

THE UNITED NATIONS IN AFRICA Even when the Congo news was blackest and the United Nations was being assailed by criticism from all sides for its handling of an almost impossible situation, the Liberal Party was its staunch supporter. It is still so, in spite of the obvious weaknesses in UNO which the Congo has revealed. For without UNO where would the Congo, and perhaps Africa, now be?

If the present attempt to "re-integrate" Katanga into a re-united Congo is successful, the most difficult phase of the UNO task there may be over. The Congo may have done something for the United Nations which seemed impossible six months ago - given it enhanced prestige where it threatened to destroy it.

But while an optimist may see new hope for UNO rising from the settling dust of the Congo, there are other situations in Africa where its deficiencies are blatantly exposed. Angola is the worst of them.

It is almost impossible to obtain a clear picture of what is happening in Angola. The revolt against the Salazar regime seems to have opened with atrocities by some African "rebels" against the Portuguese settlers. The Portuguese seem to have responded by committing their own atrocities against the Angolans, but on the grand scale. Evidence against the Portuguese does not rest on the word of "rebel" refugees, who might be expected to be prejudiced in their own cause, but mainly on that of British missionaries, who have been expelled from the territory. It is supported by reports from the international body of missionaries, desperately trying to cope with the Angolan refugee problem on the Congo side of the border. It has been conservatively estimated that 150,000 refugees have fled to the Congo. Estimates of Angolans killed range from 30,000 to 50,000, and of Portuguese from 1,000 upwards. Yet, in the face of this slaughter, the United Nations seems quite powerless to do anything.

Intervention at Diplomatic Level

Whatever happens now, Angola will never be the same again. The Salazar Government may succeed in re-establishing itself temporarily, but its days are numbered. Hope for the future lies in bringing the Portuguese authorities and the Angolan leaders together to negotiate. Agreement will be difficult after recent events, but will have to come. Somehow the scope of the United Nations must be widened so that it can intervene effectively at diplomatic level in a situation like that in Angola.

Next door to Angola lies South West Africa. The behaviour of the UNO Committee on South West Africa has not enhanced its prestige in Southern Africa. But soon it will be called upon to play a vital role here. If the International Court of Justice judgment goes against South Africa, what will the UN do to enforce it? If Angola obtains its independence and border incident along the S.W.A. frontier flare up, what will the UN do?

(Contd. page 7)

New Face of Apartheid (from page 9)

the state. This is Verwoerd's distinctive contribution to Afrikaner Nationalism. Few of his followers understand what he is doing. It is high time that his opponents should.

UNO in Africa (from page 4)

These are vital questions which the UNO should be getting ready to answer. For it is true that, however remote Angola and South West Africa may be from the power centres of the world, in the mood of modern Africa they can present a threat to world peace, as much as the Congo did.

Like the people of Angola and South West Africa, we look forward to the day when UNO will have the power to intervene effectively to ensure that the just aspirations of a subject people can be achieved - but by negotiation, not violence.

Freedom of Expression (from page 8)

It is not simply in the light of law that we must consider Mr. Vorster's statement. Since he spoke there have been many instances of the new traditional intimidation of the opponents of the Government by the Special Branch. The methods of the Special Branch are well known and include attendance at lawful meetings of law-abiding citizens where notes of speeches are taken. Persons attending meetings have their car numbers taken and are often visited and interrogated by the Special Branch.

Since these activities are rarely followed by prosecutions, we can assume that the investigation of crime is a remote purpose, if it is a purpose at all.

The real purpose is, of course, to intimidate the opponents of the Government. As Brookes and McCauley remark in their book, "an aura of sinister plotting and crime against the security of the state is made by these attentions to hang over their discussions."

Punishment for Beliefs

Mr. Vorster clearly does not intend to abate the activities of the Special Branch. He will also, presumably, justify all other actions of his Government, such as the detention of Liberals during the Emergency, who, as we all know, were being punished for their beliefs, and the banning of the ANC and PAC although the law under which they were banned strikes at the heart of freedom to express opinions. Parallel notions are held in all totalitarian jurisdictions. Indeed it is becoming difficult to distinguish Nationalist and Communist power techniques.

The statement that freedom of expression must be exercised in accordance with the law is illuminating. As we have seen, there is no real freedom of expression under the law. In Nationalist thinking "law" and "right" are synonymous. People will not be allowed to protest in places inhabited by other races and "freedom of expression must not be abused". As we know, "abuse" to Nationalists does not mean contrary to conventional restraints on freedom, which they find hopelessly inadequate, but contrary to Nationalist notions.

Mr. Vorster, in short, believes in the right to protest, provided that content, place and person are approved by the Nationalist Party.
