

FIGHTEERING

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TALK

The Forbidden Article by JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

on

'TORTURE IN ALGERIA'

After the Elections

The Future of

- PARLIAMENT AND THE VOTER
- THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT

Will Mankind Survive Nuclear Tests?

* * *

Articles by DUMA NOKWE
CECIL WILLIAMS
GOVAN MBEKI



LIFT THE BAN ON MEETINGS! is the demand of the CONGRESS MOVEMENT.

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FROM THE SIDELINES

This month's
writer: TEMBA
MQOTA

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The tumult and the shouting die, the dust in the General Election arena clears to make visible the shadow of the wounded "Strijdom Lion." Facing the "Lion" there is in the stadium a flank of White overlords indulgently listening to the swan-song, and not far behind the "lion" there is a solid beat of African drums — the beat that heralds the coming of a £1 a day — the coming of Another Day.

GOD AN
AFRIKANER?

Yet — this is the night the Nats elected God an Afrikaner. Let the sickly "lion" roar as he did on April 18: "Because we, as a party, recognise the supreme rule and guidance of God in the destiny of the countries and peoples, we thank Him for His will in this election."

The "Lion" blasphemes for he uses the name of God in vain! Could God inspire the police to baton and shoot at unarmed workers? Could He grind the peasants of Marico, Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland to such poverty that only martial law can keep them down? Is God so ignorant of his children that he requires them to carry identity cards and reference books as a badge of kinship?

Whilst the "Lion" claims the "guidance of God" for his iniquitous deeds, the drums beating in the background sing of the countless nights of terror when the tyranny of apartheid has swooped through the villages and towns in the dead of night and at the crack of dawn; at work and at play; at home, at school and in church.

"As far as the colour question is concerned we shall continue resolutely on the course we have taken", growls the "Lion." Does that mean a continuation of martial law in Zeerust, more armoured cars and police to repress the workers? Also in the name of the Lord?

The doctor's stock of tricks must have run very low that only a resignation could evoke a clamour of 'stay on the throne' and a brisk bout of back slapping for Dr. Verwoerd.

STILL THAT change the course of Verwoerdism, for its course is MAN VERWOERD set.

Amongst many things, Verwoerd's department controls the education of African children. To him education, like politics and everything else, is his special "Bantu" dream. In "Bantu" schools he introduced a subject called "arts and crafts" which has got the whole tribe of Verwoerd puppet teachers up in arms. Under this subject they have to teach the moulding of clay toys, cups and saucers, reed mats and so on from two to five each afternoon. This

pottering is the fate of all children who fail to get an 80% pass in a special "aptitude" exam set for kids in standard two.

Small wonder there is an exodus of teachers and African graduates to Ghana!

Going almost unnoticed is the fact that the Nats have supplanted English with Afrikaans and the African languages with a pidgin lingo, in the educational system. This hotch-potch has been effected through compulsory mother tongue instruction and Afrikaans.

Text books and prescribed reading material are gathered from the works of budding African authors whose writings are carefully sifted by the Nat pundits of the Afrikaans Pers Beperk before being published or approved for use in the schools.

One wonders for how long these writers are going

to sell their literary talents to A.P.B. for a mess of Apartheid pottage stamped "Bantu."

The "conscience" of the Nat government goes wherever the wind blows it. This is regardless of what it dictated in the past. Last year the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart said in Parliament in a debate on the scourge of the ducktails.

DUCKTAILS GALORE "I have said repeatedly that we cannot bring the people into heaven by passing laws", but in the Evening Post (13/3/58) speaking at Ventersdorp, Mr. C. R. Swart is reported to have said "The government is preparing legislation to end the activities of the Ducktails." Is the Government's "conscience" inspired by thoughts of "heaven" or is it just going to "brainwash" the ducktails by legislation to make them into decent civilised Ducktail Jeugbonders?

After the Elections: THE WAY AHEAD

IN THIS POST-ELECTION ISSUE "FIGHTING TALK" presents articles which sum up key issues now before the country.

GEORGE IRWIN writes that the election results have left Parliament virtually the property of the Nationalist Party. With the Afrikaner almost "in the bag" the next target of the Nationalists is the English-speaking electorate and as the United Party swings hard to the right, the country now enters a period of tortuous intrigue with "White unity" as the rallying cry.

NOT THAT OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID collapses abruptly. Many voters will turn with revulsion from proposals to come to terms with the Nationalists and must increasingly face the other alternative: vigorous anti-Nationalist campaigning

and the road towards rights for all.

AT THE HEAD OF THE FORCES whose policy and methods can defeat the Nationalists stands the Congress movement, writes DUMA NOKWE. Weaknesses highlighted by the stay-at-home failure must be probed but the peoples' grievances and demands are as pressing as ever, and Congress is alive and kicking and preparing for the bitter conflicts that lie ahead.

FOR THE NATIONALISTS are intensifying what they started ten years ago: their attempt to smash the African National Congress, to isolate its leadership from the people, and GOVAN MBEKI shows how the pattern of ANC suppression, started in the Reserves, may soon threaten Congress in the towns.

PARLIAMENT and the VOTER

by GEORGE IRWIN

The most important lesson that the 1958 general election teaches us is that there is little prospect of the Nationalist Party being defeated at the polls in the normal democratic way in the near future.

In the past, the electoral system almost totally excluded Non-Whites from participation in the government of the country. Now, on a lesser scale, the anti-Nationalist section among the Whites are similarly excluded.

Electoral inequalities

The inequalities of the electoral system have always been latent; it has needed this general election to demonstrate them vividly. There is a dispute over the precise number of votes that must be allocated to the Nationalist Party, but the dispute is over a comparatively small block of votes. The United Party Press claims a small majority of votes for the United Party — not more than about 30,000 — while the Nationalist Press claims a similar majority for the Government. Whatever the merits of the respective claims, the fact remains that with only about 50 per cent. of the support of the White electorate, the Nationalist Party was able

to capture nearly two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly.

Further: the Rand Daily Mail has calculated that 13,335 votes were required to win each of the United Party's 53 seats. "This means," says the newspaper, "that each Nationalist vote was worth slightly more than two United Party votes." There appears to be little hope of correcting this grossly unfair set-up in the present-day context of politics. The Nationalist Party is confident, in the circumstances, that its march towards *volkseenheid* is unimpeded. Certainly, the United Party is erecting no barriers.

Besides, Afrikanerdom is winning the population race. The ratio of Afrikaners to the rest of the White population is probably about 65 per cent. to 35 per cent.

It requires no special powers of perception to realise that the Parliamentary struggle against the Nationalists, as waged by the United Party over the past five years, is an absolutely hopeless one. The faint-heartedness of the United Party, its refusal to face fundamental issues, and its hysterical fear of any sort of alliance with anti-Nationalists on its left, have resulted in its own rapid decline and in the phenomenal advance of the Nationalist Party.

Nationalist Property

The unpleasant fact staring all anti-Nationalists in the face is that Parliament may soon cease to be a field of struggle. On various occasions over the past 10 years, it was the pivot of anti-Nationalist opposition; it was the rallying point for various organisations and various individuals sharing a common hatred of Nationalist tyranny. Now, however, Parliament may recede increasingly from this role. *It may become, very quickly, exclusively a place where oppression is practised—in other words, it becomes the property of the Nationalist Party.*

This supposition is confirmed, in fact, by the composition of Parliament: on the Speaker's right is the Nationalist Party, and on his left the United Party. Apart from the three Native Representatives, there is absolutely nothing else. If, in these circumstances, the United Party embarks on a policy of even greater appeasement (and all the signs point that way), then South Africa will be confronted with a two-party Parliament which, in practice, will operate as a one-party State.

U.P. Swings to the Right

What are these signs that indicate an even greater swing to the right by the United Party? The first is that the entire election campaign was fought by the United Party on a policy of "neutrality" towards the basic principles of apartheid. Admittedly, Verwoerd was attacked, and the Government was criticised for its "lavish" expenditure on the African population, but *nowhere did the United Party reject the fundamental concepts of apartheid*, namely, that the Non-Whites should be kept in a state of permanent political, economic and social subjection. *Nor did the United Party put forward an alternative to apartheid*. It merely complained that apartheid, as practised by Verwoerd, was to the disadvantage of the White man.

The normal, democratically-minded South African might be tempted to assume that the United Party will have learnt the lesson of its disastrous defeat, and will abandon its "neutrality" towards apartheid. He will be mistaken. For ten years, in spite of periodic flare-ups in Parliament over apartheid, the United Party has steadily and inexorably been surrendering its soul to apartheid. After the 1953 general election, the Bekker movement was founded on the grounds that "liberalism" had lost the United Party the election, and that the party's only salvation was to come to terms with apartheid. The Bekker movement has petered out, but its importance must not be overlooked. For one thing, it enjoyed a considerable measure of private support in English-speaking business circles at the time; for another it was premature — the Nationalists, true to their principle of first things first, were more concerned then with consolidating Afrikanerdom than with extending their influence among the English-speaking section.

'White Unity': The Target

Now Afrikanerdom is virtually "in the bag", and the next target is the English-speaking electorate. The aim now is the "White unity" about which we have heard so much.

Any right-wing movement springing up now in the United Party will have its path smoothed for it by the Nationalist leaders. We can expect a period of tortuous intrigues. The United Party's right-wingers — and this, undoubtedly, includes the bulk of the M.P.s, among them the leadership — will seek a coal-

ition with the Government, or with a section of its followers. Mr. Strijdom (or whoever succeeds him) will be fully aware of the U.P.'s intentions, and will take all that it is prepared to give — and give nothing in return, least of all a coalition.

This pattern of possible events may seem complicated; in fact, it is not. The "Star" stated the position succinctly when it said the United Party now had to choose between "co-operating" with apartheid to make it work as "justly" as possible, or evolving an alternative racial policy sharply distinct from apartheid. The "Star" itself, as the mouthpiece of big business, has never been in favour of total warfare, which is what a "sharply distinct" racial policy would involve. Its political philosophy is essentially that of compromise. It has given no clear indication yet of what is going on in its own mind, but without question it is toying with the idea of coming to terms with apartheid.

All this does not mean that opposition to apartheid is collapsing abruptly. The United Party is committed to opposing the University Apartheid Bill, for example, which is due to make its reappearance shortly; it is committed, too, to opposing the abolition of Native Representation. But whether its opposition will be sincere and vigorous, or merely nominal, remains to be seen. The point at issue is that, increasingly, the United Party will reduce its opposition to apartheid, indeed, to all the fundamental tenets of Nationalism, except those which it is convenient to oppose according to the demands of the political situation at the time.

Labour Party Out of the Way

If there is anyone who is still not convinced that the United Party's intentions are to come to terms with apartheid, they should ask themselves why the United Party set about obliterating the Labour Party from the Parliamentary scene. The argument that it did not want to be saddled with an embarrassing ally is only half the answer. The United Party eliminated the Labour Party because it did not want it on the scene AFTER the election when the intrigues began. Two competent Labour Party politicians — as Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell undoubtedly are — could easily have exposed the approaching sell-out, and (even more important) they could have served as a rallying point for Opposition supporters who were not prepared to tolerate further capitulation to Nationalism. Now the United Party can proceed about its business with greater freedom. There is no one in Parliament to expose it. The Native

Representatives carry no weight with the average White voter, and the Press can be relied upon not to give the game away. Enfeebled though the United Party is, it must be credited in this instance with a certain amount of cunning foresight.

Anti-Nats Outside Parliament

How does all this affect anti-Nationalists outside Parliament? Very acutely. It means that the struggle outside Parliament takes on added importance and urgency now that the struggle inside Parliament peters out. Perhaps it is even no exaggeration to say that the entire burden of struggle will fall ultimately on the anti-Nationalists outside Parliament. The point must be made again that the United Party will not necessarily collapse immediately and completely, but its end is in sight, at least as an effective opponent of apartheid.

By the term "anti-Nationalists outside Parliament" is meant not only the organisations and individuals on the United Party's left, but also tens of thousands of United Party supporters who, although they may undergo temporary bewilderment and despair, cannot be dismissed as lost to the anti-Nationalist cause.

The U.P. leaders, certain Press barons, and an assortment of big business men, no doubt have worked out a neat plan for coming to terms with apartheid, which they will now try to implement. Some of the more gullible leaders of commerce and industry, particularly, envisage a smooth partnership with whoever occupies the Ministry of Native Affairs.

They overlook two factors: one is that a considerable number of ordinary voters, surely, are not going to accept the surrender to apartheid and will exert what influence they can to continue the opposition to apartheid; and, second, as sure as night follows day, the evolution of apartheid is going to clash with the evolution of South Africa's economy. Already, industry has had a taste of the inhibiting pressure of apartheid, and has not liked it in the least.

No Toning Down of Apartheid

The new, post-election theory, of course, is that the Nationalists will "tone down" apartheid, and that a reconciliation between the two major White political parties will become possible. The sole source of this theory is those groups that wish the Nationalists would tone down apartheid, without having the slightest evidence that this, in fact, is what will happen. If they

would take the trouble to read Mr. Strijdom's post-election speeches, they would see printed, in black and white, in the plainest possible terms, the emphatic assurance that the Nationalist Government is continuing as relentlessly as ever with the application of its racial policies.

To sum up: the United Party leaders, plus a section of the Press, plus various spokesmen of the business world are almost certainly going to try to come to terms with apartheid; but, equally certainly, the tidy schemes they have discussed in the caucus, in the clubs, and in the precincts of the Stock Exchange, are going to be upset by the realities of the situation.

At the same time, it must not be for-

gotten that the United Party's defeat at the polls coincided with the failure of the stay-at-home and of the campaigns waged by the SACPO-backed candidates in the Coloured elections in the Cape, as well as with the elimination of the Labour Party from Parliament and the overwhelming defeat of the three Liberal candidates. The anti-Nationalist cause, generally, took a knock.

Obviously, the chief task facing anti-Nationalists is not only to get themselves geared for future advances but to create the widest possible area of agreement and joint action on anti-Nationalist issues.

Those who have always been in the front line of assault against Nationalist

excesses will not capitulate so easily to any of its newly found charms, however they may be flaunted by those who despair of a political future unless they throw in their lot with the Nationalists.

The vigilance of the man-in-the-street can hold tight reins against any sell-out by the United Party leadership. This is no moment to despair and forsake politics. It is the time to take a firm stand, for issues and alignments are clearer than they have ever been, and those who might not have recognised it up to now can see how plainly there are two paths before South African: the plunge over the brink to disaster under the Nationalists, or the path towards racial co-operation and democracy for all.

The Congress Movement

by DUMA NOKWE

In some circles the story is going about that "Congress is finished." It is said that the comparative failure of the Protest Week strikes was the death blow, that Congress has been rejected by the people for good and all, that the future path of African political development lies either in the emergence of a docile, "reasonable" and conservative leadership following in the wake of the United Party, or in the emergence of a violent African nationalist leadership, racialist, anti-White, reaching out for totalitarian solutions in the wake of the Nats.

What are the facts?

Congress has taken a knock. It would be idle to deny it. The partial failure of the stay-at-home campaign was serious. It was serious not because success would have demonstrated the confidence of the people in the leadership of the ANC but because it would have demonstrated to the Nationalists the strength of the main opposition they will have to reckon with henceforth. Those who delude themselves that the Congresses have lost the confidence of the people fail to grasp the fundamental issues in the grave situation of our country.

These issues have been highlighted and made doubly clear by the election

results. For the people election week has demonstrated clearly that the Nationalists will not and cannot be defeated at the polls as long as this fraudulent system of democracy prevails. This fact makes the choice before South Africans, both Black and White, clear beyond doubt. That choice is either to support the racialist-infested ideology of the Nationalists, with all its reaction, oppression and suppression; or to reject completely and unequivocally the concept of White supremacy (with or without "justice"!); and to fight for the rights of all irrespective of colour or creed. There is no middle path for those who will remain in the country and who have the courage to express their views.

The thin, dangerous tightrope which the United Party has tried to walk for so many years has snapped. The only force which can defeat the Nationalists is the force directed and led by the Congresses. The only aims which are going to be in ever increasingly bitter conflict with those of the National-

ists are those of the Congresses. The only methods of struggle which will effectively rid the country of the scourge of the Nationalists are the methods of the Congresses.

The Nationalists know all this, and that is why they are trying to do everything they can to destroy and suppress the Congress. Part of their destructive campaign against the Congress has already started with the aid — perhaps conscious, perhaps unconscious — of a large portion of the English language press, and even of the bitter men on the fringes of Congress itself.

The Nationalists and their sychophants celebrate their victory by trying to sow confusion and despair among the people. They claim that the African people have lost confidence in the ANC; then again resort to threats that they will deal with all "subversive elements". Some persons, actuated either by malice or confusion have joined the campaign to drive a wedge between the Congresses and the people.

The Nationalists have a clear purpose in sponsoring such a campaign. They are merely intensifying what they began ten years ago: their attempt to isolate the leadership from the people by banning them, arresting them and

resorting to all forms of persecution and division. Now they are preparing the atmosphere and the justification for suppressing the Congresses by suggesting that this movement has been discredited even by the people. This is a popular stunt of oppressors out to smash their opponents. Those who support this campaign had better know the treachery in which they are involving themselves.

For the African National Congress it is important to examine its own weaknesses and mistakes, to strengthen and prepare itself for its historic task. It may yet prove to have been an advantage that it took a knock in an early

round of the struggle, and not later.

What happened between the enthusiastic Workers' Conference and April 14? The people have certainly not abandoned their demand for a minimum wage of £1 a day, the abolition of the pass laws, and their struggle against all apartheid laws. If they have, then there is justification for the view that they lost confidence in the ANC, because these are the things Congress demands. The peoples' grievances and their demands are more pressing than ever.

Whatever the reasons might be which are behind the partial failure of the stay-at-home, it seems that one of the reasons lies in methods of work which have not changed with the changing situation.

Perhaps we so despise our enemy and

hostile elements that we under-estimate their strength, the effect of their propaganda and we do not take serious steps to counter those effects. In future we will have to err on the side of being over-cautious.

Perhaps, again we are so confident of the support of the people that we do not undertake our house-to-house campaigns vigorously and painstakingly to keep close contact with the thoughts and moods of the people. These are a few among the many lessons we might learn from the stay-at-home to strengthen our organisation and unite the people against their brutal enemy.

We have no time to mourn. The struggle is on. And Congress is in it — alive, conscious, as determined as ever, and maturer in experience than before.

Dr. Verwoerd threatens the A.N.C. with

Bans and Banishments

writes GOVAN MBEKI

"Whereas the activities of the organisation known as the African National Congress are detrimental to the peace, order and good government of the Natives resident in Native areas:

"And whereas it is necessary for the protection, control and welfare of the Natives in the said areas — that provision should be made to control the activities of the said organisation and of any other organisation whose activities are detrimental to the peace, order and good government of Natives in such areas . . ."

The Governor-General, in spite of any law under which offences envisaged in the proclamation may be punishable, makes known that the power to ban the African National Congress or any other organisation in "Native Areas", shall be vested in one man — the Minister of Native Affairs — Dr. H. F. Verwoerd.

This is the preamble to Proclamation No. 607 of 1958 under which regulations are drawn up "to control the activities of the ANC in 'Native Areas'." And in terms of this proclamation the Minister of Native Affairs, in a notice in the same Government Gazette of March 17, 1958, banned the ANC in the African occupied areas in Zoutpansberg, Sekhukhundi and the district of Marico in the Transvaal.

The preamble is so elastic in scope that the Minister may ban "any other organisation" whose activities are, in his opinion, not conducive to the proper protection, control and welfare of the Natives."

Tacking the Reserves

When Dr. Verwoerd took over the Department of Native Affairs in 1950, he found himself face to face with the defiant spirit of the people which manifested itself in the Defiance Campaign of Unjust Laws. The White electorate became alarmed. The Nationalist Government passed legislation such as the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act under which it could deal with a recurrence of situations similar to the Defiance Campaign to allay the fears of the Whites and to reassure them that the Nationalist Government could cope with "communist agitators."

Then, as now, Dr. Verwoerd by-passed the ANC strongholds in the industrial centres and turned his eyes to the reserves which (with the exception of Peddie and a small area of the Ciskei) had scarcely been touched by the wave of political awakening and unrest. In 1952 he promulgated regulations prohibiting meetings of more than ten people without the permission of the Native Commissioner.

Even at this early stage after the assumption of almost absolute power over the lives of the Africans in the reserves Dr. Verwoerd found justification for this drastic curtailment of the right of assembly.

What was the organisational strength of the ANC in the reserves then and how has it developed since in order to justify the newest ban today?

In the Transkei, the largest reserve, the ANC has never had any footing in an organised fashion. In the Ciskei where the people are less dependent on peasant farming and

have been exposed to more progressive influences of the industrial centres, the ANC, as an organised body following a set policy, like the Freedom Charter, has not been established to any appreciable extent. Zululand has lived in a dream state of a heroic but dead past in which the people are encouraged to glory in a war dance that makes them look back on the past as an ideal rather than towards the future with its struggles and hopes for a free life in a free country. Witzieshoek, in the Free State, has not yet forgotten the brutal suppression of the 'forties when it resisted the culling of its stock. Until recently when the Nationalist Government imposed passes on the women in the reserves the Transvaal had known the ANC in only a haphazard and vague way.

Growing Peasant Resistance

The political organisation of the people had largely centred round the Chiefs, and such as were openly opposed to the Government policies were largely led by professional men like the teachers, and self-seekers to whom patronising City Councillors refer as "moderate natives". When the Native Affairs Department took over the control of African Education, and exercised firmer control on the Chiefs under the Bantu Authorities Act, it stepped up the sneaking activities of the Special Branch, and by intimidation compelled the teachers to withdraw from political life, while the "respectable, moderate Native" leadership was completely rejected by the people.

As the Nationalist Government eliminated the influence of the teacher on the rural African's public life; as it hastily clamped down on the chiefs and dragooned them into accepting the provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act, the simple peasant had no choice but to turn to his own class for leadership and face the Nationalist threat to his existence.

The peasant has resisted bitterly the "betterment schemes", the mass removals from homes which had long been occupied by their fathers, and from areas in which the bones of their forebearers lie; they have resisted the culling of their stock and the crowning ignominy which is tantamount to sacrilege — the baring of women's heads in public as they are made to queue up for passes.

It takes a long time to arouse the peasant to any form of resistance against established authority. But as his conservatism may be a stumbling block to the growth of progressive ideas, so it too can also hold up the plans of a Government that must first destroy the established order of the peasant to carry out its plans of economic enslavement under the apartheid dream.

Nationalist Decrees

Faced with this growing resistance the Nationalist Government has promulgated a series of proclamations aimed at meeting a deteriorating situation in the areas in which the Nationalist planners have assured their supporters that they have built a dream world where the African would remain in primitive, childlike innocence, and readily available at the beck and call of the meanest member of the superior White race.

A clause in Proclamation 110/57 states that an appointed chief or headman: "*shall be entitled to the loyalty, respect and obedience of all Natives resident within his area and may — take such steps as may be necessary to secure from them such loyalty, respect and obedience.*"

As a softening up process the Nationalists have clothed the chiefs and headmen with authority:

- ★ To prohibit the gathering of men in groups, or the brewing of beer in kraals even at a wedding or any other ceremony.
- ★ To prohibit the shouting of war cries or the blowing of bugles and whistles.
- ★ To search without warrant any Native or kraal homestead or other place within his area occupied by a Native.

Unable to stem the tide of resistance the Nationalists promulgated Proclamation No. 236/57 which empowers Dr. Verwoerd to banish, "whenever he deems it expedient," any African who lives in the reserves. He has banished scores of people but resistance in the reserves has mounted.

In the preamble to Proclamation No. 52/58 prohibiting entry into and departure from the reserves the prohibition is justified because:

- ★ There are in Native areas in the Union organised and deliberate campaigns by certain organisations and agitation by certain individuals to subvert the authority of the state and of chiefs and headmen.
- ★ Those responsible for such states of unrest are persons who as individuals or as members of such organisations from time to time, either visit the Native areas from other centres or depart from these areas to visit other centres with the object of furthering agitation against constituted authority.

Heavy penalties for the contravention of these Nationalist decrees have been laid down (£300 or 3 years in jail). The Nationalists have thrown round the reserves what they regard as a foolproof fence to prevent any entry or departure of prohibited individuals. But, despite this isolation, the peasant has continued to oppose stubbornly the undermining of his peasant economy which gives him greater security than any Nationalist promises.

Rule by Truncheon

In this process the great humanitarian ideas for which the ANC stands have found their way amongst the peasants and fired their imagination. There is no barrier to ideas, and the only way to obliterate them is to create conditions that are not conducive to their taking root.

Like the flame of a magnesium ribbon which is dazzlingly bright before it dies out, this ban is a spectacular move before the Nationalist master mind reaches its own dead end and closes all channels of African association and free expression.

Regulation 5 under the banning Proclamation No. 67/58 states that any person shall be guilty of an offence if:

- ★ He carries or displays anything whatsoever or shouts or utters any slogan or makes any sign, indicating that he is or was an Office-bearer, Officer or member of or in anyway associated with the ANC or any other banned Organisation;
- ★ he, in any way, takes part in any activity of the banned organisation, or carries on any activity which the banned organisation could have carried on before it was banned.

Under these conditions the mention of the word "Afrika!", the raising of the thumb in the Afrika salute, may render one liable to a fine of £300 or 3 years in jail, or both fine and imprisonment. Further if the prosecution should allege on information from any shady source, that a person is or was a member of the banned Organisation, "he shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, to have been a member of such a banned organisation."

(Continued on page 15)

These are the cries sweeping the world . . .

Mankind Is Worth Saving

'Guided by its desire to make a practical beginning to the worldwide ending of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, which would be the first step to finally ridding mankind of the threat of devastating atomic war, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves: to end all types of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests in the Soviet Union'.

This is the wording of the simple resolution which announced to the world on March 31 of this year that the Soviet Union had unilaterally decided to stop all nuclear-warfare tests . . . a momentous decision, which gains for the Soviet Union an honour and a prestige that will be respected for generations to come.

No Time To Lose — Dr. Albert Schweitzer

"There is no time to lose. New tests increasing the danger must not be allowed to take place. It is important to realise that even without new tests, the danger will increase during the coming years. A large part of the radio-active elements flung up in the atmosphere and stratosphere is still there. It will have to come down after several years — probably about 15."

"The clean H-bomb is intended for window-dressing only. The (clean) bomb is to help people believe that from now on nuclear tests will be followed by less and less radiation, and that no real argument speaks against the continuation of the tests."

"It is not for physicists to say the decisive word on the dangers of nuclear tests. The right belongs to biologists and physicians."

"We must not assume the responsibility of the future birth of thousands of children with the most serious mental and physical defects."

Throughout the world there ran a shiver of relief and joy at the announcement. The peoples of crowded, threatened Europe especially welcomed the easing of apprehension, but men and

by
CECIL WILLIAMS

women of all tongues and creeds, literates and illiterates, experienced a surge of thankfulness that the danger of annihilation, abruptly in war, furtively in peace, had been alleviated.

How crudely, by contrast, came the reactions of the United States State Department and the British Foreign Office. Their yelps that the Soviet Union's decision was a propaganda titbit thrown to dogs, that it was a hypocritical action since nuclear-weapon tests could not be detected from afar, revealed their panic, their impudence, their mendacity **AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE WITH THEIR OWN TESTS.**

● I begin to think that mankind is coming of age . . . and that the achievement of nuclear disarmament throughout the world will be the reaching of its majority, the onset of maturity. I am convinced, too, that mankind will live to enjoy that glorious day. For the Soviet Union's decision is but another victory for the people's struggle for peace, a struggle that, day by day, is drawing more and more people of goodwill into this passionate crusade.

Eight years ago the first appeal was issued in Stockholm, demanding the banning of the atomic bomb. That petition was signed by millions, but the tests continued. Today there is no precedent for the movement stirring the world. Nor was there ever a danger equal to that which this movement aims to avert. The life, not of thousands of people, but of entire nations, groups of nations, the life of humanity itself is at stake. Scientists, men of religion, parliamentarians, artists, mothers, youth, are organising to compel governments to adopt the pattern of coexistence.

In the past eight years scientists have learned more and more of the terrifying dangers to mankind from nuclear weapons themselves and from the testing of them. (And all praise to those scientists who have warned the people of the increasing dangers.)

But in the meantime ever more powerful bombs have been developed, so that the smallest of them has now a destructive power equal to that of the bombs which razed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killed more than 300,000 people and subjected 250,000 to the lasting and wasting diseases from radiation.

With each new bomb the nuclear arms race has been accelerated to a break-neck speed. People have stirred in fear at the knowledge that some of the nuclear weapons are now to be considered as 'conventional' armaments, ready for employment in a 'local' war; and as the United States Strategic Airforce has started its daily and nightly flights of nuclear-bomb-bearing planes over U.S. 'occupied' territory, so the people have become more articulate, better organised, more united and more insistent in their demands: **STOP NUCLEAR TESTS: NO MISSILE BASES: DISARMAMENT: NEGOTIATION.**

● The fear of instant annihilation of millions of people by the dropping of one single hydrogen bomb is terrifying enough, the thought of the destruction of cities, factories, homes, universities, laboratories, hospitals in one fatal moment gives us breath-stopping pause, but what, I think, has most infuriated ordinary men and women is the knowledge that **EVEN IN PEACETIME** they are being infected with bone-cancer and leukemia from the radio-active isotopes strontium 90, caesium and carbon, produced during explosions and spread throughout the world on the winds of heaven. They are appalled that the consequent genetic hazards promise for humanity the birth of misshapen freaks of babies.

Pastor Niemoller said in London, War has ceased to be war and has become mass murder. But there is no more need of war to destroy the world, tests alone will do that. We were outraged by Hitler using prisoners as guineapigs. But your children

Bertrand Russell: An even chance of life 40 years hence

THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT issue in the whole history of man. One part of what has to be done is easy: stop the tests, which are already doing greater cumulative damage than most people realise. British medical experts estimate that they may so far have caused 50,000 cases of cancer. Governments are spending large sums on how to prevent cancer and far more on how to cause it. Rains have become radioactive throughout the world.

The tests are easy to stop because they cannot be concealed. Dr. Edward Teller says they can be, but he is a paid expert of the U.S. government and I have never been able to find an unpaid expert who agrees with him.

There is serious danger of nuclear war by accident — it is extremely likely to break out without anyone intending it.

The danger will increase if France, Germany and other

countries acquire these bombs. To avert it, the only course is for us who have them to renounce them.

America and Russia should agree that nobody but they must have them. But if mankind is to survive they must be abandoned everywhere. Otherwise there will be an explosion and all will be wiped out. It is now an even chance whether any human being will exist 40 years hence.

Talk about the 'great deterrent' is absolute nonsense; if it's not going to be used, why have it? If it is used, it is the end. It is no use at all to think of it as a conceivable means to save the peace of the world.

Talk about the 'risk' of negotiating is also absolute nonsense. What about the risk of not negotiating? Both sides must put forward honest proposals capable of negotiation, and abandon abuse of each other.

and grandchildren are being used as guinea pigs in the nuclear tests'.

No wonder the people of the world are rising in self-protection.

But, in addition, in this epoch of unparalleled scientific discoveries, we are beginning to realise that our generation has in its hands today the tools for making our planet a place of abundance and happiness. And yet this exceptional situation has a sombre backdrop.

Sixty per cent of humanity live in a chronic state of hunger. This disturbing contrast between possibility and reality becomes tragic, when one realises that priority has been given to the use of science for warlike ends, with an ever-growing part of national incomes devoted to military expenditure. In other words, the means provided by the human genius to deliver man from poverty, disease and inequality are misused instead to prepare the utter and final destruction of our race.

No wonder the people of the world are rising in anger.

What, one asks, is stopping the final ban on the production, testing, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons? Now that the U.S.S.R. has decided on the unilateral termination of nuclear-weapon tests, what is holding back a like decision by the United States and the United Kingdom — the

only other nations producing such weapons?

Let us not blink the fact that the capitalist countries, England and America, are continuing their tests as part of the Cold War, this constant threat of hot war against the socialist countries, this dangerous technique of diverting men's minds from the true causes of their material and cultural poverty. No cost is too great to safeguard their super-profits.

Must we accept this blackmail? Those in the United States and Great Britain who profit by war are a minute minority of the American and British people, who, altogether total less than 9% of the world's peoples.

There are cries that the American economy will landslide into a catastrophic depression if the bulwark of armaments is removed. But the economies of the American-dominated NATO countries are already staggering from crisis to crisis — and all the hydrogen bombs and civil defence pretences have not saved over 5,000,000 Americans from unemployment.

No wonder the people of the world are rising in commonsense.

But South Africa is silent.

● *Preoccupied with keeping White blood 'white' and White bodies 'white', the ruling class is oh! so unmindful that a hydrogen*

bomb knows no colour bar: that, after an explosion, all dead bodies will be seared the same colour of ash and all blood boiled to immediate evaporation. The ruling class is oh! so unmindful that the bodies of Whites as well as Blacks are being invaded by the agents of blood- and bone-cancer: that the bodies of pitiful freak-babies will be White as well as Black.

And gladly we produce uranium from our mines. This accident, a gift to man, rich in our ground, we unquestionably allow to be used to poison both ourselves and our fellowmen.

The time has come, now, when the peoples of the world are clamouring, for us, too, to make our sensible voices heard. Our government must hear us: from the Congresses, from the universities, from the churches, from the trade unions, from the women, from **THE PEOPLE**

- STOP NUCLEAR TESTS!
- NO URANIUM FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS!!
- DISARMAMENT!!!
- NEGOTIATION!!!!
- PEACE!

Homecoming to Hospital

by PETER PRICE

Peter Price is the nom de plume adopted by a young South African recently on a visit here . . . who hopes one day to be re-admitted to a ward in this 'hospital'.

Returning to South Africa is not, quite, like coming back into jail. The guards have the same imperiousness: the classification into inflexible categories is as annoying. (I find "Caucasian" race foxes them: I have not yet dared to write "human".) But one must not exaggerate. Better compare it to a patient's return to hospital. Equipped with one's week-end pass, duly signed by the Doctor, one has been able to enjoy the brief illusion of normal existence in a healthy world. Now, one's ticket-of-leave expired, one resumes treatment.

And it is almost with relief that one feels the protecting doors clang shut, and moves to the familiar bed in the private ward. After all, this is a very comfortable hospital, and the food is excellent. The methods may be a little old-fashioned, but all the equipment is very advanced. Newspapers and films are brought in from outside: the patients tirelessly organise social activities. One can even receive visitors occasionally, by the permission of the authorities.

The nurses are so kind, and well trained: they do what they must, of course, but always with the least possible brutality, and with the patients' interests at all times in view. Sometimes the patients are very ungrateful for such solicitude, but "we cannot blame them, they are not well". If they break the rules, they may have to be transferred to the closed wards for a time. And to complaints there is always a final answer: "You are a voluntary patient, are you not? Give in your notice and leave: though of course, we can't say whether they will accept you outside, and we can't promise to take you back." Think, after all, of the pleasures of one's status compared to that of the public patients: in overcrowded wards, with hard work and little treatment, and perhaps £1 a week spent on their food. And they, in general, are not free to leave even if they could.

After struggling with London prices on an English wage, the homecomer finds Johannesburg almost shockingly pleasant. The superficial pleasures of London and New York are obtainable at a fraction of the price: even without service, a flat in Hillbrow can be close to heaven for a footloose bachelor, and the food at Pocard's would cost three times as much in Paris. After penury abroad, one can easily expand into rapture over a regained paradise of cars and money and wine.

The police, in general, seem still more likely to worry one for parking than for political offences. One may chance on a tightlipped, puffy-eyed figure at a conference, with "Political Police" written in his stance. One's friends may be out on bail, one's favourite reading banned. But if one stays within the controlled orbit of Liberal (or 'liberal') politics, one's

brushes with the Department of Justice will be more memorable than painful: in the present stage, at least.

Indeed, it seems only too easy to drift into a transplanted version of one's old attitude in England: the cosmopolitan individualism of folk records and Swedish furniture, the "New Statesman" by air and a genteel, anarchic detachment.

But, even if one is only back for a few weeks, one is forced to take decisions. Those charming Africans with whom one shook hands so demonstratively — one can hardly ask them round to the flat for a drink. Better to fling a tickey to a garage hand, and for that miniscule largesse win the salute of a Chieftain, "Nkosi!" When an African woman knocks on the door at seven in the morning, asking for a job, or "any old clothes, master", one desperately hands her a new shirt and prays for guidance.

Politics, here, seems like shadow-boxing on a roller-coaster. When at a street-corner meeting, I heard a question: "If returned to power, would you propose to do anything to alter the electoral system whereby the majority is ruled by the minority?" I thought "Ah, the franchise question is being raised at last." But no, it became clear that both the questioner and the speaker were referring merely to the bias in the White constituencies. The situation is like a squabble between two dwarfs beside a prostrate giant: it seems rather unimportant that one of the dwarfs is wearing handcuffs.

Those who hoped for signs of the giant's awakening, nave, however, been disappointed. April 14 was less of a failure than the press suggested (strangely, it was the *Vaderland* which printed pictures of empty buses on that afternoon, when from the *Star* came no hint that even a single worker had stayed away). Nevertheless, in contrast with the previous June 26, it was abysmal: it confirmed Julius Lewin's American declaration that the revolution is a long, long way off.

The overseas press is ready to see a 1905 whenever the UDF has a tank exercise — we are far, yet, even from the liberation of the serfs. Admittedly, the election was pre-cooked: but as it turned out, there was no need to cook it much — the government achieved a swing so large as, almost, to give it 50 per cent of the total White vote. It was "Swaai, swaai, the witbaas cry, hiervandaan na Mosselbaai!"

Paradoxes still flourish. The White employers were able to take comfort from the spread of Africanism on the Rand — like doctors rejoicing that smallpox was keeping down the incidence of chickenpox. The Liberals, in Natal at least, function multi-racially, while Congress is segregated. *Strijdom* extends a fatherly hand to the persecuted White Rhodesians. The Coloured voters still prefer the reality of an intermediate status to the prospect of general equality.

The hospital, in fact, functions normally, and may well be expanding. The patients, on the whole, are well under control. But, just in case, there are plenty of straitjackets ready in the basement.

The Forbidden Sartre Article on Algeria

TORTURE & RACE HATRED

In February in France a book with the title "La Question" was published. Overnight it created a furore. Issues of newspapers which carried excerpts of it were confiscated by the Paris police. The reason was that this book by Henri Alleg, former editor of the left-wing Algerian newspaper "Alger Republicain" described gruesome tortures on Alleg by French paratroopers in Algeria. Alleg had been living in hiding when he fell into a French trap and was tortured beyond belief. From prison he managed to smuggle out an account of his ordeal. More than 30,000 copies of Alleg's book were sold in two weeks in France. It touched the conscience of

France as few other words had done, and moved JEAN PAUL SARTRE, philosopher and France's most influential writer, to write a powerful exposure indicting his country for the use of torture. Not only were publications printing excerpts of the Sartre article seized, but police confiscated all copies of the article to be published in booklet form and then went to the printer and smashed the type. The Sartre article has been reprinted in London, Stockholm, New York and elsewhere but till recently was still unobtainable in France. FIGHTING TALK is the first South African publication to print excerpts.

'A Figure in Our Own Likeness ...'

IN 1943, in the Rue Lauriston (the Gestapo headquarters in Paris), Frenchmen were screaming in agony and pain; all France could hear them. In those days the outcome of the war was uncertain and the future unthinkable, but one thing seemed impossible in any circumstances: that one day men should be made to scream by those acting in our name.

There is no such word as impossible. In 1958, in Algiers, people are tortured regularly and systematically. Everyone, from M. Lacoste (Minister Resident for Algeria) to the farmers in Aveyron, knows this is so, but almost no one talks of it.

At most a few thin voices trickle through the silence. France is almost as mute as during the Occupation, but then she had the excuse of being gagged.

Abroad, the conclusion has already been drawn. Some people say our decline has gone on since 1939, others say since 1918. That is too simple. I find it hard to believe in the degradation of a people. I do believe in stagnation and stupor.

During the war, when the English radio and the clandestine press spoke of the massacre of Oradour, we watched the German soldiers walking inoffensively down the street, and would say to ourselves: "They look like us. How can they act as they do?"

And we were proud of ourselves for not understanding.

TODAY, WE KNOW there was nothing to understand. The decline has been gradual and imperceptible. But now when we raise our heads and look into the mirror we see an unfamiliar and hideous reflection: ourselves.

Appalled, the French are discovering this terrible truth: that if nothing can protect a nation against itself, neither

its traditions nor its loyalties nor its laws, and if 15 years are enough to transform victims into executioners, then its behaviour is no more than a matter of opportunity and occasion. Anybody, at any time, may equally find himself victim or executioner.

Happy are those who died without ever having had to ask themselves: "If they tear out my fingernails, will I talk?"

But even happier are others, barely out of their childhood, who have not had to ask themselves that other question: "If my friends, fellow soldiers, and leaders tear out an enemy's fingernails in my presence, what will I do?"

The young conscripts driven to the wall by circumstances, what do they know of themselves? They sense that the resolutions they make here in France will, when they are faced with an unpredictable crisis, seem like empty abstractions.

Alone and over there, they will have to take decisions for France and for themselves. After that experience they come home transformed, aware of their helplessness, and generally taking refuge in a bitter silence.

Fear is born. Fear of others and of themselves, and in France today, fear permeates all sections of society. The victim and executioner merge into the same figure, a figure in our own likeness . . .

WHISPERED PROPAGANDA would have us believe that "everybody talks", and this ignorance of humanity excuses torture. As everyone of us is a potential traitor, the killer in each of us need feel no qualms. All the more so as honeyed voices tell us every day that the glory of France demands it. The good patriot has a clear conscience, and only defeatists need be ashamed.

It is not the individuals, in this case, who matter. Executioners and victims alike are in the grip of a violent and anonymous hatred. It is a hatred that debases them both through each other, taking the form of torture and creating its own instruments.

Yet when this is said in Parliament, pretty timidly, the pack is let loose: "You are insulting the army!" These curs must be asked once and for all what this has got to do with the army. Yes, torture is used in the army, but what does this prove? It is not the army as such which does the torturing . . .

Torture is neither civilian nor military, nor is it specifically French. It is a plague infecting our whole era. There are brutes East as well as West. One could cite Farkas, not so long ago torturing Hungarians, and the Poles admitting that before the Poznan riots, the police often used torture.

The Khrushchev report shows conclusively what was happening in the Soviet Union when Stalin was alive. Men who only yesterday were being "interrogated" in Nasser's prisons have subsequently been raised, still in a rather battered state, to high places. In other words, Hitler was only a forerunner.

Disavowed — sometimes pretty quietly — but systematically practiced behind a facade of democratic legality, torture has now acquired the status of a semi-clandestine institution. Does it always have the same causes? Certainly not, but everywhere it betrays the same sickness. But this is not our business. It is up to us to clear out our own backyard, and try to understand what has happened to us, the French . . .

OUR ARMY is scattered all over Algeria. We have the men, the money and the arms. The rebels have nothing but the confidence and support of a large part of the population.

It is we, in spite of ourselves, who have imposed this type of war — terrorism in the towns and ambushes in the country. With the imbalance in the forces, the F.L.N. (National Liberation Front) has no other means of action.

The elusiveness of the enemy is the reason for our disquiet. A bomb is thrown in a street. A soldier is wounded by a random shot. People rush up and then disperse. Later Muslims nearby claim they saw nothing. All this fits into the pattern of a popular war of the poor against the rich, with the rebel units depending on local support.

That is why the regular army and civilian powers have come to regard the destitute swarm of people as their innumerable and constant enemy. The occupying troops are baffled by the silence they themselves created. The rich feel hunted down by the uncommunicative poor.

The "forces of order", hindered by their own might, have no defense against guerrillas except punitive expeditions and reprisals, and no defense against terrorism but terror. Everybody, everywhere, is hiding something. They must be made to talk . . .

THIS REBELLION is not merely challenging the power of the settlers, but their very being. For most Europeans in Algeria, there are two complementary and inseparable truths; that they have a divine right, and that the natives are subhuman. This is a mythical interpretation

of a reality. For the riches of the one are built on the poverty of the other.

In this way exploitation puts the exploiter at the mercy of his victim, and the dependance itself begets racialism. It is a bitter and tragic fact that for the Europeans in Algeria being a man means first and foremost superiority to the Muslims.

But what if the Muslim finds in his turn that his manhood depends on equality with the settler? It is then that the European begins to feel his very existence diminished and cheapened.

It is not only the economic consequences of the emancipation of the "wogs" that appal him but the implied threat to his own status as a human being.

In his rage he may dream romantically of genocide. But this is pure fantasy. Rationally, he is aware of his need for the native worker to provide surplus labour and chronic unemployment to allow him to fix his own wage rates.

Anyway, if he accepts the Muslims as human beings, there is no sense in killing them. The need is rather to humiliate them, to crush their pride and drag them down to animal level. The body may live, but the spirit must be killed. To train, discipline and chastise, these are the words which obsess him. Algeria cannot contain two human species, but requires a choice between them.

I am certainly not suggesting that the Algerian Europeans invented torture, nor even that they incited the authorities to practice it. On the contrary, it was the order of the day before we even noticed it. Torture was simply the expression of racial hatred.

IT WAS THANKS to Alleg's lucid calm that all this became apparent. We would be grateful to him if he had done nothing else. But in fact he did far more. By intimidating his torturers, he won a victory for humanity against the lunatic violence of certain soldiers and against the racialism of the settlers.

Alleg does not inspire sentimental pity. He is the only tough character among these little war-lords, proud of their youth, their strength and their numbers.

All we can say is something he never mentioned: that he paid the highest price for the simple right to remain a man among men. That is why this paragraph of his book is so moving:

"I suddenly felt proud and happy. I hadn't given in. I was now sure I could stand up to it if they started again, that I could hold out to the end, and that I wouldn't make their job easier by killing myself."

The great merit of Alleg's book is to dissipate our last illusions. We know now that it is not a question of punishing or re-educating certain individuals and that the Algerian war cannot be humanised. Torture is imposed by the circumstances and required by racial hatred. In some ways it is the essence of the conflict that expresses its deepest truth.

If we want to put an end to the atrocious and bleak cruelty, and save France from this disgrace and the Algerians from this hell, there has always been and still is only one way: to open negotiations and to make peace.

'Spartacus' Ballet at the Bolshoi Theatre

The production of a monumental new ballet at the Bolshoi Theatre on the theme of the tragedy of Spartacus, the Thracian captive who challenged the power of Ancient Rome, has proved to be the outstanding event in this winter's artistic season here.

The subject of Nikolai Volkov's libretto — the aspirations of the oppressed and humiliated to a life of liberty, independence and dignity — is an eternal one and because of that, contemporary. In the words of the composer — Aram Khachaturian: "Today, when all peoples are struggling for their independence, when colonialism is collapsing once and for all, people should know and remember the names of those men who at the dawn of history rose boldly against their enslavers."

In nine scenes this ballet shows Spartacus as captive, rebel, successful military commander and finally as the victim of dissension in his camp. Drawing on Sallust, Appian and Plutarch, the Russian librettist shows Spartacus as a man possessing not only great physical strength and courage but also a gift for military leadership. We see him flinging down three challenges to Ancient Rome: at the triumph of his captor Crassus he brings the praetor's golden chariot to a halt by his immense strength; in the slave market he forces his purchaser, owner of a school of gladiators, to allow his wife Phrygia to accompany him by threatening to kill himself and her; and in the Circus he refuses to kill the gladiator he has defeated and flings his sword down when the public cries for blood. We see Spartacus leading the gladiators in their escape from the dungeons, joining up with runaway slaves, peasants and workers on the Appian Way, carrying the torch of revolt throughout Italy and reaching the culmination of his power by breaking into a feast at the villa of Crassus. Finally, we see the collapse of

A MOSCOW LETTER BY AIRMAIL from RALPH PARKER

discipline among Spartacus' lieutenants, the betrayal of his cause and the ambush in which Spartacus is killed when he is on the point of embarking for Sicily.

This story, practically free from any embellishment that might break the dramatic line, is interpreted dynamically, unsentimentally and with tremendous power by composer, choreographer and artist alike. Khachaturian has made no attempt to stylise Italian music or to look for source material among the fragmentary knowledge of Ancient Roman music that exists. His score is strictly modern — passionate, harsh, dynamically energetic. Konstantinovskiy the artist uses hot primary colours and ponderous architectural forms to convey the spirit of cruelty, the lack of refinement, the unrestrained passions of Ancient Rome.

The idea of producing a ballet on the subject of Spartacus is one that Igor Moiseyev has entertained for over twenty-five years. In the 'thirties Moiseyev worked as a young choreographer at the Bolshoi Theatre. In 1937 he left it to organise the troupe of folk dancers that has since won world-wide fame. For twenty years he has been researching into the origins of the dance among the many peoples of the Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East. He has brought folklore to the theatre and the theatre to folklore. Returning to the Bolshoi Theatre to produce Spartacus he is the undisputed expert in the technology of the dance.

Moiseyev's production of Spartacus is no less than revolutionary. Drawing

from his experience with his own troupe of dancers, the State Folk Dance Ensemble, he has completely discarded the classic relationship between soloist and corps de ballet. "In most old classical ballets," he has said in this connection, "the masses (corps de ballet) were only a sort of accompaniment to the soloists. In Spartacus the masses constitute the leading, independent hero of the spectacle, acting together with the five principal characters. That is why mass dances play the dominant role both in the creation of emotional tension and in the conveying of the idea. They strengthen the role of the monologues and duets of the main characters."

Some critics, supported, needless to say, by many of the established soloists of the company, have objected to Moiseyev's subordination of the prima ballerina. And it may be that in the future some concession will be made to their objections and that the role of Aegina, the concubine of Crassus, danced by Maya Plisetskaya, will be strengthened. However, no amendments can alter its character as a ballet essentially of mass dancing.

In these dances that often involve as many as 150 performers Moiseyev has introduced a new technology of the dance. He has avoided the repetition of any of the clichés which are sometimes to be detected in character dancing. There is no conventional orientalism in the dance of the Egyptian slaves, none of the stereotyped Spanish quality in the lovely dance of the Cadiz maidens, nothing superficially "African" about the Numidian dance. Here we see the result of the painstaking researches that Moiseyev has been making into original folk dances.

At its first three performances and at two crowded dress rehearsals Spartacus was acclaimed by the audience as an important innovation in the world of ballet.

New Kenya Storm Brewing

Kenya is back in the news again. New mass arrests, more troops, African members of the Legislative Council charged with "conspiracy" and action taken against two newspapers.

These are events which highlight a serious situation in Kenya — the dark clouds which might easily presage a storm as fierce as that of a few years ago.

European settlers today make similar threats against Africans as those made before the "Mau Mau emergency" in October 1952.

A consistent demand in European speeches, journals, and newspapers during recent months has been for drastic action against African elected members of the Legislative Council who are boycotting Lennox-Boyd's phoney constitution and call, instead, for universal suffrage for Africans.

Threat

The latest threat against them was from Group Captain Briggs, European Minister Without Portfolio, who, in a speech at Thomson's Falls recently on the "present security situation in Kenya" said he found it difficult to confine himself strictly to the subject because "African politics had a considerable impact on security."

Harking back to the alleged "Mau Mau barbarities", he warned that:

"The activities of some of the present team of African members of the Legislative Council might eventually have much the same result, for it is much easier to start trouble than it is to stop it."

Words almost identical with those of the Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya, on September 14, 1952:

"There is a subversive element and there has been a certain amount of trouble, but it is confined to a small area . . . The point is that it has potential danger and that is why we think it is better to deal with it now before it gets worse."

Settlers

This statement arose from the demand by European settlers for drastic action.

The British Tories responded in Octo-

ber with their decision of "a state of emergency" in Kenya.

● In four years more than 10,000 Africans were killed (including 1,000 executed) and over 40,000 put in concentration camps — half of them still in detention.

After more than five years the "emergency regulations" are still in force.

Why are the European settlers stepping up their demand for more drastic repressive measures against the Africans? There are two main reasons:

The first is the rapid growth of the African mass political movement—which is determined to end European domination and to secure democratic rights for the Africans.

The second is that strategic reserve troops are now being stationed in Kenya, for quick transport to military operations in the Middle East and Asia, or for use against "subversion" in Kenya and other British Colonies.

Strong African opposition led to the breakdown of the Lyttleton "constitution" last autumn. Lennox-Boyd tried to save the wreckage with another phoney plan.

Lyttleton's spurious "partnership" provided 14 European elected members, eight Africans, and six Asians.

Lennox-Boyd's new formula provides for 14 African-elected members, 14 Europeans, and six Asians — but leaves 23 non-elected European members, giving them an over-all majority over both Africans and Asians.

The "sugar on the pill" was a proposal that 12 new "non-racial" members (four Africans, four Europeans, and four Asians) be chosen by the new Legislative Council — in other words, by the European majority.

These dodges did not fool the Africans.

● In the recent elections for African seats every member elected was pledged to boycott the Lennox-Boyd plan.

One of the defeated African candidates, Mr. Eluid Mathu, a non-elected member (chosen by the Governor) ever since 1945, had co-operated with the European settlers and British Govern-

ment in the armed attack on the Africans.

He was defeated in the first election for eight Africans last year. In the March elections this year, for six more African members, he chose a more favourable constituency, and was again soundly defeated.

Contempt

Such is the contempt (even of the tiny minority of Africans allowed to vote) for those who support European domination in Kenya.

Europeans are taking desperate measures to find "stooge" Africans to fill the four non-elected positions.

Their failure to deceive the Africans makes the European settlers indulge in savage threats to use repressive measures.

Tragic is the pledge given by Jim Griffiths, front bencher Labour M.P., to support the Lennox Boyd plan and oppose the demands of the Africans.

European settlers and their journals in Kenya are taking full advantage of this betrayal by official Labour, using it as their biggest argument against the African elected members.

The second factor which explains the Tory backing for European domination is the strategic position of Kenya in their war plans, and for armed repression in the Colonies.

Importance

Extensive measures have already been taken for the build-up — including the new airport at Nairobi for jet planes, and extension of Mombasa port.

It is the strategic importance and their determination to maintain European minority domination (50,000 Europeans and six million Africans), that make the British Tories fight tooth and nail to prevent the Africans achieving their democratic rights.

The situation in Kenya could become more tense and serious even than in 1952.

Bans and Banishments

(Continued from page 7)

Shutting off the Reserves

The deck has been cleared for the complete exclusion of the reserves from the outside world. Neither the ANC nor any other organisation or persons shall be permitted to raise his voice against Verwoerd's decrees in the reserves. It may be that the fate of thousands of people in Marico, Zoutpansberg, Zeerust and other areas to follow will remain unknown to the outside world as that of millions in Buchenwald, Belsen and other concentration camps was unknown until the gates were opened wide and the world recoiled in horror.

What of the Towns?

Why has the Nationalist Government by-passed the ANC strongholds in the industrial areas?

In one respect the ban on the ANC in rural areas is an indication of the unbending Nationalist determination to herd all Africans into the reserves. Whether this is sound economic policy or not; whether to achieve such rigid apartheid will disrupt the economic structure of the country or not, Dr. Verwoerd, the apartheid designer-in-chief, and his co-planners are determined to sweep the Africans back to the reserves. The banning of the ANC in rural areas is therefore in anticipation of a mass return to the reserves.

On the other hand the fact that the Nationalist Government has not yet imposed a ban on the ANC in urban areas is indicative of their dilemma. As long as the ANC is a legal organisation the vast network of spies and informers is able to play hide and seek within the organisation and thus collect valuable information. If the Nationalist Govern-

ment continues to adopt this attitude the ANC also gains time to improve organisationally and to extend its influence over large sections of voteless Non-white, more particularly the Africans.

But if the Government bans the ANC in the towns it will have to contend with the likelihood of its spirit surviving underground and thus making it extremely difficult for the Nationalist Government to anticipate its planned actions or to assess its influence on the people.

This dilemma will be resolved as soon the ANC shows greater organisational efficiency and the Government will ban it. The Nationalists cannot stop and their own momentum carries them on to acts whose final results can only lead to their doom.

The familiar pattern of events preceding a ban is already there. For almost five years the people in the urban areas of the Border and Eastern Cape have been denied the right to hold meetings in urban locations. Over two years ago a rigid ban on meetings of more than ten Africans was imposed on the magisterial districts of Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Cradock, Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp. A similar ban has in the last two weeks been imposed on almost all the urban centres.

This move will have a retarding effect on ANC activities in almost all the areas that are beginning to experience a ban on meetings. The extent to which such retardation will affect each area will depend on the amount of preparatory work done. That the union-wide ban will have an unfavourable effect on the ANC is a fact no one can deny.

To what extent such a ban may affect the course of events in the near future, or temporarily disorganise the loosely knit organisational structure of the ANC will depend on timely guidance by the leadership, a review of policy and organisational measures suited to the new situation.

MIKE MULLER writes on S.A.B.R.A. 'Diplomats' at Large

The Same Bad Penny

Twenty years ago a gentleman by the name of von Ribbentrop was Hitler's Foreign Minister. He developed a very successful technique, if not always to win the support of Europe's ruling classes for Hitler, at least to have them adopt a passive attitude to the Nazi terror. The basis of this technique was simple: the promise of a peaceful Europe, without communism to worry rich men, once Germany's demands had been granted. Ribbentrop's personable young men put forward their arguments without the crudeness of Goebbels. The atrocities against the Jews and the political opposition within Germany was "propaganda by our enemies", and in any case Germany's domestic affair.

Strijdom and Verwoerd have in the S.A. Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA) an agency which is doing for them, in relation to the English-speaking intelligentsia and upper middle classes,

precisely the same job as Ribbentrop did for Hitler. The initial work is done largely by personal and social contact; by house meetings and pleasant social gatherings at which the SABRA men do their stuff. Their English is perfect, their manners charming and their style of presentation that dispassionate and unemotional one so dear to the English middle-class.

The Champion Filly

The hoary old SABRA hobby-horse of total segregation is trotted out as if it is a champion filly. An uninformed audience may be taken in by this vague concept of Africans having their "own areas", where they can exercise democratic rights (but still leaving some millions of their brethren as temporary workers in the White Area). But anyone knowing a few facts can easily expose the fallacies of this idea.

Nevertheless, to SABRA and the Nats, it serves a very good purpose. The SABRA propagandists dismiss Verwoerd's race laws, and their consequences, as the results of present conditions. Passes for women? "Don't you see", they say, "that this is necessary while we have not got total separation. When Africans govern themselves in their own areas they can decide for themselves if they want identity cards."

What about police terror, the murders often perpetrated on farm labourers? Your SABRA man shrinks away in disgust from the crude men who proclaim the superiority of White over Black and demand White domination. They express their disapproval of strong arm methods; they disown those who practise such methods.

Uneasy Conscience

No wonder that they go down well in company where consciences are uneasy

about the manner in which Verwoerd treats Africans. Here is a policy which makes the abuses of the present day a passing phase, the necessary hardships which the Africans must endure in order one day to inherit the Bantustan heaven. Why, to support SABRA makes you practically a Liberal; are you not in fact fighting for equal rights (in separate areas)? And you can do all this without falling foul of "Blackie" Swart and Col. Spengler.

Such is the dishonest SABRA propaganda line. Nor is it unfair to call these very gentle gentlemen dishonest. They are practically all members of Strijdom's party, most of them active members. They certainly take an active part on such occasions as elections, where they work willingly with the same crude men whom they decry in the intellectual's front parlour. Wherever they are they work for the Nat. candidate, be he a simple racist like Groblersdal's Abraham or Stellenbosch's du Plessis, the Nat. whom Holland did not want as ambassador. While on the higher levels of legislation they may lobby Ministers to move them in this or that direction, they are very quiet about farm goals and about such unimportant things as disproportionate court sentences: £50 for killing a black baby; £100 for burning your pass. The N.A.D. "researchers" who are entrusted with the job of carrying out ethnic grouping and the Bantu Authorities Act are invariably SABRA men.

The members of SABRA, and the White "cowboy" who beats up Africans for sport, are two sides of the same bad penny.

New Conquests

The Nationalists, having broken the back of that one-third of Afrikaners who have hitherto supported the U.P., will increasingly turn their attention to winning English-speaking support. A glance at the readers' letters in the English language Press shows that they are not entirely without success. In many of these letters the hand of SABRA is clearly to be seen.

SABRA also has a wider role. It has become the main agency to win over the people who matter overseas. It has clearly become policy to send the over-

seas inquirer to SABRA head office in Stellenbosch, rather than to Strijdom or Verwoerd.

Here an interesting tendency appears. That global watchdog of the "free" world, John Foster Dulles, is naturally interested in South Africa. Whom should he back? He dare not openly support Strijdom because of the reaction on America's already shaky reputation throughout Asia and Africa. He dare not support the liberation movement because he cannot afford to annoy his ally, the South African Government. He has written off the U.P. What better bet than the "Liberals" of SABRA? Their paper programmes annoy no one and can never be fulfilled. At the same time they are perfectly reliable as suppressors of liberation movements and protectors of American investments. The traffic between America and Stellenbosch has of late become quite obvious.

According to the SABRA time-table, it will take about fifty years for total apartheid to come about. Their greatest error lies not in this or that aspect of their policy. Their greatest error is their assumption that their party, the Nationalist Party, can terrorise the South African people into political submission. Events and people will interrupt the SABRA time-table long before its 50 years are up.

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