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LIBERATION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE N.L.F.

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even in our day to day living. We are to devote the greater part of our lives to the work of the N.L.F. and not to wait till the firing of bullets. In the months to come some of us are to abandon their careers or use them in such a way as to be of direct benefit to the work of the N.L.F. Every member must find out for himself and through our literature the various methods of security in revolutionary activity. Pamphlet No. IV must be read by all, and several codes must be learned by every cell. There should be a tightening-up of leakages - members must be careful what they say and to whom they say it. When a person is assigned a specific mission, he must not inform even other cell members about it, and must never inform relatives or friends outside the organization. In a word, "Your right hand must not know what your left hand doeth."

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SHORT REPORT ON ACTIVITY IN S.W. AFRICA (OVAMBOLAND).

Our member arrived in S.W.A. 28th February. For the first three days of his stay, he was literally flooded with visitors who wanted clarity on certain political issues, viz. S.W. Africa's position in the world; the World Court; U.N.O. etc. These gave him the opportunity to explain the views on the struggle as we see it in Cape Town. The presentation of these progressive views was applauded by nearly everyone. Most of them felt that we are meeting reality face to face at last.

Our N.L.F. member also had the opportunity to discuss with most of the SWAPO leaders, at a two-day Regional Congress in Ovamboland. He presented the most trustworthy among them with our views (Not mentioning the N.L.F.) Each accepted our approach as the only way out. Out of those present he found 4 to be particularly sincere and influential. They could be of great benefit to the progressive struggle.

Besides individual contacts, he also spoke to large gatherings of SWAPO members and non-members on UNO and why we adopt an Anti-UNO stand. (Imperialist-colonialist controlled monopolists in S.W.A. : Tsumeb Corporation, Consolidated Diamond Mines, and other big money undertakings will control UNO and divide - even partition the country. This would result in a bloodbath - as in the Congo.)

The people of S.W.A. are experiencing a political awakening. It is impossible for any Bantu Commissioner or official to hold public meetings. SWAPO's pamphlets on the "Five Year Plan" and "The Increase on Poll Tax" are widely known and well received. The Boycott of the Verwoerd 5 year Plan is 100% effective. Odendaal (Commissioner) and his officials are holding their "meetings" with very few headmen, behind barricaded doors and windows.

The people can endure no more. The fighting spirits are visible. The missionaries as well as the B.A.D. officials know it well. The Finnish Mission is busy "Africanizing" its administrative works. All the far posts of that mission are being abandoned. All the Finns are congregated at the centres near the police stations. Communication networks have been concluded recently. All the mission stations are connected by radio telephone with Ondangua, the headquarters of the police in Ovamboland. All the police patrol vans are equipped with tele-radio apparatus to maintain contact with Windhoek. A huge goal - the first in Ovamboland - is under construction at Ondangua.

SWAPO is running an excellent intelligence network, which is probing deep into the oppressor's secrets in Ovamboland. Some of this information will come our way soon.

Reading material is scarce in S.W.A. and an appeal is made for literature - especially of an anti-imperialist nature.

Since it is clear that the U.N.O. and the Afro-Asian Block will be focussing their attention of the world on S.W.A., more members of the N.L.F. have left to assist and speed up the work there. Imperialist intervention will not catch us unawares.

The Pan-Africanist Congress was formed in 1959 by a section of the African National Congress. The PAC's criticism of Congress was that the latter was not racialistic enough. The PAC set itself the task of organizing on a racial basis with its slogan of "Africa for the Africans".

Before launching its Anti-Pass Campaign, the PAC visited many centres and held several meetings which were very well attended. They were elated at the attendance and thought that it was an indication of their following. They did not seem to realize that the meetings were well attended because people were at the time willing to attend any meeting which criticized the government.

On the 21st March, 1960, the PAC launched its National Anti-Pass campaign under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. The people were asked to leave their pass books at home, march to the nearest police station and hand themselves over for arrest. The emphasis of the Campaign was on non-violence. I must say here that the PAC put forward two demands:

- (1) the abolition of passes, and,
- (2) a minimum wage for Africans.

How these demands could possibly bring freedom to more than ten million people during this year 1963, and transform the state, the PAC alone knew.

Because they had failed to examine carefully the "weapon" of non-violence, they were shocked at the results it had viz. the tragedies of Sharpsville and Langa. Hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were shot down by the herrenvolk police, the PAC leaders arrested and tried. (Sobukwe was due for release on the 3rd May, 1963, but under Vorsters new Detention Bill, has been sent to Robben Island for an indefinite period.) The result then of this ill-planned and irresponsible adventure was complete failure. On the 7th April, 1960 the PAC together with the A.N.C. was banned.

P.O.Q.O.

The PAC suffered heavily from the arrests and bannings, however, during 1961 a group of followers reorganized themselves under the name of P.O.Q.O. (we stand alone.)

STRUCTURE:

The organization is made up of cells. There are ten members to each cell, and any number of cells form a Branch. (It would appear that there is no limit to the number of persons enrolled in a particular area. This is a very dangerous procedure as, the larger the number, the more difficult it becomes to keep out spies. This laxness on the part of Poqo leaders is one of its greatest weaknesses. Any number of branches form a region - usually each major town has at least one Branch. Overseas representatives work on their own, although they are supposed to receive orders from the National Committee.

CELL WORK:

Although the POQO-ites claim that they will overthrow the present S.A. regime during 1963 by means of a nation wide insurrection, as Loballo so openly stated at a press conference in Maseru, although they claim this, no work seems to be done in that direction. The emphasis in cells is not, as one would expect, on military training, but Poqo seems to concern itself more with other tasks, such as

- (i) collection of fees from members (10 cents per week per member)
- (ii) enrollment of new members, and
- (iii) study groups addressed by Regional Committee members on other political organizations.

POLICY:

There is no clear Poqo policy. It is a fairly loose organization of persons with different views on how the revolution should take place. Firstly, there are those who desire a sudden insurrection with a quick victory; then there are those who are in favour...

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of a protracted war with guerilla-like uprisings. The only clear point is that Poqo wants to establish a Black Government.

MEMBERSHIP:

The membership of Poqo is without doubt very large. The Cape Peninsula alone claims a membership of 64,000 with Langa as its Headquarters. Poqo claims a total membership of 150,000. It is difficult to say just how large the membership really is, but even to quote 25,000 would be impressive.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE:

Poqo is basically a terrorist organization. Members arm themselves with primitive home-made weapons. These are used to perform certain tasks such as illminating chiefs and headmen, traitors and in forcing people to join the organization. This is a very dangerous procedure as the organization is never completely sure of the loyalty of its members if the latter are forced to join an organization of which they do not know the aims and objects.

Poqo has no trained saboteurs or people trained in the handling of explosives. At the most there are some revolvers in the possession of a few members who have to train themselves in the use of same. (The attack on the Paarl police station was made up of pangas, assegais and sticks).

Recently Poqo has turned its attention to such things as raiding Herrenvolk arsenals, and smuggling arms into the country.

RACIALISM:

Racialism is very much to the fore in the Poqo inspite of the assurances by the more sophisticated leadership that the slogan "Africa for the Africans" should be interpreted as meaning any person of Africa irrespective of colour. Poqo/PAC concentrates on the African for its membership.

ATTITUDE TO U.N.O.:

On the one hand we find in PAC members who are set against intervention in S.A. by the UNO; they fear another Congo. They see UNO as an instrument of inperialism.

On the other hand we find members who desire UNO intervention soon after the first concerted move is made against the State. They want UNO troops to carry out democratic elections and then leave. They must suppress all who oppose these elections.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNT:

The PAC has shown us through its failures in the Anti-Pass Campaign that the people are no longer prepared to carry out a struggle of non-violence. The people are now ready for an organization such as the N.L.F. They want something more concrete - they are ready for the military struggle. The N.L.F. is obviously the best organization to take over from the PAC/Poqo and to succeed where the latter had failed.

It is our duty as members of the N.L.F. to go out to the people and bring them into the organization.

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KEEP YOUR LITERATURE IN A SAFE PLACE!!!

DO NOT LEAVE THIS JOURNAL LYING ABOUT!!!

Do's and Don'ts when Recruiting.

N.L.F. members have been making so many inquiries and there have been such simple mistakes made, that the following article has become necessary. The main reason why such mistakes have not had any serious consequences for the organization as yet, is the fact that the people who were spoken to were themselves either too unconscious or too unsuspecting to be dangerous. But the warning is clear and we cannot allow small mistakes to upset and disrupt our activity.

1. The South African Revolution will be made in the main by a combination of urban and rural workers and the most militant elements among the intellectuals and small middle class. Therefore, we should always try to draw our membership from these sections of the population.

2. We do not believe in militarism. Our revolution can only be successful if our politics is right. We do not sign up people just because they talk blood and iron. While it is certainly necessary to get people who believe in the revolutionary overthrow of the State, the main thing is still to see that in their political thinking they correspond more or less with the N.L.F. programme.

3. Since the N.L.F. is a secret organization and since its success depends largely on the individual initiative of its members, new members must be investigated thoroughly in regard to character and stability, honesty and integrity.

4. Check up with other people and members of the N.L.F. a few times, before posing the final question. The organization is not to be revealed until and unless the recruiter is certain that the person will join.

5. Never mention the names of other N.L.F. members unless the person knows them because of their political views. In such a case a recruiter may use this mutual acquaintance as a starting point. But he must never show that he knows the N.L.F. member concerned very intimately. He might have "heard" about him and his views or he might "be interested" to know more about him.

6. The booklets produced by the N.L.F. can be used as a starting point if the person is known to be reliable. Pamphlets of the N.L.F. and "Liberation" should only be used in exceptional cases if they will help the recruiter. But only as a last resort.

7. Never reveal the size of the N.L.F. except in a general way e.g. cells in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Transkei etc.

8. In introducing discussions on N.L.F. lines it is a good tactic to explain to people how the struggle developed under similar conditions in Algeria and in Cuba. This has the advantage that if the person should turn out to be a waste of time, the recruiter has given him a general perspective of the N.L.F. without at any stage revealing the organization and its existence.

9. It is also advisable to ask the person to perform a small task before formally proposing and accepting him as a member. He could e.g. be asked to procure a book or some scrap of information which the recruiter will be able to check up on later.

10. When the recruiter has reached the stage where he can discuss matters more or less frankly with the prospective member, he should bear in mind the main principles of the N.L.F. Questions like guerrilla warfare, programme and policy, cell structure and leadership must be discussed thoroughly before any new member is accepted.

11. In recruiting new members whom we do not know very well we must check up constantly to see whether we are not speaking and exposing ourselves to the Herrenvolk spies.

12. These are only some of the suggestions to be borne in mind when recruiting. As new problems arise, they will be dealt with in "Liberation". Members are asked to write on these questions and send their suggestions via their regional and national representatives.

fifteen years ago the best members of the Resistance feared the suffering less than the possibility of their giving way under torture. Those who were silent saved the lives of all. Those who talked could not be blamed, even by those who did not give way. But the man who talks becomes one with his executioner. Coupled as man and wife, these two lovers made the abject night terrible. Now the terrible night has returned: at El Biar, it returns every night: in France, it is the ashes in our hearts. 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.

Suddenly, stupor turns to despair: if patriotism has to precipitate us into dishonour, if there is no precipice of inhumanity over which nations and men will not throw themselves, then, why, in fact, do we go to so much trouble to become, or to remain, men? Inhumanity is what we really want. But if this really is the truth, if we must either terrorise or die ourselves by terror, why do we go to such lengths to live and to be patriots.

These thoughts have given us strength, false and obscure, they all unravel from the same principle: that man is inhuman. Their purpose is to convince us of our impotence. They will descend on us if we do not face them squarely. We must let other nations abroad know that our silence is not assent. It comes from nightmares which are forced on us, sustained and guided. I have known it for a long time and have been waiting for a decisive proof.

Here it is.

Two weeks ago a book was published by Editions de Minuit: *La Question*. The author, Henri Alleg, still in prison today in Algiers, tells without unnecessary padding and with admirable precision what he underwent when 'questioned'. The torturers, as they themselves promised, 'looked after' him: torture by electricity, by drowning as in the time of Brinvilliers, but with all the perfected technique of our own time, torture by fire, by thirst, etc. It is a book one would not advise for weak stomachs. Already the first edition - twenty thousand copies - is sold out, in spite of a second printing in haste, the publishers cannot satisfy the demand: some booksellers are selling fifty to a hundred copies a day.

Up to now it was only those returning from military service, particularly priests who have been able to bear witness. They lived among the torturers, their brothers and ours. They knew of the victims principally by their screams, their wounds their sufferings. They point to the sadists, bending over the torn flesh of their victims. And what distinguishes us from these sadists? Nothing does, because we do not protest: our indignation seems to us to be sincere, but would we be indignant if we had lived over there? Would we not have resigned ourselves to it instead? As for myself, I have to read by profession; I have books published, and I have always detested those books that involve us in a cause mercilessly and yet offer no hope or solution.

With the publication of *La Question*, everything is changed: Alleg has saved us from despair and shame because he has conquered torture. This reversal is not without a certain sinister humour, it is in our name that he was victimised and because of him we regain a little of our pride: we are proud that he is French. The reader identifies himself with him passionately, he accompanies him to the extremity of his suffering, with him, alone and naked, he does not give way. Could the reader, could we, if it happened to us, do the same? That is another matter. What is important, however, is that the victim saves us in making us discover, as he discovered himself, that we have the ability and the duty to undergo anything.

We fascinate ourselves with the whirlpool of inhumanity, but it only needs a man, hard and stubborn, obstinately doing his duty to his fellow man, to save us from vertigo. The 'Question' is not inhuman, it is simply an ignoble and vicious crime, committed by men against men and that another man can and must rebuke. Inhumanity does not exist, except in the nightmares which engender fear. And it is just the calm courage of the victim, his modesty and his lucidity which wake us and show us the truth. Alleg underwent torture in the darkness of the night, let us go closer, to look at it by daylight.

First of all, let us look at the torturers: who are they? Sadists? Fallen archangels? War lords with terrible caprices? If we are to believe them, they are all these things mixed up. But, quite properly, Alleg does not believe them. What emerges from the events he describes, is that they want to convince themselves and their victim of their invincible power: sometimes they present themselves as supermen who have other men at their mercy, and sometimes as men, strong and severe, who have been entrusted with the most obscene, ferocious, and cowardly of animals, the human animal. We know that they do not look at themselves very closely. The main thing is to make the prisoner feel that he does not belong to the same species: therefore they are undressed, they are beaten, they are mocked, soldiers come and go, proffering insults and threats with a nonchalance which they want to make as terrible as possible.

But Alleg, naked, trembling with cold, tied to a plank still black and sticky from the vomit of earlier victims, reduces all these things to their pitiable nature: they are comedies played by fools. Comedy in the violent fascism of their nature, in /the boast that

that they will 'blow up the republic'. Comedy in the persuasions of the 'aide de camp of General M ---', which finishes with these words: 'The only thing left for you to do is to kill yourself'. They are vulgar comedies flouting all conventions, renowned every night (without conviction) for all prisoners, and each session shortened for lack of time, because these horrible employments are overloaded with routine. Having been dragged in, prisoners have to wait in line to be attached to the torture plank, they are attached, detached, dragged from one torture chamber to another. In looking through Alleg's eyes at this unworldly hive, we see that the torturers are overloaded by their tasks.

They have their calmer moments, when they drink beer, relax, at the side of a tortured body, and then suddenly they jump to their feet, run around, curse and shout with rage, they are great neurotics who would make excellent victims, at the first electric shock they would tell everything.

Evil and savage they certainly are, sadistic they are not, they are in too much of a hurry. This is one factor that saves them: they only keep themselves going by speed, if they lose impetus, they collapse.

Nevertheless they like work well done, if they think it necessary, they can push their professional conscience to murder. This is what strikes one most in Alleg's account behind the haggard masks, we feel an inflexibility which races ahead of them and which also races ahead of their masters.

We would almost be too lucky if these crimes were the work of savages: the truth is that torture makes torturers. These soldiers will not, after all, conscripted into an elite corpse to martyr a defeated enemy.

Alleg in a few lines has described what he himself observed, and it is enough to mark the stages of metamorphosis.

There are a few young ones, impotent, shocked, who murmur: 'It's horrible', when their electric torch lights up a victim: and then there are the assistant torturers who do not as yet touch the victims with their hands, who carry and move the prisoners around, some of them hardened, others not, all caught up in the machinery, all of them already beyond forgiveness.

Then there is the young blond from the north: "I looked at this youth with his sympathetic face, who could talk of the sessions of tortures I (Alleg) had undergone, as if it were a football match that remembered, and could congratulate me without spite as he would a champion athlete...." A few days later, Alleg sees him again "shrivelled up and disfigured by hatred, hitting an Arab on the staircase...." And there are the specialists, the hard ones who commit the atrocities, who take pleasure in the frenzied spasms of an electrocuted man, but who do not like to hear them scream, and then there are the lunatics who spin around like a dead leaf with the impetus of their own violence.

None of these men exist by themselves, not one of them will remain as he is: they all undergo a gradual transformation. Between the best and the worst, there is only one difference: the former are novices and the latter have been at it some time. They will all leave in turn, and if the war continues, others will replace them: these northern blonds and short, dark southerners, who have the same apprenticeship and find at the same time this taste for violence and its accompanying nervousness.

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 the hatred that debases them both through each other, taking the form of torture and creating its own instruments.

Yet when this said in the assembly, 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? The Commission de Sauvegarde, in a report which was in other respects benign enough, did not consider it necessary to hide the fact. After all, it is not the Army as such which does the torturing.

What folly? Do they think civilians do not know these excellent methods? If it were only a question of protecting the Army, why not co-operate with the Algiers Police? And then, if a chief executioner is all that is needed, the entire assembly will appoint one: it is not General S. less than General E.? or even General M. who is named by Alleg it is M. Lacoste, the man with absolute power. All this happens next door to him, by his hand at Bône as at Oran: all these men who die of suffering and horror in the building at El-Biar, in the Villa S., die by his will. It is not I who say it is that way: It is the Deputies of The National Assembly, it is the Government. And the gangrene is spreading, it has crossed the sea: it has even got about that the 'Question' is applied in certain civil prisons in the Metropolis. I do not know if it has any foundation, but the persistence of the rumour must have troubled the authorities, because the the prosecutor, in the trial of Ben Saddock, solemnly asked the accused if he had been submitted to torture, it goes without saying that the answer was known in advance.

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 the Hungarians, and the Poles admitting that before the Poznan riots the police often used torture. The Khrushchev report shows conclusively what was/

The Cruschev 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. Today there is Cyprus and Algeria. In other words, Hitler was only a forerunner.

Disavowed - sometimes very quietly - but systematically practised 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 clean out our own backyard, and try to understand what has happened to us, the French.

How are the torturers justified? It is sometimes said that it is right to torture a man if his confession can save a hundred lives. This is nice hypocrisy. Alleg was no more a terrorist than Audin. The proof is that he was charged with "endangering the safety of the State and reconstructing banned organizations."

Was it to save lives that they scorched his nipples and pubic hair? No, they wanted to extract from him the address of the person who had hidden him. If he had talked, one more Communist would have been locked up, no more than that.

Arrests are made at random. Every Arab can be "questioned" at will. The majority of the tortured say nothing because they have nothing to say unless, to avoid torture, they agree to bear false witness or confess to a crime they have not committed. As for those who do have something to say, we know very well that they do not talk. All of them or nearly all of them. Neither Audin, nor Alleg, Guerraudj unclenched their teeth. On this point the torturers ~~xxx~~ El Biar are better informed than we. One of them said after Alleg's first session of questioning: "All the same, he has gained a night to give his friends time to get away". And one of the officers commented, a few days later: "For ten years, fifteen years, they all have had the same idea, if taken they must not talk: and there is nothing we can do about it".

Perhaps he was only talking about the Communists, but do we believe that the partisans of the A.L.N. are of a different mettle? These tortures bring a poor return: the Germans themselves ended by realizing this in 1944; torture costs human lives but does not save them.

In spite of that, the point is not altogether badly taken; it, at any rate, throws light on the function of torture: **THE QUESTION**, that secret or semi-secret institution, is indissolubly allied to the secrecy of the resistance and the opposition.

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 disequilibrium in the forces, the F.L.N. has no other means of action. The ratio between our forces and their gives them no option but to attack us by surprise; invisible, ungraspable, unexpected, they must strike and disappear, or be exterminated. The elusiveness of the enemy is the reason for our disquiet; a bomb is thrown in the street: a soldier 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 the civilian powers have come to regard the destitute swarm of people as their uncountable 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 defence against guerrillas except punitive expeditions and reprisals, and no defence against terrorism but terror. Everybody everywhere, is hiding something: they must be made to talk.

Torture is senseless violence, born in fear. The purpose of it is to force from one tongue, amid its screams and its vomiting up of blood, the secret of everything. Senseless violence: whether the victim talks or whether he dies under his agony, the secret that he cannot tell is always somewhere else and out of reach. It is the executioner Sisyphus. If he puts the question at all, he will have to continue forever.

But this silence, this fear, these always invisible and always present dangers, cannot fully explain the obsession of the torturers, their desire to reduce their victims to abjection and in its final stages their hatred of mankind which takes possession of them without their knowing it, and which fashions them into what they are.

It is normal for us to kill each other. Man has always struggled for his collective or individual interests. But in the case of torture, this strange contest of will, the ends seem to me to be radically different: the torturer pits himself against the tortured for his "manhood" and the duel if fought as if it were not possible for both sides to belong to the human race.

The purpose of torture is not only to make a person talk, but to make him betray others. The victim must turn himself by his screams and by his submission into a lower animal, in the eyes of all and in his own eyes. His betrayal must destroy him and take away his human dignity. He who gives way under questioning is not only constrained from talking again, but is given a new status, that of a sub-man.

In Algeria the contradictions are irreconcilable. Each side demands the complete exclusion of the other. We have taken everything from the Arabs and now we have forbidden them everything even to the use of their own language. ~~Maxx~~ Memmi has already shown us how colonisation ends by the annihilation of the colonised. They own nothing, they are nothing. We have wiped out their civilization while refusing them our own. They asked for integration and assimilation into our society and we refused. By what miracle could we continue to over-exploit the colonies if the colonised enjoy the same rights as the colonisers? Undernourished, uneducated, unhappy, the system has mercilessly thrown them back to the confines of the Sahara, to the basic minimum of human subsistence. Under the constant pressure of their masters, their standard of living has been reduced year by year. When despair drove them to rebellion, these sub-men had the choice of starvation or of re-affirming their manhood against ours. They will reject all our values, our culture, which we believe to be so much superior, and it has become as one and the same goal for them to vindicate their claim to be men and to refuse our French nationality.

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 the divine right, and that the natives are sub-human. This is a mythical interpretation of a reality, since 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 dependence 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 appall 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 proletariat 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 them. 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 practise 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 is Man himself that they want to destroy, with all his human qualities, his courage, his will, his intelligence, his loyalty - the very qualities that the coloniser claims for himself. But if the European eventually brings himself to hate his own face, it will be because it is reflected by an Arab.

In looking at these two indissoluble partnerships, the coloniser and the colonised, the executioner and his victim, we can see that the second is only an aspect of the first. And without any doubt the executioners are not the colonisers, nor are the colonisers the executioners. These latter are frequently young men from France who have lived 20 years of their life without ever having troubled themselves about the Algerian Problem. But Hate is a magnetic field: it has crossed over to them, corroded them and enslaved them.

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. And what does this word "victims" not evoke in terms of human tears, in the middle of these little cads, proud of their youth, their strength, their number? Alleg is the only really tough one, the only one who is really strong.

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 had'n'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 would'n't make their job easier by killing myself." A tough one, yes, and one who, in the end, made the archangels of anger afraid.

In some respects at least we feel that the torturers can sense this and that they are expecting some nebulous and scandalous revelation. When the victim wins, then it is goodbye to their absolute power, their lordship. Their archangels' wings droop and they become just brutified men, asking themselves "And I, will I be able to take it too, when I am tortured?" Because in the moment of victory, one system of values is substituted for another; all it needs is that the torturers should become dizzy in their turn. But no, their heads are empty and their work keeps them too busy and then they only half-believe in what they are doing.

What is the point then in trying to trouble the consciences of the torturers? If one of them defaults, his chiefs will quickly replace him: one lost, ten found. Perhaps the greatest 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 and 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.

J.P.S.

TORTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

When does a State resort to torture to obtain information about the subversive activities of the oppressed? The answer is very simple - when it is with its back to the wall, when it is struggling for its very existence. This is the situation in white-controlled South Africa today.

When the General Law Amendment Bill became Law, torture in South Africa was legalized. This, of course, comes as a surprise. Torture has long been known to have been used on prisoners - both criminal and political prisoners to get information. This, however, had to be done in such a manner that the law court and the public did not come to hear of it.

Today the situation has changed. A person can be detained for ninety day periods for questioning, without ever appearing in court. This will, in fact, mean indefinite periods of torture.

During the Algerian Revolution the French used the most brutal methods of persuasion to get information from their prisoners as regards the activities of the F.L.N. These brutal methods of getting information were intensified as the struggle progressed. We in South Africa can and must expect similar treatment from the police and the army. In 1959 already two top - ranking army officers and one police officer were sent to Algeria to study the methods the French were using in the war against the Algerians.

Even the General Law Amendment Bill became law, allegations of torture were made in practically every case in which the accused was arrested for "Subversive" activities. The allegation, very significantly was never denied. This was done with the very obvious intention of threatening the oppressed and scaring them away from "subversive" activity.

The first case was that of the Fort Hare Lecture, Andrew Mandla Masonda, who was arrested in connection with the cutting of the power line in the King Williams Town district. On 11th April, 1963 in the magistrate's court at Grahamstown, he stated, that when arrested he was threatened with brainwashing and torture. It was only after he had been manhandled and was about to receive electric shock that he made a statement to the ~~prize~~ magistrate. Masonda was found guilty and sentenced to twelve years imprisonment.

The second case was that of five men who appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on 19th April, 1963 charged with and later found guilty of blowing up...

ly kicked; wet sacks were tied round their heads and twisted; they were suspended upside down with sacks tied over the bodies and were manhandled on the ground and pulled up their hair. All five received long prison sentences.

The third case was that of twelve men who appeared in the Cape Town magistrate's court on 22nd April, 1963. Two had burn marks on their little fingers, which, they said, were caused by electric shocks. All twelve complained of hunger. There are many more cases like these and more are to come, but for lack of space, we cannot mention them here.

Immediately after the General Law Amendment Bill became law, many people were detained under the new law, which entitles the police to detain them for ninety-day periods for questioning. The reason for detaining them is obvious- they are being held to give information about the political activities of the oppressed.

Where these people are being kept nobody knows; when they will be released is uncertain and whether we will ever see them again is very unlikely; if we do, we might not recognize them.

This, I am sure, will not deter any of us in the N.L.F. from the struggle ahead, but will rather make us more determined to get what we have set out to achieve.

Report on Decisions taken by the Interim National Executive.

At the monthly meeting of the Interim National Executive held on Sunday 5th May, 1963, the following decisions were taken:-

1. A) The N.L.F. will do without the services of paid organizers for the immediate future:

This decision was taken after the meeting had considered the last report of the paid organizer and the benefits derived from the work of paid organizers over the past 4-5 months.

Delegates were of the opinion that we had been premature in our decision to employ full time organizers; that we had not prepared the organizers thoroughly enough for their work; that no lasting results could be achieved by a person not resident in the area in which he operates. Added to this the Executive also took into consideration the expense involved in maintaining paid organizers.

B) The N.L.F. will call on Voluntary Organizers to work in Areas where N.L.F. work is urgently required (e.g. Johannesburg)

These volunteers will become organizers in areas where they can find employment. This means that they will be resident in the area in which they organize for three or six months (as long as is necessary). All cells are to forward names of volunteers to the Executive.

C) The Interim National Executive shall set up a School for organizers.

- (a) This school is to be composed of N.L.F. officials and at least one representative for each cell.
- (b) The School will meet once a week (1st meeting 12th May.)
- (c) The first duty of the school shall be to draw up a curriculum - and to plan its courses.
- (d) Volunteers for N.L.F. work in up-country areas (c.f. B) will also attend the school.
- (e) It shall be the function of the cell representative to ensure that his cell receives the benefits of the instructions.

The school will work out further details at its first meeting.
