

FIGHTING TALK

ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION

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OUR NEW YEAR RESOLUTION

IN common with people the world over, we in the Springbok Legion have obeyed the impulse on the eve of the new year to pause and reflect on the year just past, and we have coupled this reflection with a few New Year resolutions which we have every intention of keeping.

The year 1952 has been both good and bad, depending on the political camp you may happen to be in. Looking at it from over the battered tent-tops of our political camp we have every reason to be well satisfied with the changes which this year has brought to South Africa.

Although the Torch Commando started off like a whirlwind and did actually raise the flagging spirit of the South African electors for a few brief months, it has receded so far in the background as to be virtually non-existent. Its active duration marked perhaps the *summum bonum* of what can be achieved by constitutional action.

And so, as constitutional action failed to unseat the Nats., it has been replaced by unconstitutional action. To use South African terms, the initiative has passed from the Europeans to the non-Europeans. The Defiance Campaign of the two non-European Congresses was launched in this country and became the biggest headache that the Malan Government has had to face.

Up to this moment over eight thousand non-Europeans have voluntarily gone to prison for defying unjust laws, and, says the Joint Action Council, this is only the beginning! It brought with it, of course, the inevitable reaction. In a frantic effort to stamp it out, the Government has not only brought in the worst aspects of its repressive legislation, but has promised bigger and better weapons in the fight to maintain its Baasskap. Rioting has been provoked and police brutality has vastly increased.

However, the Government received its biggest shock so far when a number of Europeans crossed the demarcation line and joined the resisters, thus acknowledging in the most concrete terms that the struggle of the non-Europeans

is a struggle for all democratic South Africans, and this too, we may add, is only the beginning!

As we enter 1953, therefore, we, the freedom-loving people of South Africa have good reason to be optimistic. Even if the Nats. win the election (they need only 35% of the votes to do it), they can never win in the real struggle — the struggle to impose their false doctrines of apartheid and herrenvolkism on the broad mass of the South African people.

We record our New Year resolutions then, to make a more determined effort to bridge the gulf between black and white; to oust the Nationalists from power for ever in the only possible way — through the combined effort of men and women of all races and colours.



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MEETING ON THE ELBE

TO those of us who were actively engaged in fighting the war against world Fascism, the historic meeting on the River Elbe between the Russians approaching from the East and the American and other troops from the West, marked not only the last nail in Hitler's coffin but also symbolised the pinnacle of solidarity attained by the Allies during four years of fighting together.

Unhappily, this unity was destined to be sabotaged and virtually destroyed in the post-war years. In the frantic scramble towards World War No. 3, Wall Street financiers and their political mouthpieces have attacked and reviled any effort for a closer understanding between the capitalist and non-capitalist worlds. In America particularly we have seen one ex-servicemen's organisation after another succumb to the pressure of the war-makers until they are now paying not even lip-service to the grand ideals and high principles on which they were originally founded.

But, as always, there are people who refuse to have their thinking done for them; refuse to be diverted from the path towards world peace. Such an organisation is the Australian Legion of ex-Servicemen and Women, from whom the Springbok Legion recently received a letter outlining a scheme adopted by their conference. This conference, which represented an ex-service membership of sixty thousand persons, decided to try and enlist the help of the United Nations Organisation for the re-enactment of the historic meeting on the River Elbe, between a token force of Russian ex-servicemen and their counterparts from the West. This meeting, say the Australian veterans, will have the effect of healing the breach between the two worlds, at least as far as the ex-servicemen are concerned.

We in the Springbok Legion think this is a wonderful idea and we have replied to the Australian organisation pledging our whole-hearted support for the scheme. We have suggested to them that should U.N.O. decline to sponsor the scheme or even to participate in it, the ex-service organisations themselves should be prepared to undertake it. We recognise, of course, the vast amount of preparation necessary for the implementation of such a plan and the thousand and one obstacles to be overcome, but so important has the question of world peace become to-day that even if the plan could never be brought to fruition,

the attempt itself would help enormously towards instilling a consciousness for peace amongst the ex-volunteers and others in the Allied countries.

We reprint below, in full, the letter that was sent by the Australian Legion to the Secretary-General of U.N.O. It may be added that we released this item to the press of South Africa but not a word was published by either the English or Afrikaans-language papers! (in Johannesburg).

26th September, 1952.

Secretary-General,
United Nations Organisation.

Dear Sir,

The Queensland State Council of the Australian Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women has directed me to forward to you the below-stated resolution which was unanimously carried at an ex-service Conference conducted by this Association on August 15, 16 and 17, 1952.

Seventy-one Delegates and three observers representing 49 organisations were present at the Conference. The organisations so represented have an ex-service membership of 60,000 persons.

The Conference resolution is as follows:—

"Believing Servicemen of the Allied Nations, backed by the people of their various Nations, were the principal bearers and staunch fighters for high principles, we resolve that the noblest aim of the present age is to bring about International understanding.

"Therefore, to correspond with Anzac Day, April 25, 1953, and our thoughts of those who heroically paid the supreme sacrifice, we make a plea for International understanding.

"To this end, we propose to ex-servicemen of all countries that their representatives meet together to witness the re-enactment of the joyous and historical meeting on the Elbe River,

April 25, 1945, of United States, Russian and British troops, and that the United Nations Organisation be requested to make arrangements for the above proposal to be carried out."

For your information, I am further instructed to forward a copy of this letter to the Australian Government and to the Governments of the major Nations with the purpose of gaining their support to the principle of the resolution and the proposed action.

We feel millions of ex-servicemen throughout the world would welcome the opportunity of being granted facilities for their representatives to meet together to pay homage to the supreme sacrifice of the Fallen and to vow that their energies be directed to creating greater International understanding.

If given scope to express itself in the light of the urgent need of greater International understanding, the voice of ex-service people from all countries would be a beneficial influence on the councils of the world's peoples.

Such a voice allied to the needs of civilization for creative and cultural life, we venture to say, would be a curb on degenerate and destructive forces which, in the past, caused so much blood, sweat and tears.

My Council is anxious to learn of your deliberations on this matter and would appreciate the kind favour of your reply.

Youth faithfully,
(Sgd.) W. A. OPIE,
Acting State Secretary.

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FOR many reasons I wish to vote for you; for others, I cannot. I dread the Taft-Eisenhower-Nixon-McCarthy-Dixiecrat combine as a terrible threat to our liberties and peace. You I regard as honest, a democrat. Organized labour is with you; its choice is significant for me. I follow your speeches, see you challenge the Legion, split away the Dixiecrats. I ask: "Is here the man to make a People's Party as Jackson meant the Democrats to be?" Then you get hysterical against Russia, call the Soviet bloc "the mightiest forces for evil ever assembled under the sun," rail at "Anti-Christ dethroning God," at "communism . . . a disease that kills more than cancer." And I think:

He's just another Nixon, inventing a devil to stir Americans to lynching and war! . . . If I have any doubts, this is because, unlike Nixon-Eisenhower — you seem a man who might be changed by facts. May I give you facts on Russia you have missed?

I ask: Have you ever known the Russians? Could you rail at them so madly if you had? I've known them; I lived with them 30 years. They treated me well, then they treated me badly, destroying my happy, world-wide life by false accusation, without hearing or appeal. All the same I know that they are an excellent people, neither slaves nor enslavers, with honorable, devoted leaders, working hard for a good life, passionate for peace. Didn't you say: "Most precious of all . . . are PEOPLE"! Stalin said it too! These 200 million people dreamed, in the Roosevelt days,

armies we sent in 1918 to invade them at their weakest, to 15 years of non-recognition when we tried to check their economic advance. Let's start with the day Hitler invaded Russia and Senator Harry Truman said: "If we see that Germany is winning, we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible." (*NY Times*, June 24, 1941) Russians heard that brutal taunt in days when 17 million of them went to death, in faith that they thus saved not only their own motherland but the whole democratic

WE HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN ACCUSED OF ANTI-AMERICANISM. WE PUBLISH BELOW AN OPEN LETTER TO ADLAI STEVENSON BY AN AMERICAN, ANNA LOUISE STRONG, OF CALIFORNIA

that, allied with us, they might bring peace to the world.

To-day the mutual hate of America and Russia, that grew under Truman, threatens the world with all-destroying war. So I ask: Is Russia really the menace? Or is it the Pentagon? And . . . how did this mutual hate arise?

For I tell you, Adlai Stevenson, these Russians are well convinced that nothing they could do would please to-day's America, unless they just curled up and died and let Wall Street take over the land. Is this suspicion silly? Do your own speeches give them otherwise to think?

I will not go back to old history, to

world. Could they forget such words?

Yes! . . . After World War II, Gen. Eisenhower told a House Committee, Nov. 1945: "Nothing guides Russian foreign policy so much as a desire for peace with the United States." His words were accurate; I know, for I was there. I saw Russians, in joy of victory, toss American Allies high in air, shouting that now, with Hitler gone, we would make many lifetimes of peace . . . Then, week by week and year by year, I saw the hope die in their faces.

WHAT CHANGED ALL THAT?

I think the change began, for Russian people, with our atom bomb on Hiroshima. Then fear came back into eyes that had not yet looked upon peace. They knew that Tokyo sued for peace

already; that the Russians were wiping out Japan's last major army in Manchuria. So why should America slaughter a hundred thousand civilians, except to keep Russia out of the Japanese settlement, and tell the world: AMERICA IS BOSS! In a few weeks, two moves by Washington, in Bulgaria and China, confirmed this. Russians, in pain, said "THE ATOM BOMB DIPLOMACY BEGINS."

Washington told Japanese generals to keep on fighting Chinese Communists, and started a 300,000,000 dollar air-lift to bring Chiang's troops to the fortress-cities of North China, to subdue local Chinese armies that were already driving out the Japanese. The Russians saw in this: The Big Stick!

Russia's diplomats suspected it a year earlier. In August 1944, under the Soviet Army's blows, Rumania and Bulgaria were knocked out of fighting in two weeks. Then America and Britain, who had agreed that all peace treaties be jointly made by all Allies, met representatives of Bulgaria in Cairo to fix an armistice. No Russians were invited there. Russia, noting that her Allies were using *her* victory to plant a pro-Nazi government on her borders, marched in a few hours into Bulgaria's capital, where a left-wing Government blossomed in a matter of days. Thus, American power-politics called forth Russian power-politics. Russia won.

Go back still earlier to that summer of 1943 when the German armies retreated across the broken body of Russia, leaving 25,000,000 people without homes, food or livestock, without factories, railroads or farm equipment. Donald Nelson went to Moscow, talked of a BIG LOAN to rehabilitate the areas that suffered most of any in our joint war.

SIX BILLION DOLLARS was dangled for two years. Russians took it seriously; they were hungry, cold. Then Lend-Lease stopped so suddenly that Russian-bound equipment was taken off ships in New York harbour. Russia's inquiry for the first billion of her loan got "lost" in the State Department half a year.

IN THAT VICTORY-YEAR MANY, MANY RUSSIANS DIED OF HUNGER, LACKING THAT LOAN.

Do you begin to see, Adlai Stevenson, you who hail what the New Deal did for "people" — for the orphans, for workers, for farmers, for the old — do you see what WE did to the Russian people, the people who died with us against Hitler, 100 to our 1; the people who bore the brunt of the German armies at their mightiest . . . and broke them . . . wondering as they died whether the two years' delay of that Second Front Roosevelt pledged Molotov, meant that their American Allies planned that Russia should take the loss. No, you cannot see it; you weren't there. I saw it; my husband, a well-paid Russian editor, died from privation shared by all Russian civilians, in the joint war from which American civilians profited. He died, working beyond strength on publications to weld friendship between his Russia and my America, knowing that such friendship is salvation for the world.

Shall I go on with the dreary tale of the Dulles "Get-tough" policy, with the "Truman Doctrine" that shattered the Roosevelt hope across the world, with the endless air and naval bases from which America threatens Russia to-day. You will retort: Russia is aggressive for 1) Russia kept troops in Iran; 2) Russia refuses Atomic Control; 3) Russia

blockaded Berlin; 4) Russia started war in Korea; 5) Russia overthrew Czechoslovakia . . . Is this your case?

I cannot answer 30 years of slander in one letter. Let me at least tell briefly, perhaps one-sidedly, how these things look to Russians.

1) IRAN. Russian troops, in Iran for the war, delayed departure a few weeks, as did British, French, American troops from Syria to China. Russia alone got blamed. Iran had agreed with Moscow on details of withdrawal, told her U.N. delegate Ali to withdraw complaint, but our State Department induced Ali to continue the complaint, in order to shame the Russians.

2) ATOM CONTROL. Russia NEVER refused atomic inspection as you stated. You were busy cleaning up Illinois, Adlai Stevenson; you may not know what liberty you take with facts. Russia agreed to inspection but refused to give OWNERSHIP of her basic resources to an Atomic Authority which, as U.N. voting showed, America would control. Russia considered our "Baruch Plan" an attempt to give Wall Street the ownership of Russia's minerals. Analyze clearly, Adlai Stevenson, wasn't it essentially just that?

4) KOREA. There is no proof that Russia started the Korean war. There is plenty of proof that America destroyed Korea, both North and South with an unprecedented ruthlessness in killing civilians and burning cities.

5) CZECHOSLOVAKIA . . . I was in Prague before and after that "overturn." NO RUSSIANS were seen taking part. Communist Gottwald was premier, as head of the biggest party; he had a "national unity" cabinet of all four parties. The right-wing ministers, American-inspired, tried to overthrow his government by resigning, hoping then to freeze out Communists, as America had managed in France. But Gottwald stood pat, amid great demonstrations of popular support. The rebel ministers stayed out. Czechs said: "We learned from France."

Last week a friend, specialist on under-privileged children, wrote me from his first visit to Prague. He was lyrical over the "beautiful children . . . all of them, in city and country-side, well-fed, well-clothed. Not a poor child anywhere, not a patched suit. The teachers do it; they get parents to do it, and if parents lack means, the social welfare helps. Heaps of war rubble still left, many buildings unpainted . . . But everywhere these incredible children . . . propaganda pictures of health."

Can you, Adlai Stevenson, to whom "people are precious," call such a country: "the mightiest forces of evil under the sun"?

Have I convinced you of one thing at least? Not that Russians are good, or right, or successful, but that Russians are people . . . people who are precious, not demons to destroy. People with whom you, if President of these United States, must somehow agree to make our world better. May I convince you too that your time between election and inauguration might best be spent in that long-demanded conference with Churchill and Stalin, perhaps even with Mao?

Meeting such men with the intelligent honesty you give to state government, you may find, with them what the whole world asks: the road to peace! But if you can only bait such people as "Anti-Christ", a "disease", you cannot be trusted, in this world crisis, with this our nation.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

P.O. Box 161,
Montrose, California.



NEWS FROM AMERICA

American ex-Servicemen are playing their part in the campaign against the notorious un-American Activities Committee.

On their recent visit to California, the "star-chamber" committee was attempting to probe into the personal opinions of radio and television workers, lawyers and doctors — trying to smear them in the way film technicians and draftsmen have been smeared.

But the Committee's attempts came a bit unstuck when Attorney Jack Tenner took the stand and told of his war record. Tenner is the proud holder of eight American combat medals, including one for saving an admiral's ship.

He roundly attacked the Committee with the words: "The world abhors the informer. In the Jewish religion it is the musser; in the Christian religion it is the Iscariot.

"You live by the informer; it is your bread and butter, and you would die without it."

Added Seymour Mandel, another ex-Serviceman under fire from the Committee, "Before each of my many beach-head landings, no one ever asked me my political or religious beliefs, and I will not give them to you."

Result of the counter-attacks by American progressives — the Committee, which had planned to stay in Los Angeles three weeks, packed up after one.



Dr. Percy Cohen, a member of the Johannesburg Branch Executive Committee, who was one of the first Europeans to participate in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. He is awaiting trial, on bail of £50.

ANOTHER VIEW ON . . .

THE LAW OF THE VULTURES

The Editor,
"Fighting Talk,"
P.O. Box 4088,
Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,

Mr. E. C. Paterson's letter, in your December issue, on "The Law of the Vultures" is, in my opinion, a distortion of the theme of Mrs. Altman's novel and of little value as an essay in literary criticism. The book is an analysis of the effects of the colour-bar (our exclusive white nationalism) on four main characters. Thaele becomes a rabid nationalist, Jobula a racketeer. Nkosi is bewildered, but rejects Thaele's teachings until the flogging and Dhlamini has a positive and progressive approach to the situation. It is nowhere implied that Thaele's reaction is a mass reaction or a typical one, and it is from this distortion on the part of Mr. Paterson that the other distortions stem. Mr. Paterson believes that Dhlamini's reaction is the only true one — the only one he recognises — so he forthwith labels the other characters as 'freaks' and, from some lofty pinnacle of literary eminence, declares that "freaks" are not the subject of literature." Who, one wonders, is Mr. Paterson that he is so confident of his judgment as to what constitutes the subject matter of literature?

A gross distortion is his statement that the Africans are portrayed as "simple Step'n Fetchit creatures." On the contrary, they are portrayed as critical and impatient of Thaele. His meeting is a failure; when he tries to rally his members they fail to respond; when he reveals his 'plan' he is howled down. If this portrayal does not convince Mr. Paterson, let him justifiably criticise Mrs. Altman for having failed as a writer, instead of ignoring what she has said and claiming that she said something else. Thaele is killed; having

achieved neither revenge nor even martyrdom. His fate, surely, is proof that Mrs. Altman believes that his type of political action is sterile and futile and not, as Mr. Paterson claims, that she is trying to put across the policy of extreme nationalism. His criticism would have been justified only had Thaele been shown as a national leader with Africans in their thousands rallying to his call. Dhlamini poses black-white co-operation throughout three chapters of the book, but again Mr. Paterson is not convinced. Again, he could with justification criticise her, for her failure to develop Dhlamini as a convincing character, but he ignores these chapters entirely and states that black-white co-operation is brought in as an after-thought on the last page. Pure distortion, to make the novel fit into the category into which Mr. Paterson wants to place it.

Mr. Paterson has valid grounds for criticism when he states that the book is a monotone and would have been stronger had more emphasis been placed on the courage and dignity with which the Africans meet the intolerable conditions under which they live. But in his criticism he falls (in reverse) into an error common to many white South Africans who believe that Africans are 'different' and unlike other people. Working peoples throughout the world have these qualities of courage and dignity and joy in life; they are common to the English, the French, the Chinese, the Bolivian, the Russian, the Indian. No working peoples have ever resorted to mass suicide, whatever their conditions, and Mrs. Altman has at least implied this, by portraying the conditions of the Africans in all their horror and showing that there is no mass suicide and no blind support for Thaele.

Finally, I suggest that Mr. Paterson should hesitate before accusing anyone of being aloof from the struggle in South Africa. For he reveals himself not only as aloof, but as having a surprising lack of insight. He believes that the Thaeles and the Jobulas are 'freaks' who may safely be ignored, whereas, in fact, they constitute a threat which true progressives have to face and defeat.

L. C. BATEMAN.

LOCAL AGITATORS—

(Continued from page 7)

Of course, shameful it may be, but it is not altogether surprising. One could see it coming from the time that the U.P. refused to hold out a hand of friendship to the A.N.C. and the T.I.C. One could see it coming when the U.P. branded the Defiance Campaign as a subversive movement; when it failed to commit itself to the scrapping of the Urban Areas Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and all the other laws repugnant to all true democrats.

One can go further and say that capitulation was from the outset implicit in the policy of a party representing interests which assign to the non-Europeans the status of economic serfdom.

Either one regards the non-Europeans as human beings or one regards them as cheap labour. If one regards them as human beings, then the logic of reason must lead one to the acceptance of economic and political equality and the broadening of the scope of democracy to include all South Africans.

If, on the other hand, one regards them as cheap labour, then the logic of events will force one to accept the rule of the gun and the police state.

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The World Today

LOCAL AGITATORS!

by Ben Giles

THE recent meeting of the Municipal Executives of the four provinces was, without doubt, the most senseless gathering to take place in this declining year.

If it were merely senseless, one could let it pass as just another manifestation of the lunacy that is South African politics. Unfortunately, it was more than just senseless; it was also the most damaging blow that the cause of progress and racial harmony in South Africa has yet suffered, and it is well to note that it was delivered by a body composed, in the main, of opposition and not government elements.

These executives are composed of high-ranking municipal officials — Town Clerks and other departmental heads — who meet together periodically to compare notes on common administrative problems. No political powers are vested in the representatives. They are not empowered to take decisions on matters of broad policy. Such matters are the business of the Council as a whole, and its various committees, of the Councillors themselves on a mandate from the electorate. For an official of a civic body to make pronouncements on important matters of policy is a serious breach of discipline — unless of course, he is doing so with the specific consent of the Council. Thus, if an executive conference considers matters beyond the scope of the purely administrative functions of the various delegates, these delegates must have been briefed by their respective councils as to the line they must follow. The decisions taken at the conference are thus the collective decisions, not of officials, but of the various bodies which they represent.

Now, the above may be so obvious as not to require lengthy analysis. But one feels that in the case of the conference under discussion, it is a point which should be stressed. If, for example, the meeting of executives finds that there is a concerted plan by certain agitators to cause unrest and disaffection in the large cities of the Union, then this finding must be accepted as fact by the various municipal bodies which they represent. And if the conference, on the basis of these findings, petitions the Government to establish concentration camps in which

to confine certain people and to instruct the police to use more force in their dealings with the African people, this petition must have the backing of the Municipalities which the conference represents. It must, for example, have the backing of the large majority of U.P. members on the Johannesburg City Council. If not, they would have repudiated it and instituted disciplinary action against the officials who made themselves party to it.

A SUBVERSIVE PLOT?

Very well — where do we go from there? We have the situation that the U.P. Council of this city is convinced of the existence of a subversive plot to cause unrest. From the drastic nature of the resolutions passed, more drastic, mark you, than any resolution proposed at even a Nationalist Party conference, we must assume that this plot is so serious as to threaten insurrection and a nation-wide attempt to overthrow established authority.

If this is the case, why have we, the electorate, been told nothing about it? Up till now the U.P. leadership have always insisted that any talk of insurrection is a party-political fraud designed to stampede the people into voting Nationalist in the forthcoming election. Has the U.P. suddenly changed its mind? Surely the "facts" in the possession of the City Council must have been placed before the leadership of the U.P. in the Transvaal and other provinces. Are these "facts" then, so well established that they have been accepted in toto by Mr. Strauss and Messrs. Harry Oppenheimer and Bailey Bekker and Uncle Tom Copley and all?

If not, they would surely have repudiated the action of the Johannesburg City Council in supporting the resolution of the Executives? Since there has been no suggestion of repudiation from any responsible quarter, we must, presumably, accept the existence of facts, plots and everything issuing from them, and the policy of the Johannesburg City Council thus becomes the policy of the U.P. leadership! Unless — well, unless the U.P. itself has now become a party not merely to the resolutions of the Joint Executive Committee, but to a conspiracy on the part of the Government itself to bamboozle the people of South Africa into yielding up such freedoms as they possess without protest.

NO PROTESTS

The Municipal Executive Conference, it must be borne in mind, was followed up with feverish haste by Mr. Swart's proclamation making the incitement to defy laws a major offence, giving the Government new powers to ban meetings, to arrest without warrant and to imprison without trial. And though the English press, the "Rand Daily Mail" and the "Star" carried leaders deprecating Mr. Swart's action, *there has as yet been no official protest against it by the Opposition parties as such.* Not to our knowledge has the U.P. made any comment on Government statements linking the Defiance Campaign with the riots and with the Mau Mau in Kenya. True, Mr. Strauss demanded a commission of enquiry into the New Brighton flare-up, but since he has not answered the Municipal Executives' allegation on that it was part of a Union-wide plot, that demand can be dismissed as being without significance.

And what does all this add up to? It adds up to the fact that the U.P. has committed the most shameful sell-out in the history of South African politics. It adds up to the fact that on the non-European question, the U.P. has capitulated completely to the Nationalists and that "Die Burger" is quite right in claiming that there is now nothing to distinguish the political programmes of the two parties.

(Continued on previous page)

JELLIED

AMONG the destructive agents used in war are missiles, explosives, poisons, bacteria and fire. The last two have the overriding advantage that under suitable conditions they are self-perpetuating. The vast areas of London and other cities still derelict ten years after the incendiary raids bear witness to this power of fire. The conflagrations were started by the localized intense heat of burning magnesium. The chance of such an incendiary bomb starting a fire depends, however, upon it falling on or within a few feet of inflammable material.

It is obvious that more certain results could be achieved by increasing the effective area, and the use of oil and petrol bombs in the last war was an attempt in this direction. On violent impact, however, the incendiary material was liable to be spread too thinly and these bombs were comparatively ineffective. Burning took place too rapidly and only very inflammable materials were ignited. American scientists have since solved the problem of the too rapid dissipation of petrol. Their answer is to make the petrol sticky. They convert it into a sticky emulsion, "napalm," which is rather more fluid than a starch paste. The method employed is a secret, but it probably is achieved by adding a small amount of an emulsifier to the petrol with a little water. The burst of a napalm bomb produces a black cloud of burning petrol which expands to a diameter of 50 to 100 yards (depending on the amount of jellied petrol) engulfing and penetrating buildings. A sticky mass of jellied petrol, compared with an incendiary magnesium bomb, pounds for pounds, spreads fire over many times the area; yet the petrol mass is sufficiently localized to create, in the few seconds it burns, temperatures sufficiently high to soften steel. It is reported to produce temperatures of over a thousand degrees Centigrade.

Napalm is thus not merely a minor advance in the use of fire as an agent of war; it represents an enormous increase in the ability to start fires, and almost instantaneously to war and other organic material, whether that be vegetable, animal, or human.

HOW NAPALM IS USED . . .

Public attention has been directed to napalm, not by virtue of the ingenuity of the scientists who conceived the idea of making petrol sticky, but by the press accounts of the results of American napalm bombing in Korea. This use is described in the following paragraphs.

Napalm lends itself to use both on a localized scale, and on a large scale covering great areas. It is highly effective in the field against supplies and against troops in foxholes. Troops in deeper bunkers are apparently less effectively attacked by napalm than by high explosive. As an example of small scale use, on a single village, the *Manchester Guardian* of May 15, 1952, quotes a special correspondent of the *New York Times*—

"A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago when the Chinese were holding up the advance, and nowhere in the village have they buried the dead because there is nobody left to do so . . . The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures that they had held when the napalm struck — a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue."

The consequence, close to the centre of the burst, is thus almost instantaneous death by incineration of every man, woman, and child. The cumulative effect of such treatment, village after village, must be considered if the character of napalm bombing is to be appreciated. Mr. Ross Cutforth, the B.B.C. correspondent in Korea, summarizes the overall effect in his book "Korean Reporter":

"I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen, and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front."

One other point deserves mention, although detailed information is not available. It seems from a number of press reports (for instance, the *Manchester Guardian*, March 30, 1952) that one village may be wiped out, not by an



A black cloud of burning jellied petrol rushes upwards and outwards, enveloping a Korean homestead. The entire front of the building is blown out by its force blast. This is Napalm. Its victims are instantaneously charred to death or blinded and burned for life.

attack of several bombs, or several phases, but by one single bomb alone. This was true previously of only the largest calibre explosive bombs, such as ordinarily would not be used in a "tactical" manner. The napalm bomb is therefore not only more efficient in its incendiary capacity, or for the indiscriminate slaughter of human beings, but extends the amount of destruction of property and person that may result from the release of a single bomb.

But napalm is not merely a small tactical weapon of immense power of destruction; it is also adapted to larger scale "strategic" purposes. An instance of this is given by the American bombing of a "centre" on March 11, 1952. On this occasion, according to *The Times*, 33,000 gallons of napalm were dropped on an area of four square miles. Naturally this would not be evenly spread, and from the information published it is not possible to calculate the area that could be burned out. Nevertheless, the fact that such

a volume of napalm would completely cover, to a depth of about 1/20th of an inch, an area roughly a hundred yards wide and half a mile long, shows how extensive would be the damage.

THE CASUALTIES NAPALM CREATES . . .

The effect on the human body of being drenched in petrol and then ignited has been demonstrated before the advent of napalm, but never before on such a scale. Instantaneous charring to death is almost inevitable. Details of the medical effects of napalm attack have not been systematically described, but much can be inferred from our existing knowledge of the effect of flame-throwers, large scale fire raids, and petrol burns. Close to the heart of the burst, complete charring occurs, though the immediate cause of death may be asphyxia. Where very large fires are ignited the inrush of air itself causes casualties. But it is self-evident that for every area of total destruction there will be a surrounding area of

HELL!!

partial destruction. What happens to persons caught in this fringe, who escape immediate death? A description of one such person is given by the B.B.C. correspondent, Ross Cutforth:—

"I met the doctor striding impatiently over the snow to meet me. He grabbed my arm.

"Look, we must have some publicity about this. Perhaps the press can make these people wake up to a sense of their responsibilities. Look at this, I want to show you this . . .

"In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straggled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and his whole body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said, 'He has to stand, sir, cannot sit or lie.' He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but with a crust like crackling which broke easily."

Blinded, and a ready prey for bacterial infection on any part of his body surface, such a person cannot hope to live long. But while life lasts it could not be more cruel.

An important characteristic of napalm is that it is sticky. The burns that it causes therefore resemble those due to phosphorus — the burning material cannot be brushed off, and efforts to do so will spread it over other parts of the body. The intense heat also produces superficial burns that are most marked on the face and extremities. One of the commonest types of disfigurement from napalm appears to be the permanent inability to close the eyes, due to scarring and destruction of the eyelids. In children, the hand and back of the neck are likely to suffer since these are exposed to the flash and splash effects in the act of self-protection. Another "case" is described by a correspondent in North Korea. A Korean woman was cooking a meal when a napalm bomb struck near the kitchen door, spraying her. Superficial sores down to the knee were burned off the face, back, hands and feet, and deep into the flesh of the buttocks. A year later her burns itched and burned

continuously. Her face was twisted and slashed, her ears partly destroyed, her hands stiffened with scar tissue. On her back an enormous purple scar one foot long by nine inches wide was raised almost a quarter of an inch above the surrounding flesh.

These effects of napalm burns differ from those of other deep and extensive burns in one respect. They have an unusual tendency to produce keloids. These are thickened areas of the scar tissue, which apart from being unsightly, produce contractures with reduced function of the part. Moreover they tend to recur if they are removed surgically. Keloid formation involves a particularly hideous development in burns that are already extensive and deep. Even such descriptions the typical result of a slight exposure to napalm can be reconstructed as follows. The subject is hairless, due to loss of scalp. His face is a uniform scar, with rising and inflexed eyes which he can never close. He is probably blind. His hands, if exposed, are reduced to contracted claws. Ears, nostrils, lips and fingertips are likely to have been lost. Painful scars will also occur on any part of the body reached by the burning material. In the next twenty years there will be some thousands of permanent cripples bearing these marks throughout Korea.

THE EXTENT OF NAPALM BOMBING . . .

Even a cursory examination of press reports reveals that under the conditions of warfare in Korea, napalm is causing immense and lasting suffering. Napalm is particularly prone to produce indiscriminate damage to property and persons owing to the characteristic spraying and spreading qualities. One cannot avoid the conclusion that under conditions where the majority of inhabitants of villages are women and children these rather than men are likely to be the chief sufferers. This appears obviously true in the *New York Times* report already quoted. No mention is made of any army personnel being involved in the destruction of the village.



If you see giant crocodile tears rolling down our cheeks, it is because they won't let Dr. Malan have the British Protectorates. To prove the old adage that it's never too late to learn, Dr. Malan has in his declining years discovered the joys of imperialism, even if it is only on a singularly petty basis.

With traditional diplomatic suavity, the British Government has informed him that no incorporation can be considered without consulting the local inhabitants.

In other words, Doc, you've had it!



DON'T BE PIOUS

WITH its editorial tongue stuck well in its cheek, the "Star" has deplored the recent entry of Europeans into the Defiance Campaign and at the same time took the opportunity of condemning the whole movement. "We appeal to the Natives," said the "Star," "to use only constitutional means in their fight for improvement." The writer did not, of course, tell the Africans what their alleged constitutional rights were, but that is hardly surprising. The only right we can think

We wish to advise members and readers that the Springbok Legion has changed its office address. The new offices are at: Suite 5, First Floor, Somerset House, 110 Fox Street, Johannesburg (between Rissik and Joubert Streets). Postal address: P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg.

of is the freedom to write letters to the press. If the "Star" knows of any others, it would be doing the African people a great service by making them known.



NO ALTERNATIVE?

WHILE we are on the subject of newspapers, we note, more in sorrow than in anger, the extinction of the Torch Commando organ "Blikfakkel." The official reason for its demise, is that the existing Opposition newspapers are already fulfilling the role for which this paper was created.

In other words, what the Torch Commando is saying is that it has nothing better to offer the South African people than the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail." What a preposterous admission, that the leadership of the Torch Commando does not feel the necessity even of an organisational medium to express its policy. If for no other reason, the paper should have been kept on to provide the membership with the opportunity to express itself.



THE OLD MEN

DREARILY the machine for nominating U.P. candidates for election as M.P.'s has completed its creaky revolution. As if to spite the electors of this country, the party has, with few exceptions, brought back the same non-combatants into the Parliamentary firing-line. The political fogies the U.P. has once again trotted out are a reflection of the refusal of the party leaders to recognise the need for militancy.



AUTOPSY

A posthumous but close inspection of the Torch's publicity section Reveals, on analysis, Death by paralysis.

SCIENCE and LIFE

(Continued from page 12)

tory, the scientist is in much the same position as the layman. He, too, worries about the state of the world and feels that somebody ought to do something about it. But even here he is likely to react less strongly than the layman because his preoccupation is more with the laboratory than with the world. His education has been mainly technical, with very little humanistic foundation, and his evening reading is far more likely to be a technical journal than a newspaper.

On those rare occasions when it occurs to him that things are not as they should be, and that someone ought to do something, the obvious corollary, that he is the person to take action, simply fails to follow in his mind. Even when this is pointed out to him by one of the rare scientists who does see clearly, the warning has little effect because scientists, as a body, are notoriously difficult to organise even into an association to improve their own salary scales. An organisation for voluntarily limiting their own activities is quite inconceivable.

And yet, some sort of control on scientific research is obviously necessary. Since it is so unlikely to come from within, some sort of restraining influence from the outside is the only solution. Such restraint is coming increasingly into force at the moment as the bulk of research work shifts from the Universities to industrial and Government laboratories. But the control is still in the wrong hands. The ideal governing body would be a board composed of the editors of Sunday newspapers, who know, if anyone ever did, exactly what it is the public wants.

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JELLIED HELL!

In the Korean war, the chief characteristic of which is indiscriminate destruction, napalm is being used on a large scale. This is clearly apparent in the writing of Reginald Thompson, *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Korea:—

"Slowly, day by day, the tragedy unfolded as death and destruction inexorably consumed Korea and its people . . . The shots of the doomed came from the rice paddies and the shattered ruins of the few concrete buildings, and brought down upon themselves and all the inhabitants the appalling horror of jellied petrol bombs and the devastation of rockets and heavy artillery.

Slowly the American troops advanced through the smoking rubble, pausing until the opposition was crushed under the air strikes and the bombardment. Civilians died in hundreds, and presently in thousands, and the enemy, mostly unrecognisable and ununiformed, was rounded up and stripped."

—("Cry Korea," p. 39) *

"It is inescapable that the terrible fate of the South Korean capital and many villages is the outcome of a new technique of machine warfare.

The slightest resistance brought down a deluge of destruction, blotting out the area. Dive bombers, tanks and artillery blasted strong points, large and small, in town and hamlet, while the troops waited at the roadside as spectators until the way was clear for them. Few people can have suffered so terrible a liberation."—(*ibid.*, p. 94).

"I have described this in some detail because it was typical of the whole advance and the whole method. Every enemy shot released a deluge of destruction. Every village and township in the path of war was blotted out. Civilians died in the rubble and ashes of their homes. Soldiers usually escaped."—(*ibid.*, p. 143).

It is in the light of such accounts that one glimpses the meaning behind the facts reported by Mr. Kingsley, United Nations Agent-General for Reconstruc-

**Cry Korea* by Reginald Thompson. Macdonald (London, 1952).

tion. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, August 17, 1951, Mr. Kingsley stated that in North Korea alone one million had died, roughly one-ninth of the population. The destruction of property in both north and south has been enormous. In Seoul, to mention only one city, 85 per cent. of the industry has been destroyed, and 60 per cent. of all living space. The indiscriminate massacre of civilians by any means is a violation of the accepted usages of war, and of international law. This was confirmed by the trials of the Nazi war criminals. In 1948 the XVII conference of the International Red Cross adopted a resolution of its legal committee favouring action to forbid the use, among other things, of "arms which cannot be aimed with precision, or which devastate large areas indiscriminately."

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The barbarity of modern war, of which napalm is only one example, raises an issue which we must all face. This issue confronts both the citizen, who may be ordered to use such weapons, and the scientist who may be expected to develop them.

Many responsible scientists have expressed the view that the problem of world order can be solved by placing the control of weapons of destruction in the hands of such bodies as the United Nations, thereby ensuring that they should be used only in "police actions", designed to defend world order, and presumably conducted with the same regard for the innocent as is displayed by normal law-enforcing agencies. This hope has been rudely shattered by events. We now witness a reputedly law-enforcing agency, dedicated by its charter to the defence of human rights, employing methods at least as barbarous and indiscriminate as those used in any previous, national war, and persistently doing so despite widespread protest from many sections of public opinion.

The revelation of the means of "collective security" in action must profoundly modify our thinking about the whole problem of war, and quicken our sense of responsibility for ensuring the maintenance of civilised behaviour. Science has already, within this genera-

tion, been brought face to face with the need to reaffirm its ethical sanction, by the systematic abuse of its techniques by Nazi Germany for political ends. The use of science in war presents a closely parallel case. Those of us who expressed contempt for German scientists for failing to withdraw from Nazi-sponsored projects, and applauded their punishment, bear an equal responsibility in the face of such issues as the military use of atomic energy, bacteriological and chemical warfare, and the development of weapons of mass destruction such as napalm.

The organisation of "Science for Peace" was formed to direct the attention of scientists to these issues. Scientists are faced with the danger of being regarded by the public as agents of destruction and their silence and indecision in the face of grave issues raised by the present events would lend countenance to such a view.

The public conscience has already been aroused over napalm. On July 3, 1952, the Archbishop of York publicly appealed to the Churches to call for the international prohibition of the napalm bomb "which causes exceptionally horrible and indiscriminate suffering". In a letter to *The Times* on July 8, 1952, a widely representative group, including Lord Boyd-Orr, Earl Russell, Professor F. G. Gregory and Professor W. C. W. Nixon called for an organised protest to the United Nations. "More serious than the barbarity of the weapon," they said, "is the abundant evidence from non-communist sources that it (napalm) has been and is being indiscriminately used against inhabited places with appalling results. . . . We do not accept the argument that because a Power has been declared an aggressor its civilian subjects thereby become legitimate targets for unrestricted warfare." Such statements express the widespread disquiet felt by the public, and not the least by scientists, whose responsibility is in many ways the most direct.

Napalm is a product of deliberate research; it has no peaceful application and no theoretical interest. Its only purpose is the annihilation of human beings and the destruction of property. It is being employed in Korea in our name, and it is an unavoidable issue of conscience whether we shall condone such a policy, or protest as vigorously as possible in the name of humanity, and the good repute of science.

SCIENCE AND LIFE

By "SERENDIP"

THE fairy-tale days of science, the once-upon-a-time when it was obvious that everyone was going to live happily ever after, are only ten years behind us. One had one's car, of course, and electric light in the house, but these were not thought of as products of scientific research. It was merely assumed that they had evolved in some natural and quite inevitable way from the hansom cab and the paraffin lamp. It was all progress, of course, and tremendously exciting, but you couldn't call it science, and it was certainly nothing to worry about.

Science, if one thought of it at all, roused only lethargic awe, tempered by genial contempt. Science and life never collided except on the few occasions when news of some science-shaking discovery filtered through to the popular press. Even then the impact would be very, very mild. Surrounded by a good deal of enthusiastic misinformation, the report of the shattering new advance would flatter the man in the street with the comforting sense of an immense progress, and a momentary vision of dozens of busy little men, poring over their test-tubes. No one believed for a moment that science raised any day-to-day problems. The scientist went his own way in peace, and no-one expected any more of him than that he should live up to the standard of vagueness and personal untidiness dictated by convention. It was a most satisfactory situation on both sides.

And then the whole thing exploded — literally. Suddenly appalled by a weapon which was every bit as revolutionary as the bow and arrow had been in its day, the world dropped its smile of benign approval and began to worry. As usual, it worried about the wrong thing; the changes being produced by modern technical and medical advance are far more dangerous than any weapon. But that is beside the point. The world worried, it panicked about the bomb, and suddenly became very interested in the scientist, on the theory, apparently, that, since he had got them into this mess, he was the one to get them out.

The faith is touching, but seldom has faith been more monstrously misplaced. The scientist is quite the last person to appeal to for help because he labours under a mental blockage (shared, probably, by public executioners) which dissociates completely the work he is doing from its almost certain consequences. The laboratory and the world outside are two quite separate places in his mind, and he is incapable of realising that his actions in the one might have disastrous repercussions in the other. There are exceptions, of course. Andrade, writing in 1939, shortly after the discovery of the fission of the uranium nucleus, mildly deplored the inevitability of attempts to develop this fission process as a source of power. His contention was, that within a very few years of the completion of the first nuclear power plant, someone would be using uranium to build a bomb. This reads now with a wry irony, but in its day it was the expression of an altruism and a far-sightedness which were quite beyond the average research worker, and still are. It is doubtful whether anyone but physicists slept soundly on the night after Hiroshima.

All this is rather obvious if one knows anything of the sort of person one finds inside a laboratory. The popular notion of the research scientist as a dedicated idealist, pledged to a set of noble principles, is wildly inaccurate. He is, in his professional capacity, completely selfish and self-indulgent, with no thought for anything but his own satisfaction in his work. He researches simply because it is the pleasantest way he knows of passing his time and earning a living. He is usually a man of limited competence in practical affairs, and prefers to spend his time in an environment from which the disturbing and the incalculable have been eliminated. He is attracted into science when he is young enough to be dazzled by its glamour, and by the time he thinks better of this, he is no longer fit to do anything else.

The modern scientist is in the true line of descent from the old alchemist.

A man who was seeking the secret of eternal youth or a means of transmuting lead into gold, could hardly be called disinterested. The scientist of to-day is no more altruistic, but he is a little less naive. He no longer dreams of making some spectacularly profitable discovery — although the idea still nestles comfortably at the back of his mind — but derives his satisfaction instead from the titillation of his curiosity afforded by his work, and, to a larger extent, from the process of research itself. He has a tidy mind which is pleased by the way in which things dovetail into each other. In this process of change, the final results of a piece of research have become less and less important, until now, apart from the satisfaction of having finished off a job, they are little more than ammunition for foisting one's reputation upon a narrow circle of competitors — usually referred to as colleagues — who are simultaneously braving the cannon's mouth with premature publication of their own work. The results themselves are little more than cannon-fodder, and when they are taken and used to build a bomb, no one is more surprised than the man who produced the results in the first place.

It is deplorable that a section of people who are men of good conscience in their homes, who are intelligent and have been trained to think logically, should be so childlike and subjective in their approach to this most important of all problems. It is deplorable, but it is not surprising. A strictly scientific approach, the scientist has found by experience, is applicable only to strictly scientific problems. It fails disastrously, for instance, in dealing with his wife. And so the dichotomy perpetuates itself. Things inside the laboratory are thought about in one way, things outside it in another, until the two become mentally separated, two quite different worlds which have no point of contact.

This means that, outside his labora-

(Continued on page 10)

PEACEFUL SOLUTION FOR GERMANY

By JOHN ELTON—*from Ex-Service News*

DURING the war I was in the Navy and spent some two years in the North Atlantic chasing the U-boats which Hitler had built after the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935. I lost some very good friends during that campaign I believed then that we should never have to fight again, and that never again would we make the criminal mistake of placing arms and power in the hands of Nazi industrialists and militarists.

The American decision to re-arm Western Germany, to release the Nazi war criminals and to build up once again an officer corps in Western Germany of some 20,000 men, makes a mockery of the sacrifices which the people of Europe made in the struggle against Hitler.

EXISTING TENSION

The majority of the people of this country supported the stand of the Parliamentary Labour Party against the ratification of the Bonn Agreement, but many people have accepted German re-armament as inevitable because they see no practical solution to the problem of a divided Germany in the existing tension of the international situation.

It is for these people that the recent Berlin Conference provides such inspiration; it has shown that men and women of varied political and religious points of view, in both West and East Germany and in the neighbouring countries have been able to reach a basis of understanding and formulate proposals for the solution of the German problem.

The essentials of such a solution involve giving to the German people their rights as a united and independent nation, while at the same time guaranteeing the security of Europe.

The names of those elected by the Conference to its Standing Orders Com-

mittee indicate the wide support which the Conference enjoyed throughout Europe.

REPRESENTATIVES

For example, West Germany was represented on the committee by Pastor Martin Niemöller, president of the Evangelical Church at Hesse; Dr. Joseph Wirth, chancellor of the Weimar Republic; Prof. Klara-Marie Fassbinder, Catholic professor at Bonn University; and Wilhelm Elfes, former burgomaster of Munchen-Gladbach.

East Germany was represented by Johannes Dieckmann, president of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, and Franz Dehlem, a deputy of the Chamber.

Great Britain was represented on the committee by Mr. Stuart Morris, secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, representing the National Peace Council, and myself as secretary of the British Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem. (On our Committee the following organisations, among others, are represented: National Peace Council, Friends' Peace Committee, Peace Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.)

Apart from the main resolution, a joint declaration was passed unanimously at a meeting of the entire West and East German delegations.

PEACE TREATY

In this declaration, the Germans expressed opposition to the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

They proposed that an all-German Commission should take part in the work of the Conference of the four Great Powers in the drafting of a peace treaty; that an all-German Commission should prepare a common electoral law for the holding of free and secret elections throughout the whole of Germany for an all-German Government; and that such a Commission should, with the approval of the four Great Powers, lay down conditions necessary for the holding of such elections.

The German delegations agreed that a united Germany, under a government elected in this way, should enter into no military alliances or pacts which could serve as a basis for war, and that such a Germany would support all proposals leading to general disarmament throughout the world.

Inspired by this moving demonstration of the desire of the German delegation to reach common agreement to save their country from becoming a second Korea, the Conference passed with three abstentions a resolution which provides the basis upon which Europe's most urgent problem can be solved. The abstainers, who included Mr. Stuart Morris, were pacifists, who on principle could not accept any armament for Germany.

If we can bring into existence a united, democratic Germany, which by the terms of the peace treaty binds itself to enter into no military alliance or pact with any nation and which is prepared to take part in negotiations for a general reduction in armaments, then we shall so reduce the present tension in the international field that we can look forward to prosperous development for the peoples of our Continent.

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AMERICAN P.O.W.'s FOR PEACE

WE received this month a photostatic copy of the original "Open Letter to the American Public" signed some months ago by 94 American and British POW's in North Korea. The letter appealing for a "final official cease-fire" in Korea, was sent by 23-year-old Pfc. Paul F. Schnur, Jr. to his parents in San Francisco. The complete text reads as follows:

WE the undersigned, American and British prisoners of war who have seen the suffering, bloodshed and destruction of war, wish to make known our desire for an early settlement and an end to the Korean conflict.

"Recently we heard that both sides in the fighting had downed arms only to resume hostilities again on the orders of the President who gave as one reason the safety of the prisoners of war being held by the enemy.

"How, may we ask, does continuation of slaughter at the front ensure our safety? On the contrary, we do not feel safe at all. Air battles are continually being fought above our camp and we are filled with fear every time the alert is sounded and planes come over. On several occasions different

camps have been subjected to bombing and strafing by our planes, causing casualties not only among the American and British prisoners of war, but to the civilian population as well. Surely this fact alone disproves the presumption that continuance of hostilities ensures our safety.

"We would like to inquire also as to what is to be accomplished by continued fighting after agreement has already been made on the cease-fire line? Must killing and destruction go on merely for the sake of killing and destruction?

"We ask you, as American citizens loyal to American traditions, to do all in your power to secure the issuance of a final official cease-fire order that will enable all of us to return to our homes, where we are entitled to pursue happiness and live out our lives as useful citizens. Further, we appeal to all peace organizations, churches, Quaker organizations, trade unions and all others who want an end to the war to band together now and raise a unified and mighty voice that will be heard.

"We earnestly desire that it be known that we want no more killing and destruction in Korea and no future wars for ourselves or the coming generations."

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The Editor,
Dear Sir,

I have seen in a newsletter I take here, called SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA, mention of your paper FIGHTING TALK. I would be glad to have a couple of sample copies, of different dates, of your paper. I have sent an international postal money order to you.

There is very little real news published here from Africa. The Spotlight, and the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, New York, publish news from Africa, but they have not very much circulation so far as I know.

Wishing you success, I am,

Yours truly,

S. SUTTON.

P.O. Box 369,
St. Helena, California.

* * * *

The Editor,
Sir,

I regret to advise you that after all ex-volunteers had been rehabilitated, I lost all interest in the Springbok Legion affairs. I could not then reconcile myself to the policy entertained by what seemed to me an ultra-liberal influence.

My firm opinion is that the only way to get the Nationalists out of power is through the United Party and the Torch Commando and not through supporting the non-Europeans in their various Defiance Campaigns, which can only cause a lot of unnecessary bloodshed and can serve no useful purpose.

Yours etc.,

L. NORMAN.

East London.

* * * *

Our reply:

Dear Norman,

I was very disappointed to read the contents of your letter and only wish that we were closer so that we could have a discussion on the general situation. Since that is impossible, I will take up only one or two of the points you raise.

I hope that you are right in your expectation that the U.P. will defeat the Nats at the next election. We are, however, very conscious of the fact that the Nats won the last election with only 39% of the votes cast. The recommendations so far issued by the Delimitation Commission suggest that it is being made easier for the Nats. to win with an even SMALLER percentage of the votes.

It is precisely for this reason — the practical repercussions of the Delimitation Commission — that we advocated several months ago that the Torch Commando should mobilise the people to participate in a national stoppage of work — BEFORE the appointment of the Delimitation Commission. Under the old delimitations and loadings and un-loadings, we would have stood a healthy chance of winning, particularly with the tremendous psychological advantage of having COMPELLED the government to accede to the demands of the electorate. The Torch Commando leadership at the last moment were persuaded to shelve their plans for such action. It was a revelation of their political immaturity and their timidity in the face of the great task imposed on them. Since that moment the Torch has lost support and the confidence of the people and the Torch leaders themselves are anxiously searching for some effective means of regaining their prestige. It also accounts for the amount of confusion that is to be found in the Torch to-day, witness the division in Natal.

It must be remembered that in their efforts not to alienate platteland votes the U.P. has refrained from enunciating any positive, realistic policies, especially on the non-European issue. In their caution, however, they have failed to put forward policies calculated to WIN the support of thousands of Afrikaner workers in the Rand marginal seats.

We fear, therefore, that as things look at the moment the Nationalists stand a good chance of winning the election, particularly as they are the ones making capital out of the Defiance Campaign and the disturbances.

Now, let us first of all remove the confusion in your mind as to the difference between the Defiance Campaign and the disturbances! Only the Government assert that the two phenomena are linked. You say that the Campaign can 'only cause a lot of bloodshed.' Certainly not! There will be bloodshed only as long as we Europeans withhold our support for the re-

moval of unjust laws. Don't you see what is happening? The moderate leaders of the Campaign who to their everlasting credit have devised a PEACEFUL campaign have as their rivals for leadership politically-illiterate Africans, for whom the pace is too slow, who see in all whites their oppressors, who want to pervert the campaign against UNJUST LAWS into a campaign against all the people responsible for making those unjust laws — i.e. the whites. There lies the danger. That is why we, who believe in the fundamental concepts of democracy, must give evidence of our support for justice for all people, democracy for all people. Only by so doing can we cut the ground from under the feet of the black Nationalists and strengthen the positions of the moderate Defiance leaders.

One final aspect. When the Nats. are returned to power, they will still be a minority force, a minority of the Europeans and a microscopic minority of the total population. To retain power, therefore, they will have recourse to more and more fascistic methods: that is inevitable. You and I can anticipate a greater deprivation of rights: the press will be muzzled: your business interests will be in jeopardy . . . all the things that happened against the minority Jews in Germany. But this time, the reprisals will be against Jew and Gentile alike, whenever he resists the process. We whites will also be in a position where we shall have to defy unjust laws or submit to tyranny. We, who prefer to resist, will be seeking allies. Where shall we find them save from among the non-Europeans who also will be struggling for democratic rights?

Well, Norman, I hope you will try and see the pattern in what I have so sketchily written down. We believe that our members must still try to win the election — no place for defeatism — but we must at the same time be building for the future, a genuinely democratic future of security and peace and, incidentally, prosperity.

I would very much like to hear your reactions to and criticisms of what I have said. Will you write? In the meantime, very best wishes and all friendliness.

Yours sincerely,

Editor.



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