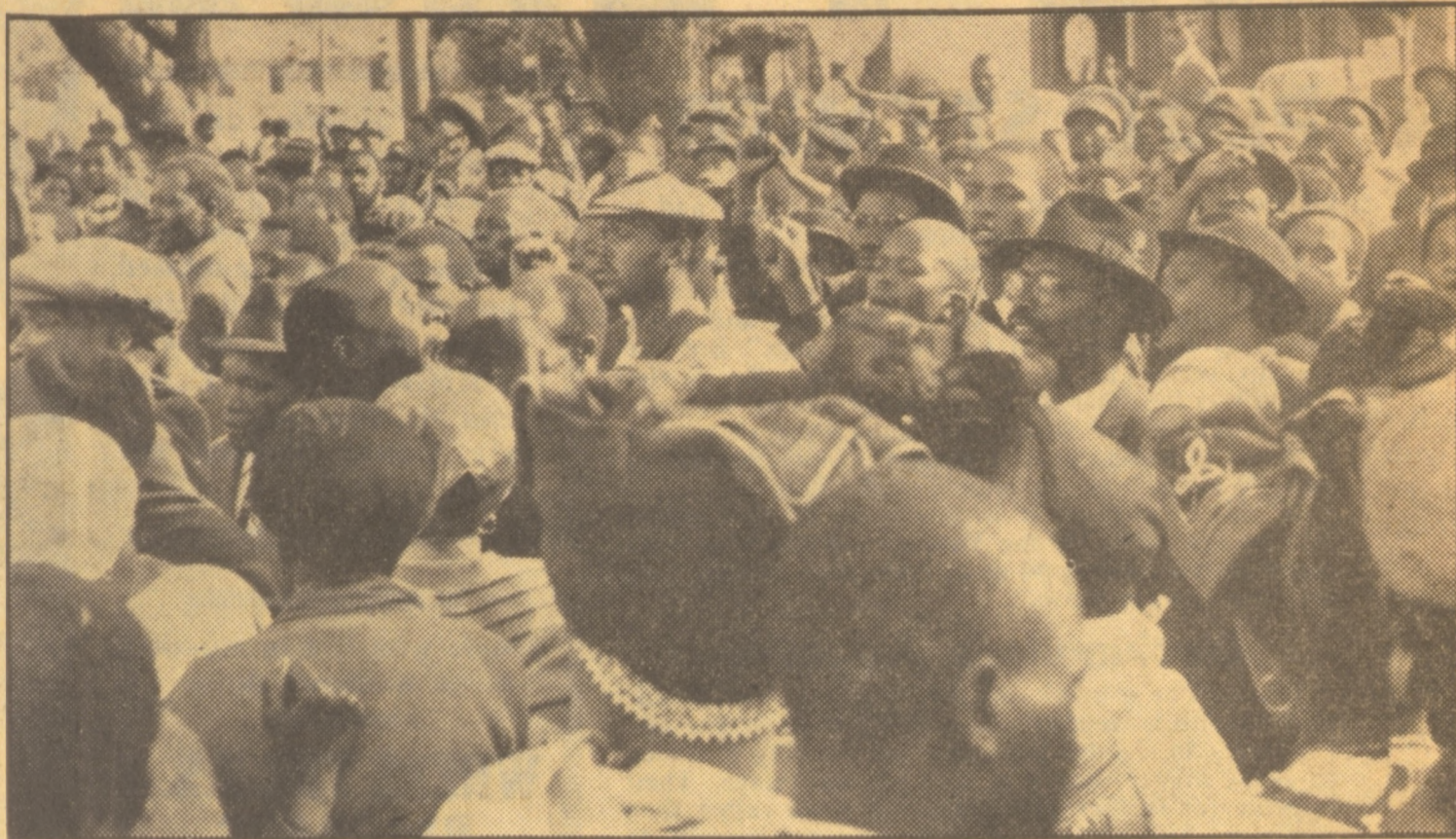
On **Tuesday**, Mr. Mandela cross-examined Mr. Peter Hazelhurst, a reporter on the Rand



**Mr. E. I. Shaikjee** gave evidence in the Mandela trial about the leasing of certain offices to the African leader when he practised as an attorney. After his appearance in the witness box Mr. Shaikjee was arrested on a charge of perjury. He is out on bail.

Daily Mail and former reporter on the Sunday Express. Mr. Hazelhurst stated beforehand that the views expressed would be his own and not those of his newspaper. He admitted, under cross-examination, that while white workers were free to seek work anywhere in the country and to reside near their places of employment, the African worker was made to reside in areas set aside for his occupation. He admitted that a white person was free to carry on independent trade, business or professions anywhere in the country, while the African did not have these rights and privileges.

He was aware that the whole African population was very much opposed to the pass laws. Mr. Hazelhurst said that "from a humane point of view" he considered it perfectly justifiable for Africans to demand a constitution guaranteeing equal rights to them. He agreed that the demand of the Pietermaritzburg Conference was for a national convention of all South Africans, black and white,



Throughout last week great crowds crammed the Pretoria court in which Nelson Mandela, South Africa's underground leader, stood trial.

to solve the problems of the country—a convention in which the various population groups would discuss amicably a solution of these problems.

Mr. Mandela then read a leaflet explaining that the demonstrations planned against the Republic were not anti-white and invited white participation.

In reply to a question Mr. Hazelhurst stated that if he had been in Mr. Mandela's position he would certainly have been frustrated, although he did not know what course of action he would have taken.

### PAMPHLETS

The proprietor of African Printers, Benoni, stated that he had taken an order from the accused, whom he knew, for 12,000 pamphlets. He did not know to whom these pamphlets had been handed when completed. Under cross-examination, this witness admitted that he was a man well versed in the history of South Africa. He agreed that before the advent of the white man there had been no rich or poor and no exploitation of man by man, and that the government of the African people had been a democratic one. He agreed that Chiefs such as Dingaan and Moshesh had been great men.

All the witnesses who followed testified to finding, receiving, or taking possession of leaflets, stickers and posters relating to the proposed general strike and letters from the All-In African National Action Council containing copies of the Pietermaritzburg resolutions and "guides to organisers." All these witnesses were policemen, mostly Special Branch, with the exception of two location superintendents.

### SPECIAL BRANCH OR SUPERINTENDENT?

One of these location superintendents, a Mr. Lombard, Superintendent of the Cradock Location, finally admitted, under cross-examination, that he had opened a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Residents' Vigilance Association without obtaining his permission to do so, and had then passed the letter on to the police. When asked for his reason for so doing he stated that he "had to look after the location in the interests of its inhabitants." He stated that this fell within his duties as Superintendent and that he was not a member of the Special Branch. He admitted that he had been appointed to the post of Superintendent by the Minister of Bantu Affairs without consultation with

the African people—"as far as he knew."

The superintendent of Uitenhage location, answering a question by the Prosecutor, said he had opened a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Vigilance Association "in error." He had then handed it over to the police. He had done so because it seemed to him that the contents of the letter were "subversive." When asked which of the contents of the letter were subversive, he replied that the call for non-co-operation with the Government was, in his opinion, subversive. He did not think it necessary to find out the views of the residents of the location on this matter.

A detective from Bloemfontein testified to opening two suitcases found in the luggage room at the station and finding both full of propaganda material for the general strike.

### POLICE DISCRIMINATION

An African sergeant stationed at Pretoria, admitted, under cross-examination, that the highest rank an African policeman could attain was that of Chief Sergeant. He had been in the police force for 36 years and had seen many white policemen, his junior in years, rise to ranks higher than his—in fact a white constable was entitled to give him instructions.

### PIET RETIEF AN AGITATOR?

Warrant Officer Baardman, a member of the Bloemfontein Special Branch, said he could not say whether it was true that the constitution was drafted by an all-white body in 1909. "Ek weet nie—ek was nie daar nie." He agreed that today's Parliament consisted of all-white members. He had not been there, but simply knew this to be a fact. In 1909 he had not yet been born. He stated that there was no colour discrimination in the police force. He knew that an African policeman could not rise above the rank of sergeant. But "dit is nie diskriminasie nie." He did not know how many Africans were jailed per day under the pass laws.

He agreed that Piet Retief had been right to lead the Voortrekkers away from British rule. When pressed, he said he would agree that any people had the right to break away from domination as long as they were not inspired by "agitators." He did not agree that Piet Retief might have been called an agitator in his day. He had passed matric in 1933 in his "moeder tong" of which, he agreed, he was proud. He did not agree that Africans had no lan-

guage rights. "Niemand verbied jou om jou taal te spreek nie." He agreed that the Afrikaner people had fought for the equality of the English and Afrikaans languages, "but not through agitators."

### TRANSKEI EMERGENCY

An official from the Transkei stated that there had been a state of emergency in the Transkei during 1960, but he did not agree that this was after a great deal of unrest among the people against Bantu Authorities. He did not agree that the state of emergency still existed. He did not know how many Africans had been killed in his area. Perhaps "n paar honderd" had been arrested. Possibly 20 had been sentenced to death. He did not admit that a large number of people were still in detention, or that the Government had been forced to impose the state of emergency because it did not have the support of the people.

### RECUSAL REQUEST

On Wednesday, October 24, before further evidence was brought, Mr. Mandela applied for the recusal of the magistrate, Mr. W. A. van Helderdingen. The grounds for this request were that after the adjournment of the trial the previous day, the magistrate had been seen leaving the court in the company of Warrant Officer Dirker of the Special Branch and another member of the Special Branch. Warrant Officer Dirker had given evidence for the State on the first day of the trial and the accused had been given permission by the court to defer his cross-examination of this witness. The second member of the Special Branch who was in the company of the magistrate was seen throughout the trial assisting the State Prosecutor in presenting the case against Mandela.

The magistrate had been seen entering a small blue Volkswagen car—he had sat in front of the car next to W/O Dirker, who was driving, and the other member of the SB had sat at the back. At about 1.50 p.m. the magistrate had been seen lurching with W/O Dirker and this other member of the SB. It was not known what communication passed between the magistrate, W/O Dirker and the other member of the SB—the accused had not been represented there. These facts had created an impression in the accused's mind that the court had associated itself with the State case. It was a rule in justice that a judicial officer should not communicate or asso-

(Continued on page 7)

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