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PRICE 6^D.

JANUARY, 1952.

Volume X. No. 1.

ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION.

THE PROSPECTS BEFORE US

IN sketching the prospects for the year 1952 progressive South Africans will be interested in two spheres only — the prospects for peace and the prospects for a revival of democratic growth in our own country. Besides these major issues all others appear paltry.

Despite the clouds of pessimism, the frightening intensity of the cold war, the spate of militaristic films and the absence of constructive peace policies at UN, the prospects for peace are nevertheless fair. Chief cause for optimism is mankind's deep-lying will for peace. There are few people in the world who were not to a greater or lesser degree affected by the impact of World War II. Many people remember still the disaster of World War I and its unstable aftermath. Men and women want to live and bring up their children in peace.

This is an impalpable factor, but nonetheless it is an astonishingly powerful force for peace. Public opinion, so often variable and fluid, can have a profound influence on vital international affairs. Without doubt public opinion will influence the rejection of war and an insistence on negotiations to preserve peace.

We see, moreover, men and women everywhere becoming conscious of the obligation resting on them to FIGHT for the maintenance of peace. In Britain and America there are ex-service movements for peace: the International Federation of World Veterans' Organisation is pledged to the preservation of peace: the World Peace Movement spreads its influence all over the world: the Quaker Movement assiduously demands peace and not war. This year will doubtless see more and more peace movements coming into existence.

There are other factors which point to peace. There is increasingly in the world a desire on the part of countries to remain neutral in the event of war. India has taken a stand: the Middle-East countries, envisaging the rack and ruin that war would bring to them, are reluctant to be tied up in either the eastern or western camp. And in France and Italy, for instance, there are legions of men and women who would proclaim their neutrality, no matter who was the aggressor.

So many countries are now 'unreliable' in the event of a war that the powers will hesitate again before committing themselves to war.

Another factor for peace in the coming year must be the fear of failure, for a declaration of war at this moment of history commits the aggressor to a suicidal attempt to conquer the world and then to maintain the world in subjection . . . absolute impossibilities. Statesmen are learning that war solves very few problems indeed. Military conquest is but poor compensation for the human and material devastation that a modern war brings. No would-be aggressor can contemplate with equanimity the prospect of the total destruction of our hard-won civilisation.

Despite all these factors for peace, however, we have to recognise the drive to war that does exist with its consequent burden of armaments, whittling away of civil liberties and intolerable struggle for the ordinary man to make ends meet. There is no room for complacency. Hitler soon enough became conscious that his regime was leading inevitably to war and nothing he could do could stop that fateful consequence. The people of the world through their

governments could have brought about the removal of Hitler and the defeat of his Nazi system. The people of the world left it too late. Our children must not have the opportunity of accusing us of preparing their massacre.

During the past three years we have witnessed in South Africa something horrifyingly novel—the spectacle of the Nationalist government deliberately blasting out the very foundations of our democratic system. However meagre the amount of democracy in South Africa before 1948, however badly that amount was distributed, we were pledged to democratic principle and practice. Because of that commitment South Africa went to war against the anti-democratic forces of Hitler and Mussolini.

But for three years and a half we have seen a government slashing away our traditions of free speech, free press, freedom to move and organise. We have seen them disenfranchising national groups, maliciously overloading the vote in South West, ignoring our Constitution, spreading fear and intimidation. Parliamentary and popular protest have been powerless to stop the ruthless denial of democracy.

But the New Year dawns with the promise of change. Anti-Nationalist feelings have never been stronger: The appeal of the Nats. never weaker.

Election propaganda has been exposed as negative policies: the calls for Apartheid and anti-communism have not brought the prosperity and tranquility which were promised. Relations between the races have worsened terrifyingly: under the Nats. inefficiency of state servants and machinery has in-

(Continued on page 12)

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Letters to the Editor

The Editor,
"Fighting Talk."

Dear Sir,

I again write to you to congratulate you on one of your articles. "The Mixture as Before" deals with a matter which has often disturbed me since the War and caused me to reflect on the ineradicable folly of mankind.

Anyone who has read the first volume of Churchill's memoirs cannot fail to realise that the same process which went on secretly and insidiously after the first war, as described by Churchill, is now taking place again but the more vigorously for being overt.

Can anyone be so naive as to imagine the Japanese have changed in the last five years and will tamely obey the Americans once they have achieved the strength to beat off the conqueror's hand?

Yours etc.,

R. J. W. McLOUGHLIN.

Johannesburg.

The Editor,
"Fighting Talk."

Dear Sir,

Herewith my sub. By now you will have realised that I am hardly a 'good' Legionnaire, as so much of "Fighting Talk" seems all wrong to me.

Take the latest Book Review, "Scottsboro Boy." To the uninformed it gives the impression that all the prisons in all the glorious states of the glorious U.S.A. are rotten; all blacks downtrodden, all gaolers are sadists, all Americans swine and America a sink of iniquity. Be honest, does not the review give that impression?

Can you think of no other part of the world, other than S.A., where prisoners are gaoled for less, worse treated, worse fed??? What is the object of the anti-Americanism that is obvious from time to time? . . . To a pampoen like me Guy Routh seems to be a more useful Legionnaire and what he does and writes seems to make sense to me.

Re Labour movements he refers to "the Cripps-Gaitskell yoke". Labour movements seems to like to get yokes on to their followers: in fact, before long the leaders tend to be dictators . . .

Can you throw any light on the Mine Workers' Union and its doings? Is it a Labour, Nat, or Ossewabrandwag organisation? From the little I have read, it seems to be a coalition of these plus a large chunk of 'Big Business' thrown in to make weight. I may be wrong

Yours etc.,

G. L. HANDLEY.

Greytown.

OUR REPLY.

Dear Friend,

The "leaders" of the Legion are far from being dictators, so that our definition of a 'good' Legionnaire is not one who agrees with everything we say. In fact, your qualifications aren't too bad — you pay your subs, you read 'Fighting Talk', you air your views and give us hell! Not at all bad.

The reviewer of 'Scottsboro Boy' both admits and rejects your accusation of anti-Americanism. He says he does tend to be anti-American, whenever America does something which he disapproves of. It's unfortunate that America so often does. In this connection we are sending you an editorial which appeared in the 'Rand Daily Mail' on January 5th of this year. Please read that and say whether you would dub the 'R.D.M.' anti-American?

On the other hand, the reviewer rejects the accusation, if you imply that it is a blind, unreasoning hostility. He believes that the ordinary people of America are much the same as the ordinary people anywhere else in the world.

As for writing about American gaols, well that's what the book was about! Had the book been a first hand account of prison camps in Siberia, or Scotland, the reviewer's reactions would have been the same.

The Mine Workers' Union today is in the hands of Nationalist supporters. You may remember that from 1938, when a certain Mrs. Marais left £10,000 to be devoted to winning the trade unions for the Nationalists, there has been an unceasing struggle to seize the M.W.U. About two years ago the 'moderate' mineworkers were defeated in the elections to the National Executive Committee. Botha, the former secretary, was kicked out and Visser was elected President.

Since that time the Nationalist-supporters have consolidated their position and have a tight grip on the Union. Nevertheless, there are internal squabbles featuring Dr. Albert Hertzog, Visser and Ellis. There has been a lot of dirty-linen washed in public and Visser is now out. The squabbles probably concern rivalry for power and do not indicate any opposition to the MWU's support for the Nationalist government.

There remain, of course, within the Union a large number of mineworkers who are anti-Nat, but at present their opposition is weak and ineffective.

EDITOR, F.T.

THE Legion is pleased to announce that Cecil Williams is to produce "Deep are the Roots" in Cape Town. Our Cape Town members will have gathered from "Fighting Talk" that the production of this play in Johannesburg was a sensational success. In fact, the drama critic of "The Star" in his annual review of outstanding theatrical events for 1951 brackets this play with only two others.

The play will open at the Labia Theatre on February 4th with a Cape Town cast, who show every promise of equalling the Johannesburg cast in their enthusiasm for this outspoken, sincere and highly moving play.

A newspaperman in Cape Town predicts that the play will make an even greater impact in Cape Town, where the problem of "mixed marriages" is a more immediate one than in the Transvaal.

We urge all our members living in the Peninsula and in the Western Province to give this enterprise the strongest support by booking seats for the first night or as soon after as possible.

From our experience of the play in Johannesburg, we have no hesitation in commending it to you — without reservation.

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CALLING ALL "DESERT RATS!"

THE call goes out to all "Desert Rats" to start chasing Rommel again. You did it once before successfully, but he's been resurrected . . . so, up and at 'im.

This time it is not Rommel in person, but a film made in Hollywood giving is the 'authentic' story of the great and gallant German general. The film opens in Johannesburg this month and is being exhibited by Twentieth-Century throughout the country.

The film is based on the book, "The Desert Fox", written by Desmond Young. When this book came out, critics were not slow to point out that the effect of the book was to 'whitewash' one of Hitler's most valuable generals. When the film was released in Britain, it was rejected as a staggering insult to the British people, to Field-Marshal Montgomery and to the British Tommies, who had fought against Rommel in the desert.

Chief thoughtful objection was directed against the fact that the film paints Rommel as opposed to Nazism, as a soldier who merely took orders "from above", a man who in his heart condemned Hitlerism and finally played an important part in the revolt of the High Command against the Fuehrer.

The War Crimes Tribunals in Germany after the war uncovered time and time again the fact that the German High Command accepted Nazism with all its horrible ramifications, the concentration camps, the destruction of democratic liberties, the drive to war, the persecution of political and religious minorities, the teaching of the Aryan racial myths, the atrocities against prisoners-of-war and civilian populations. All these appalling aspects of Nazism the Generals — including Rommel — were perfectly well aware of. But their consciences were easy . . . they did nothing, UNTIL the inevitable outcome of the war became clear, until they knew they were bound to lose.

AN INSULT.

How can a film company in one of the Allied countries dare to offer this outrageous insult to allied ex-servicemen? to the civilians who suffered nightly air-raids? to the Jews? to the Roman Catholics? to all those who suffered in mind or in body at the hands of the Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe?

Most damnably of all, it is an insult to the millions of men and women who lost their lives in the war against the

Nazi ideology, against whom must be numbered our 10,000 South African comrades.

One cannot avoid the deduction that there is a sinister purpose in this otherwise incomprehensible distortion of history. The sinister purpose is to make audiences believe that only Hitler and Goebbels and Goering were bad . . . the small-fry party supporters, the Germans who 'took no part in politics,' the soldiers, the sailors, the airmen, the admirals and the generals — they are not to be blamed, no guilt attaches to them. They were in point of fact quite decent people who were misled by the wicked Hitler.

AND SINCE THEY WERE GUILTLESS, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD NOT WELCOME THEM AS COMRADES IN WORLD WAR III.

It is unbelievable with what cynical adroitness the organs which mould public opinion can switch their viewpoint. Overnight, you will remember, we were bidden to welcome the 'Bolsheviks' as allies and for the war years the Russians were 'our gallant allies', while the Germans, all Germans were vilified unceasingly.

ALLIES?

A few short years after the allied victory over Hitlerism and Japanese Imperialism, we are bidden to hate the Russians and to permit the re-arming of Germany and Japan, so that our former enemies can fight side by side with us against our former allies!

Seen in this context, the film appears to be part of a campaign to soften our opposition to a revival of German and Japanese militarism.

It is heartening to read in the press of the barrage of protest that has been set off in Britain, as the following report illustrates:

"Ban this Film . . . was the demand made by four Ex-servicemen who paraded across the stage of the Odeon

Cinema, Tottenham Court Road, London, on Saturday, November 17th.

Holding posters which said ::Ex-Service Men Protest": "Desert Rats Protest", and "No Guns for Germany," they faced the audience while a fourth made a statement calling for the banning of the film.

He said: Rommel died as he had lived an unrepentant Nazi and an architect of Hitler's war plans. This film, which glorifies a Nazi general, is an insult to all those who fought and a betrayal of those who died.

We demand no more war and will fight for peace just as strong as we fought to win the war. We demand peace!"

The audience applauded the men and there were cries of 'Hear, hear!' from all parts of the cinema."

In Johannesburg the Legion is planning a public protest against the showing of the film in South Africa. A call is being made to all ex-servicemen and women and their families to boycott this insulting betrayal of the war dead.

The Legion calls on all its members to observe the boycott and, wherever possible, to organise public demonstrations of protest.

Desert Rats must chase Rommel again!

The Cost of War!

The Library of Congress statisticians have estimated the cost of the Second World War. It comes to a total of four trillion dollars (£1,330,000,000,000). Forty million persons, mostly civilians, were killed in the 5½ years of fighting. It cost the world 100,000 dollars to cause each death and the cost of the war to every man, woman and child on earth was 1,708 dollars.

"ECHO"

The rearmament of Germany is proceeding upon a colossal scale . . . All Europe is arming and preparing the whole of industry for war. At the other end of the world Japan is fiercely arming . . . All the old evil factors which were apparent a year ago, all the old perils, are now presented in an aggravated form.

(Winston Churchill. May 21, 1936.)

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Two Resignations

It was with considerable regret that the National Executive Committee were compelled before Christmas to accept the resignation of Mr. Jack Sachs from his position as National Chairman. At a time when the prevailing winds of intimidation blow so many people out of active progressive work, it is particularly unfortunate that differences of opinion on policy-matters should account for the loss to the Legion of a valuable, conscientious and courageous fighter.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Sachs pointed out in his letter to the Committee, there comes a time when an individual's own intellect and conscience cannot be brought into line. When that stage is reached, there is no alternative but to relinquish a position, which would entail constant friction.

Aligning himself with Mr. Sachs's policy proposals is Mr. Herbie Rabinowitz, who has also resigned from the National Executive Committee . . . another serious loss from the Committee. Neither Mr. Sachs nor Mr. Rabinowitz has resigned from the Legion and we hope to have the benefit of their advice and labours as often as possible.

The differences over the problem of formulating policy for the Legion were perhaps inevitable in view of the extraordinarily difficult conditions that prevail for progressive organisations and individuals.

Evidence of those difficulties is to be found in the dissolution of former progressive organisations and the disappearance of progressive magazines. For instance, one can point to the folding up of the Campaign for Rights and Justice, the Institute of Citizenship, the Loyal South Africans: the fragmentation of the South African Trades and Labour Council: the weakening of the Labour Party.

The following magazines have ceased publication: the Forum, Trek (as a political magazine), Common Sense, the Democrat.

From these facts it becomes patent that in South Africa reaction is on the ascendent and progressive policies have to struggle desperately to survive. The wartime swing to the 'left' has been succeeded by a swing of the political pendulum to the 'right'. In addition the Nationalist Government's red-smear tactics against all progressive organisations and individuals coupled with their direct onslaught on democratic liberties by means of the Suppression of Communism Act combine to create a situation of extreme difficulty for progressive workers.

Former active members quietly fall away: the politically timid swallow the 'red' bait: the press becomes indifferent or even hostile to non-conformist organisations: financial support dwindles.

Legionnaires throughout the country should be conscious, therefore, that the Springbok Legion by its very survival, by the regular appearance of the magazine 'Fighting Talk', is giving evidence of its solidity and vitality and its will-to-live-and-to-fight. There is great virtue in the fact of existence, when that existence is maintained in the face of apathy, indifference, hostility, intimidation and victimisation. Let us not forget that.

However, Legionnaires cannot be satisfied with mere existence. There must be purpose in that existence. There lies the rub. The Legion wants to be active, to be EFFECTIVELY active. The National Executive Committee, therefore, has been seeking a programme of action to implement basic Legion policy, recognising that it is more difficult today to undertake campaigns commensurate in scope with, for instance, the 'Ban the O.B.' campaign or the General Election campaign of 1948.

The Legion's desire to embark on appropriate campaigns is to some extent hamstrung by our limited resources in manpower and money: by the fact that co-operation from the press would be nil or negligible: by the fact that hardly a single organisation standing to the 'right' of us politically would collaborate. We have to bear these facts in mind. It will be appreciated that the Legion over the past two years has occasionally had to forego the satisfaction of initiating national campaigns and has had to throw its weight in support of campaigns undertaken by other organisations, for example: The Ex-Servicemen's Political Action Committee (to fight the Provincial Elections in 1949), the Civil Rights League's campaign 'To Defend the Constitution' (to fight against the removal of the Coloured voters) and the Torch Commando demonstrations.

It is against this background that differences in outlook on policy must be viewed.

Mr. Sachs and Mr. Rabinowitz in their proposals gave expression to the sense of frustration that all of us feel these days when they said that the Legion must devote its energies to its own campaigns: must leave the Torch Commando to carry on its work amongst its supporters; while the Legion should campaign amongst urban Afrikaner workers on a 'bread-and-butter policy'.

The pros and cons of these proposals were argued out over some months and the majority vote finally was against Mr. Sachs's policy.

Similarly at the Advisory Council Meeting in November the majority of members opposed a proposal put forward by Dr. Routh that the Legion should concentrate on building up contacts with Non-Europeans, since the ultimate political developments in Africa must depend on the Non-Europeans, thereby putting the petty squabbles among white South Africans into a relatively unimportant position.

The majority of members disagreed with both Mr. Sachs and Dr. Routh on the grounds that the Legion is an ex-service organisation, predominantly composed of white South Africans. Because of this fact and the fact that white South Africans still have a part to play in political developments, the Legion cannot turn away from its natural sphere of activity.

We believe that at this present moment there is a job for the Legion to do:

i. to struggle for Peace.

ii. to struggle for the return of democracy to South Africa. We believe that in both tasks, interrelated as they are, we can with justification appeal to ex-servicemen in particular and white South Africa in general — without, be it noted, denying or ignoring the important part that Non-European South Africans must play in both areas of struggle.

To be frank we admit that it is extremely difficult — because of the reasons stated above — to plan an effective programme of action. But all Legionnaires can be assured of three things:

- (a) The Legion's Executive is alive to its responsibilities to seize every opportunity of fighting, either independently or in collaboration with others, to preserve Peace and to

(Continued on page 13)

A REPORT TO BE WARY OF

THE Commission was appointed by the Nationalist Government shortly after it came to power, with terms of reference wide enough to consider a complete revolution of industrial legislation.

The report which was recently published is an extremely interesting document, containing as it does, some first rate information on the economic structure of South Africa, and then an almost entirely uncoloured set of recommendations. As long as the Commission stuck to the scientific method, their conclusions [reluctantly] deal blow after blow to the Nats. apartheid theories. This can best be illustrated by the following quotations:

Para. 1592 "From the purely economic point of view, in the academic sense, it would appear to the Commission that the proposal for the amendment of the definition of "employee" (under the Industrial Conciliation Act) to include Natives would be the correct one, as it would recognise the solidarity of labour irrespective of race; permit of the unfettered integration of Natives into the Union's economic life; place all workers on an equal footing and give all sections an equal say in regard to the fixing of their wages and conditions of employment; and be acceptable to Natives and to international opinion."

Para. 1595 "The migration of population from rural to urban and industrial areas is not unique to S. Africa or to natives" . . . The report goes on to draw an analogy with Great Britain "Legislative counter measures, the shortage of accommodation in the towns, and the development of slum conditions, all placed obstacles in the way of this migration, but failed to halt the movement."

It was a natural process following up on the industrialization of Great Britain and artificial obstacles did no more than to slow down the process to some extent. Urged by economic pressure the people concerned overcome the obstacles and the process continued to its logical conclusion."

THE HANDS OF THE CLOCK.

Referring again to S. Africa, the Commission concludes that

"To stop or reverse the economic development which has, up to the present, continued largely undisturbed as far as urbanization is concerned, would be tantamount to setting back the hands of the clock."

In the face of these conclusions, and against the weight of the evidence, the Commission went on to state: "The Com-

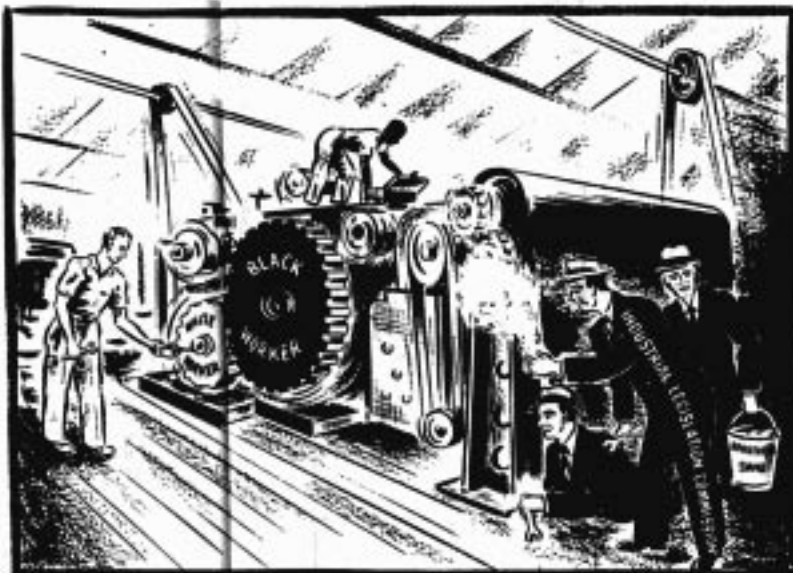
mission . . . is unable to recommend the adoption of the proposal that there should be no racial discrimination in industrial legislation." This stand was (as clearly stated) taken on the basis of maintenance of white supremacy in S. Africa, but the Commission does not go on to state in the light of the "academic" economy realities what the effect will be on S. Africa, in terms of poverty and economic stagnation, if these Caravats were able to sweep back the waves of progress with apartheid brooms.

In view of the fact that "The Commission is satisfied that a sufficient number of Native workers in commerce and secondary industry know enough about trade unionism to make the recognition of trade unions a practicable proposition, provided suitable measures for the guidance and control of these unions are introduced" the Commission goes on to recommend an emasculating form of control of strictly segregated Native unions

THE ARBEIDSFRONT

The following quotation while not significant in itself, is a gem of an example of the distortions and gymnastics by which the Commission moves from its scientific data to its thinking with-the-blood conclusions. In referring to the chaos which would result from unions separated along racial lines, it says "Besides, difficulties and complications must not always be regarded as an evil; sometimes they stimulate to greater mental activity and creativeness, which is so essential if S. Africa is to overcome the many problems caused by its complex racial composition."

In the wider field of collective bargaining the Commission has recommended measures which would bring into being an Arbeidsfront on the best Nazi pattern.



'THROWING SAND IN THE WORKS'

THE highly reputable French newspaper, 'Le Monde', reported on 14th Sept., 1951 that the two most important financial advisers of the Adenauer Government have calculated that German rearmament in the form discussed with American experts would cost about 7,500 million dollars.

The experts recommend that "if it is desired to prevent rearmament from disturbing German economy to the detriment of political and social order the obtaining from the American Congress of credits of these dimensions would have to be considered."

The newspaper points out that Washington is asking Britain to repay its war debt of about 8,000 million dollars and continues: "The result will be that if Britain complies and the U.S. accepts Germany's request for rearmament, the sum borrowed by Great Britain from the U.S. during the war in order to destroy the Wehrmacht — and which she now has to repay — will finally go to rebuild the destroyed Wehrmacht. . . ."

A Labour Board is envisaged which would "co-ordinate" wages and conditions of work throughout S. Africa. Industrial Councils would be free to negotiate agreements (subject to the presence of Labour Dept. officials at all meetings) but the resulting agreement would be 'scrutinized' by the Labour Board and would have to meet with its approval prior to publication by the Minister. The intention is clear — the Industrial Councils would do the donkey work and maintain the pretence of free negotiation, while the Board could and would subject industry to a rigid conformity with government policy.

CONTROL

An interesting mentality is revealed in the limitless powers of control and

interference granted the State in the affairs of Trade Unions. It becomes a matter of public interest that hobo-in-the-woods workers should be protected against their enemies — the union officials. Strangely enough no legislation has yet been framed to protect shareholders from the legal (within the framework of the Companies Act) manipulation of companies, which may strip them not of their stipend per week, but of all they possess. The inference is clear. The objective is class legislation in its utmost blatant form, designed not to protect the workers, but to divide and bind them to becoming zombies under the control of the state.

The recommendations are permeated throughout with the spirit and purpose of the Nats — the Fascists' distrust of the free will of the people, and the determination to control freedom to a point where it is no longer a reality.

The opposition of organized workers has long been recognized as a stumbling block to the designs of dictators. Hitler eliminated the genuine union leadership and replaced it with state control. Franco drowned his unions in blood, while Peron appears to have bought his over. The Nats, as is consistent with their pattern of action are following Hitler's methods. This being so, any legislation arising out of the Commission, will provide the machinery to enslave the Unions left leaderless and broken by the Anti-Communist legislation. It is the power by which the government plans to reap the benefit of their attack on the Unions. It is not enough to smash — unions can be rebuilt, and honest leaders can again emerge, but given the legal powers the Nats can strike their blow and step into the vacuum so created. It is probably the lack of such power which has caused the Nats. to hold their hand up to the present.

The recommendations of the Commission prepare the way for legislation which will no doubt be rushed through the coming session of Parliament. If this is so, the attack on the Unions will follow immediately, and a bulwark of democracy will disappear.

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REVIEW.

Death of a Salesman

LABIA THEATRE, CAPE TOWN. PRODUCED BY BEN-AMI AND LEON GLUCKMAN.

AUTHORS, dramatists, painters assiduously eschew the socially significant scheme when they set to work. Apparently there is a vague but nevertheless effective censorship on the work of contemporary artists, for how seldom do they show us the 'other side' of society, let alone attempts by honest people to improve conditions.

Little wonder, then, that when 'Death of a Salesman' was first produced three years ago, it was warmly welcomed by the intellectually hungry theatre-goer in New York and London. South African play producers, once they had read the play, vied with each other to get the rights of the play. Even the Legion had abortive negotiations with an agent in New York.

But now the play has been produced by a new professional company headed by Ben-Ami, a well-known American actor, Madame Sarah Sylvia, best known in South Africa for her productions in Yiddish, and Leon Gluckman, the young South African actor and producer, who has recently returned from two years' intensive work with the Nottingham Repertory Theatre in England.

The play exposes the terrifying insecurity of the average American commercial traveller and the even more terrifying bluff that is put across the commercial travellers and the American public that "it's a great game", "it's a great life," "if you've got the personality, you've only to walk in and you're a made man. What's more, if you become a successful salesman, you'll have a grand funeral."

The big handouts, the national propaganda for the 'American way-of-life' (or British or French or South African) never tell the truth, never let you know that, when you have nothing but your labour to sell you have to walk into the economic and social JUNGLE of our times and fight as desperately against the savage beasts that brawl and prey there as ever did Tarzan.

Willy Loman, the salesman of the play, has been a commercial traveller for forty years: he has worn his heart out at the heartbreaking game and all the time he has kept up the bluff to himself and his two sons that it's "a great game, a great life." But now old age is telling on him, he has fits of forgetfulness when he's driving the car, he has suicidal impulses, he can't get the business anymore . . . and anguishingly he

keeps up the bluff until crazily he rushes off in his car to his death.

The play comprises two acts and an epilogue — a requiem, as the author, Arthur Miller, describes it. The present is interspersed with significant flash-backs, which reveal the building up of the bluff, the father's idolatrous worship of his elder son and the failure of the two sons to make good. The setting for the play is the little house of the Loman's, wedged in between sky-scraping apartment houses, all of which is transfigured at times by the reflection of dense foliage, symbolising the 'jungle'.

I was amazed by the skill with which Ben-Ami had fitted such an elaborate and difficult set on to the small stage of the Labia theatre. It was excellently done, as was the complicated lighting.

Altogether this was a painstaking, thorough and polished production, which kept the audience intensely interested till the final curtain. One could detect great sensitivity to the need for varying tempi in the play: the movements and groupings were outstandingly good. I had a feeling that a good proportion of the production work was Mr. Gluckman's, in which case he is to be congratulated on the enormous advance he has made during his period abroad.

It is strange that with so much skill and sincerity lavished on the production, the performance should have failed to stir our emotional depths. The play is a social tragedy and the characters portray that tragedy. Surely then the audience must share that poignantly deep emotional experience. And I did not. I was gripped intellectually more than emotionally. There were moments when I was deeply moved as when Biff discovered that his father is having a cheap affair with some tawdry woman. Gluckman as Biff was excellent in that difficult scene. Sarah Sylvia, too, moved me by her controlled emotion in the requiem.

Ben-Ami, I fear, tended to overdramatize his lines, robbing them of their emotional appeal. This, more than any-

thing else, took away the inner sincerity of the part and the deep emotional value of the play. Despite this, Ben-Ami gave a powerful, well-sustained performance, at times a brilliant performance.

In the opening scene I found Sarah Sylvia, as Loman's wife, a little too soignée in appearance and her voice too brittle, but as the play progressed she developed a hard and consistent sincerity, which prepared me for the full effect of her acting in the requiem. Particularly towards the end of the first act, when she attacks her two sons for their failures and their indifference to their father, Sarah Sylvia was excellent.

Leon Gluckman has matured considerably and brought to his acting a technical confidence, which made him a thoroughly convincing Biff. It was a pleasure to feel the 'boldness of his acting: he pulled out all the stops when necessary without once becoming melodramatic. I shall look forward to further performances and productions from Gluckman.

I have seen productions of 'Death of a Salesman' in Glasgow, Munich and Cape Town and I have read the play two or three times. Deepening acquaintance with the work reveals more and more clearly the social integrity of Arthur Miller. In the purest artistic form he shows us an aspect of life that we are too prone to ignore: in the working out of his plot he passes a comment on society, thereby — in my opinion — fulfilling the function of the true artist. There is no call to revolution in the play but an appeal to one's intellect and one's emotions, surely the most satisfying experience in the theatre.

C.G.W.

"ECHO"

The less the people consume, the more work can be done on armament production. The standard of living and the scale of armament production must move in opposite directions.

(Dr. Schacht, Hitler's Minister of Economics, 1938.)

"ECHO"

As I watch the figures mounting up . . . I cannot help being impressed by the incredible folly . . . which is piling these terrible burdens on the shoulders of the nation . . . burdens, which, if something is not done to reduce them, are bound to pull down the standard of living for a generation to come.

(Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1937.)

THE PROSPECTS BEFORE US

(Continued from page 1)

creased tenfold: civil liberties have disappeared right and left and the government has been entirely powerless to keep the cost-of-living under control.

The electorate, even that section which voted for Nationalist candidates, knows only too well that the Nats. have not delivered the goods.

Let us remember that the majority of the electorate voted against the Nats. That majority has been increased by the dissatisfaction of the government's previous supporters. The Torch Commando has sprung into existence to give a lead to d.spirited voters. The United South African Trust Fund is pledged to democracy and must, therefore, fight for the downfall of the Nats. The African peoples a few weeks ago gave unmistakable warning that they will no longer tolerate the policy of Apartheid and all the inhumanity that policy adumbrates. The Nationalists have the onset of an economic crisis to combat and, after their action at U.N. in Paris, they have world opinion strongly lined up against them.

Their position is desperate.

The question is asked: Can the Nat. Government be forced to resign this year? We can be sure that they will hang on to the reins of government as long as ever they can, as Hitler did, increasing the severity of their oppression as their position becomes more precarious.

They will be forced out of office only by the COMBINED efforts of all the anti-Nat. forces in the country: the United Party, the Labour Party, the democratic organisations, such as the Legion, the trade unions, the Civil Rights Leagues, the Torch Commando and the Non-European movements. This combination of forces can be effective only if there is unity of purpose and unity of action.

The prospects of achieving that unity are not very rosy. The United Party, devoid as yet of a positive, progressive, rallying policy, fears co-operation with the movements and organisations which stand to the left of it. Consequently, it will probably not call for a united Anti-Nat. Front, without which the Nats. will not be forced out of office this year.

There are strong hopes, however, that with such strong forces ranged against it, with so many problems that it cannot solve, the Nats. will in any event lose the next General Election.

For a democratic and prosperous South Africa, however, the removal of the Nats. and the installation of the United and Labour parties is not enough. The 'mixture as before' will not cure the patient. South Africa needs and must have a new, intelligent, progressive policy, based on a programme for the EXTENSION of democratic rights to the Non-Europeans. It is not enough to throw out Apartheid. A constructive forward-looking policy must replace it. The times call for a positive advance in our political thinking.

Political, social and economic advancement for Non-Europeans in South Africa must be campaigned for, if we are to make any progress.

For that reason the Legion must consider devoting a large proportion of its resources and energies to education along these lines. That Political Message must spread into the democratic parties, the trade unions and the Torch Commando. Only by so doing can we hope that this New Year 1952 will usher in a period of vital democratic advancement for South Africa.



Dr. Guy Routh, who was appointed Acting Chairman of the Springbok Legion in succession to Mr. J. Sachs.

ABRIDGED PRESS STATEMENT BY LEGION ON S.A.'s WITHDRAWAL FROM U.N.O.

BY withdrawing the Union's representative from the United Nations and by the intemperance of the language with which he attempted to justify that withdrawal, the Prime Minister has, in effect, declared war upon the world. The severing of diplomatic relations with the United Nations, the allegation that they have committed aggression against us and threat of "drastic action" are all matters of such gravity that they would require in justification firstly the absence of any alternative and secondly the complete righteousness of the Government's case.

In fact, neither of these conditions exists. The withdrawal of Dr. Donges was an unnecessary provocation which can only place the Union at a tactical disadvantage, while the history of the Hereros reveals first the terrible crime committed against them by the Germans and second their almost complete neglect by successive Union governments. We will not justify ourselves before world opinion by attempting to hide from it, but only by producing a programme, for the subject peoples of South-West Africa, that will give them some hope for social and economic progress and an ultimate say in the management of their own affairs. No amount of bluster on the part of the Prime Minister will compensate for the absence of such a programme.

15th December, 1951.

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ODDS AND ENDS

VIC EDDY

U.N.O. DONGES.

THE Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Vyshinsky, is supposed to be the man who walks out of United Nations meetings whenever anything displeases him, but South Africa's Dr. Donges has broken all records with his latest escapade. Not only did he walk out of the Trusteeship Committee's most important discussions, but he has announced South Africa's intention of boycotting this Committee and indeed, there are vague rumours that we may leave U.N.O. altogether. How this fit of temper can possibly help our country only a Nat. can attempt to explain. And the ironic part of it is that Dr. Donges and Dr. Malan are the people who accused Mrs. Pandit of winning her case against South Africa by a display of emotion!

AND THE CULPRIT.

THE man who, according to Dr. Malan, has been responsible for all this is that 'master-agitator' the Rev. Michael Scott. In a subsequent display of fitful intolerance, the Government has de-

clared Rev. Scott a prohibited immigrant, thus hardening the hearts of any members of U.N.O. who might have been on S.A.'s side on this issue.

I don't want to seem disrespectful to the Prime Minister, but his hymn of hate against Rev. Scott reminded me rather forcibly of the campaign of calumny that the Pharisees waged against Christ. Rev. Scott may be the world's greatest trouble-shooter, but in the opinion of one who knows him, he is also one of the world's most unwavering practising Christians. To suggest that he is insincere, as Col. Hoogenhout has done, is as grotesque as suggesting that the Nationalists are democrats.

ROMMEL AGAIN.

I MENTIONED last month in this column, with what I thought was commendable objectivity, the anger that the film "The Desert Fox" has caused amongst ex-servicemen. But I find that the nearer the commencing date of the film's run approaches, the more furious and less objective I become. What I find most sickening of all is the way 20th-Century Fox smirkingly refers to it as "a highly controversial film." I may add that the Springbok Legion is preparing a campaign against this film which will add somewhat to the "controversy."

ANOTHER SESSION.

THE last important Parliamentary session before the General Election begins this month, and judging by past experience and various commissions' reports, the Nationalist Government seems determined to maintain its reputation as a government for the people of the Broederbond by the Broederbond. Elsewhere in this issue you will find an article on the report of the Industrial Legislation Commission and the laws likely to arise therefrom. What else is in store for us we can only guess but if the Government were to resign tomorrow, I for one would be more than a little relieved!

TWO RESIGNATIONS

(Continued from page 7)

bring about a return of democratic principle and practice to South Africa;

- (b) The Legion's Executive has the heart and the will to continue the fight, no matter how great the obstacles;
- (c) The Legion's Executive treasures the unique organisation that we constitute and believes wholeheartedly that when Peace is assured and democracy, a fuller democracy holds sway in South Africa, Legionnaires will have cause for pride in their contribution.

While deeply regretting the loss of Mr. Sachs and Mr. Rabinowitz, we are pleased that so worthy a replacement has been found in the person of Dr. Guy Routh who will act as a National Chairman until Conference is asked to elect a chairman for the ensuing year.

* * * *

"FREEDOMS"

Dr. Albert Gainza Paz, editor and publisher of *La Prensa*, the Argentine newspaper suppressed and expropriated by the Peron Government, gave this message in an interview published in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"I am not saying that what happened in my country might some day happen here, but I warn you that it is much easier to fight to keep the freedoms you have than to fight to regain the freedoms you have lost."

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A LETTER OF PROTEST FROM RHODESIA

The Editor,
Fighting Talk.
Dear Sir,

As a regular reader of "Fighting Talk" a life member of the Springbok Legion and one of those who now live in Southern Rhodesia I feel I'd like to comment on James Lawton's article in the November 1951 issue "Why I am an optimist." Having left S.A. permanently I suppose I should not enter into the argument but I can't let some of his remarks pass. Firstly I decry his repeated remarks re "running away". I was one of those who took an active part, during elections, against the Nats. I spent days canvassing — evenings in Committee rooms, nights at political meetings getting in scraps with the Nat. toughs, etc. On one occasion I remember being told, after one beating up well if you chaps go looking for trouble you will get it. Others started going to Rhodesia and I argued just as James Lawton but — and a big but, all we had done still left the Nats. in power and I had three boys at a Government School. I was not satisfied with what they were being taught. I got onto the Parent-Teacher Committee. I tried everything but the tuition was with a strong Nat. bias. Their English was horrible. You will get the Nats. out next election, the

optimists cried, but that would take five years, I said, but the optimists said, no, never. However I was not prepared to risk my boys having five years of that tuition, so you now have one reason why I left.

My firm started bilingualism as a fetish almost, and I was overstepped—you know the drill; it happened in several places. I was young enough to start again but in five years I would not be so. I had to think of that too. My wife was wanting to go because with my Irish temper I was always tangling with Nats. She said it was a constant worry. Finally a better job than I could hope for came along and so I went. But Mr. Lawton, a little less of "running away." I reckon I have fought as hard as you. Secondly if I were with you Mr. Lawton I'd like to knock the smile you have on your smug dial right off it. Let me tell you Rhodesia is the home of the free; although born in Johannesburg, wild horses couldn't drag me back to the Union now. My boys are getting a grand education and doing very well. My wife and I are happy. I have a nice home and have done well in business — better than I could have done in the Union under the Nats. Mr. Lawton remarks about being less alive intellectually than East London and his remarks re immi-

grants are all Tommy rot, as are his remarks about the Democratic Party. We have the answer to that I can tell you.

I hope Mr. Lawton is right about the rest but unfortunately I do not share his optimism having just returned from a 5,000 mile tour of the Union. (The reason incidentally I have not written earlier — the November issue was waiting at my office on my return), but be he right or wrong, please don't slang those of us who have left and don't slang Rhodesia. It is a damn fine country and to me God's own country.

Yours faithfully,

Sgd. M.J.B.

Salisbury.

OUR REPLY.

The fact that you are so indignant about it proves that you have a conscience about leaving the Union. We salute you for that. But Mr. Lawton's article was directed against the general tendency to emigrate to Rhodesia on the part of a large number of South Africans and there was no intention to belittle Rhodesia or the Rhodesians. There are, of course, a number of individuals, like yourself, who had good private reasons for leaving. Good luck to you and may you continue to read F.T.

Editor, Fighting Talk.

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SABRA AND THE GROUP AREAS ACT

THE South African Bureau of Racial Affairs held its Third Annual Conference at Maritzburg this year. It is significant that SABRA should chose as its theme the Group Areas Act, since the Act originally developed out of protestations from Natal to have the Indians "contained." The infamous "Ghetto Act" which caused such widespread agitation finally ended up in the complex and almost unintelligible Group Areas Act. Sabra has dealt with two aspects of the Non-European problem, firstly Non-European policy in which the fundamental aspects of "apartheid" were endorsed, and secondly the problems of Local Government in relation to the Non-Europeans. In the course of the SECOND conference it became OBVIOUS that a serious problem had penetrated the discussions.

In the acceptance of apartheid as a policy for the welfare of the Non-European people, the whole concept of the integration of the Non-European people into the new industrialised areas was in contradistinction to the said policy of the separation of all racial groups. A Pretoria delegate at this second conference made it clear that large industrial areas were not in a position to embark on large scale shifting of population, and further, that Local Governments must accept finally the permanence of Non-European populations. It is obvious therefore that SABRA WAS being critical, and unlike the D.R.C. was prepared to discuss the limitations of apartheid. It was hoped that the Third Conference would reveal more of this attitude. The Springbok Legion has made several criticisms of SABRA in Fighting Talk and we have assumed that since on the whole, the delegates have been made up of the majority of the competent Afrikaans students of racial problems on the Government side, that stupid and unscientific and ideological propaganda would not be evident at SABRA meetings. In fact the theory of a dual state has been recommended by many people over the last 50 years, Afrikaans, English and Bantu all containing a certain amount of truth. However the Third SABRA Conference has shattered all hopes of the organisation being anything but a so-called intelligentsia mouthpiece for our Fascist Government.

After a considerable discussion on the advisability of repatriating South African Indians Mr. I. J. van Wyk — assistant Director of the Institute of Race Relations, made a speech which accord-

ing to newspaper reports was the only reasonable, logical and honest speech made at the conference to date. He deprecated the use of the words "Coolie" and "Kaffir" at the conference. The fact that anybody should have to make such a point is an indication of the "state of mind" of delegates at this conference. Here are in fact some statements, which show the stupidity of some eminent delegates:

Prof. Coetzee: "... The familiar behaviour of Indians towards Europeans resulted in Natives losing their respect for Europeans. In these ways the Indians disturbed the good racial relations in the country."

Dr. G. B. A. Gerdener, Chairman of the Bureau, in a summary made over S.A.B.C. on Thursday night 10/1/52 believed that the Group Areas Act was, if put into effect efficiently, a possible solution to the racial problems of South Africa. He emphasised that all the papers read at the conference, bar one, made it clear that the Indians were actually the reason for the Act having been created. He also made special mention of the opinion of Professor Coetzee who believed that the Indians should be repatriated.

Without dealing with the Group Areas Act as such (since we have criticised it from its inception), what merits careful attention, are two factors:

- (1) The attitude of Government, intellectual apologists.
- (2) The real and obvious intentions of SABRA.

With all the seriousness of a vital contribution to the solution of racial

tension in South Africa, delegates have done no more than attempt to put into intellectual language the whole concept of white herrenvolkism. To deprecate is obviously not enough. What is needed is an exposure in the strongest terms, for these deliberations are being publicised overseas as the considered opinions of the thinking people of South Africa. Secondly the intention of SABRA is obviously the hope that it will

- (1) counteract the influence of the Institute of Race Relations;
- (2) that it will definitely become the mouthpiece for the Government with those people who do not swallow easily the fascist propaganda constantly being issued by the Government.

The Springbok Legion has always believed that the easing of racial tension in this country can only be made by

- (1) The removal of the Nat. Government.
- (2) Top-level discussions between leaders of all the different racial groups.
- (3) A policy to be put into operation based upon the broad principles laid down in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

Only by such fundamentally democratic methods shall the tension cease, and a peaceful and harmonious South Africa be created.



Mr. J. Socha, who resigned as National Chairman of the Springbok Legion.



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