

FIGHTING TALK

ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION

VOL. X. No. 2. DECEMBER, 1952.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

SALUTE TO COURAGE

"ALL out of step except the Legion." That is what our critics used to say whenever we took a stand for democratic principles — as the world understand them — in the face of a seemingly united South African anti-native racialism. Last month's meeting of Europeans called by the Defiance Campaign leaders proved that there are other white South Africans out of step with race prejudice, other South Africans prepared to take a stand, as we have, for what their consciences tell them is right and just.

Not an easy step for white South Africans to meet on the invitation of black men; nor to listen patiently to what the black men have to say. But it is a sign of the times that several hundred did it, and stayed not only to applaud but to pledge themselves to support the struggle against race discrimination. A small beginning it is true; but nonetheless a beginning profound with meaning for the future of this land.What was the issue of this gathering? It was just this. In the recent disturbances at New Brighton, East London and elsewhere, it had been revealed that amongst the non-European people the conviction is growing that all white South Africans, good and bad, share complicity for the crimes of Government and police against the non-whites. It is no longer enough for the leaders of the African and Indian Congresses and of the Defiance Campaign to reiterate that, "this is no racial struggle, but a struggle for the betterment of the lives of all of us, black and white."

They are meeting the age-old reply of doubt — "Show me!" Where, ask the non-Europeans, are those Europeans who are not against us? Why don't we see them? Why don't we hear them? Why, if they are not against us, don't they speak up for us?

The Congress leaders called that meeting to make one point, and one

point only — that those of the Europeans who are with the Congresses in their fight to end discrimination must speak up and act, before the conviction that all white men are with the Government and the police grows too strong to be combatted by the leaders, too universal to be beaten back, too overwhelming to end save in bloody racial clash.

The meeting, filled with the same sense of urgency and need as the Congress leaders, decided to act. But how to act?

There were those, but they were a minority, who still failed to understand that events are rapidly rolling old-estab-

"We are not going to accept on behalf of the people a loaded franchise, with educational and property qualifications. It is argued that many of us are illiterate, and will therefore abuse the vote. But if the standard required is that of fascism, even the most illiterate among us will not accept the vote. I say an electorate which can vote a fascist Government into power has abused the vote. By their abuse of the vote, the Whites have caused this deterioration in race relations.

So we must not be taken in by this argument of the loaded vote. The argument is absolutely false. ANYBODY WHO KNOWS HISTORY, KNOWS THAT IT IS BECAUSE PEOPLE HAVE GOT THE VOTE, THAT THEY HAVE GOT EDUCATION. THE HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS SHOWS THAT THE WORKERS IMPROVED THEIR CONDITIONS BY FIRST GETTING THE VOTE."

Dr. J. Njongwe—on 1st November, 1952.

lished outlooks and ideas and policies in the dust of yesterday. They pleaded for the meeting not to rush ahead too fast, not to proclaim a stand based on democratic principles of equal rights for all mankind, but to sacrifice principle to expediency, to toady to the prejudices and fears of white South Africans and proclaim support for the citizenship for non-Europeans but on a strictly lesser-than-ours, second class basis.

This, it was argued, was "realistic"—but only realistic for those whose colour-blind eyes see only the Europeans as moving factors in South Africa's development. Not realism but delusion for those who understand that today, if never before in our history, the initiative has passed to the non-Europeans, and that today, if never before, South Africa's future is being mapped by them, despite the wishes, the prejudices and the protests of the voters.

These "realists" take their stand on a limited franchise for Africans, limited by educational, property or "civilisation" tests which do not apply to Europeans. They try to stand still in a moving world, failing to realise that their policies which yesterday seemed revolutionary to the non-Europeans are today doubted, which tomorrow will be sneered at and the day after denounced as just another expression of European anti-colour prejudice and racialism.

Those who seek to make an impact on the rising anti-white hostility amongst Africans cannot, dare not stand still, as the new-found national consciousness of the Africans rushes ahead with the expanding horizons of full equality, which the Defiance Campaign daily points to. In such a situation those who try to stand still fall back as surely as telegraph poles seen from a railway carriage.

The majority of the meeting, to their credit, saw this, saw it clearly and de-

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COPPER and LEAD

By *ELWOOD C. CHOLMONDELY*

I CAN'T help feeling sorry for those poor bally coppers in England, what with all they've got to put up with. Like being called blue-bottles, and sometimes even narks, and getting tossed into Glasgow canals on a dark night, with only their batons to defend themselves. Never surprises me they have to write songs about it to keep their spirits up, like "A Policeman's Lot is Not a Happy One."

They should join the service out here if they really want a happy life. That's what I'm always telling the fellows back on the farm. If you want to see life and enjoy yourself, well there's nothing like the police force.

Not mind you that just anyone can get in. You got to be big for it. Around the chest and legs that is. The head don't count much, as long as your I.Q. don't go much over the mark, and you don't ask more than a seven-and-a-quarter helmet. Feet's important too; have to do a lot of walking, and a lot of kicking too if you get in the beer-raid squads, or to have to ask for passes at the station. But the boots are good, and keep the duties from getting too tough to take in your stride.

And don't you believe those stories you're always hearing that you have to spend your whole day dragging dead horses from Appolonia to Bok Street before you write out the report. Doesn't happen more than once a month that anything dies in Appolonia Street, believe me, and I've spent twelve years in the service.

It's better these days than it used to be, now that Blackie Swart's been made the Minister. More fun and less danger. Like the other night what happened to me. I was climbing that fence like I do every week when I take the short cut from Sophiatown to the station. And like it does every week, a bit of barbed wire caught me just in the spot where my pants are filling out too much, what with all this desk work I'm doing. Well, in the other weeks I just cursed and rubbed the spot, if no ladies were looking. But this time I thought to myself: "Well, Blackie Swart says shoot if you're in danger of being hurt." So I just outs with my revolver and let that fence have it. Bang! Bang! Bang! Like that.

One of them ricocheted off a rock and went through a window. But no-one came out to see what was going on. We've sure got those nigs trained, these days. Stay indoors when they hear shooting; which is as it should be, and no-one came out to ask me what-the-hell I thought I was doing. So I went on to the station feeling much better, and I sure shot hell out of that fence.

You know that one they're always telling you — if you lose your revolver, lose yourself too but don't come back without it. Well that's no joke either I can tell you. Can't get no promotion these days without your revolver. Every time they're looking for a new sergeant for one of those cushy charge-office jobs, out come all the revolvers, and they count up the nicks to see who's doing his duty. I've got four on mine. Should be five, but the blooming officer won't allow the fifth. Says I didn't get the fellow. But he fell, see, even if he did get up and run again afterwards. Reckon I've been done good and proper with that one, but what with all the trouble Swart's making for us to settle, won't be long before I get my fifth. And then you'll see me with my stripes, damned if you wont. Almost didn't get my second nick recognised either, because they said he was under age and only counted half. As I told the bleeding officer: "He was thirteen wasn't he? And running away too to make it more difficult for me." They saw the justice of it after that, but it took me some trouble I can tell you.

I got two the first night after Swart told us "shoot first and talk after." With Klopper on patrol. We saw six of them coming out of a side street. "Ask them for their passes," says Klopper to me. I considers; but its a long walk to where they're standing from where we're parked. So I thinks quickly and says: "What? Me ask them and defy an order from the Minister? Not me, with my good conduct medal and all." Shoot first the order says; so I shoots. Took five shots it did, and only got two of them. The rest ran away, and what with his indigestion Klopper didn't feel like chasing them. Seems Swart hasn't thought it all out too clear, because there doesn't

seem much point in talking afterwards when the guys are laid out stiff.

And don't think its no bed of roses either. Got hell for it afterwards from the duty officer, wasting three rounds of Government bullets, what with the high price of lead and all. Had it entered in my pay book and deducted at the end of the month too. No, it's no life for a pansy, but a young fellow with guts, well he can take the rugged with the smooth.

Got to go now; appointment with my dentist. And my revolver's coming with me see. When the Minister says shoot if you're in danger of being hurt, he means it see. And all I can say is, my dentist better jolly well look out for himself, or I'll be getting my sixth nick and promotion sooner than they think, that's all.



ON THE MEANING OF CIVIL RIGHTS

The phrase 'civil rights' means a number of concrete things to you and me . . . It means the right to be equally treated before the law. It means the right to equal opportunity for education, for employment, for decent living conditions. It means that none of these rights shall be denied because of race, colour or creed.—(Adlai Stevenson, New York, Democratic Convention, Aug. '52.)



EX-GENERAL FORCED OUT OF ELECTION

A U.S. Army loyalty investigation of retired Brig. Gen. Elliot R. Thorpe, begun after he had criticized U.S. policy in the Far East and demanded greater respect for freedom of speech, caused him to withdraw as Republican candidate for Congress from Rhode Island in July.

The Director of the American Civil Liberties Union called on the Army Secretary to reaffirm the principle of free expression and to pledge that the Army would not engage in any activity "even remotely connected with political affairs."

BOOK REVIEW

LET THE DAY PERISH

IN his first novel, *Let the Day Perish*,

Gerald Gordon has chosen as his theme the operation of colour prejudice against a man of mixed parentage who, nevertheless, passes as a white South African. It is well known that, particularly in the Cape, there are many prominent families who are accepted as 'pure white' but who have a Coloured ancestor hidden in the branches of the family tree. Mr. Gordon is clearly acquainted with the complexities and the hidden fears of such people and in his story he has traced the efforts of a single individual to outwit the prejudices of society by concealing his parentage.

Mr. Gordon has taken a wide canvas to paint his picture and has contrived an exciting plot in the second half of the book, leading up to a poignant, if unsatisfying, conclusion.

It is a pity that the author's deep knowledge of the problem of race prejudice and his patent sympathies with the victim of such prejudice should not have succeeded in winning the reader's sympathies for the central character of the novel.

Anthony Graham is the 'white' son of an English father and a Coloured mother. The mother in the story devotes her life to ensuring that her first son shall be accepted by society as a white man, thereby sparing him, as she imagines, the full misery of being a Coloured man. Anthony himself, described as handsome, intelligent and charming, follows the course plotted by his mother even to the extent of changing his name and denying the existence of his younger brother, Steve, who is unmistakably Coloured.

Where, I think, the author lets his readers down is in his failure to portray Anthony as an admirable character. I do not despise Anthony for his ignoble acts and attitudes, forced on him by his understandable desire to retain his social and economic status as a white man. In theory, of course, an heroic person would proclaim his ancestry, defy prejudice and work for the abolition of the social disease. But in literature, as in life, not every man is a hero.

Nevertheless, Mr. Gordon has failed to round out the picture of this man, failed to show him behaving nobly in

other situations. Consequently we are left with the impression that the whole of Anthony's life centres in this one situation, in which circumstances compel him to behave with less than human nobility and dignity.

There is something unsatisfying in the story's ending. I cannot understand why the author was satisfied to allow his leading character to seek a cowardly way of escape from the conditions of his life. Is Mr. Gordon himself so pessimistic about the problem?

THEATRE

A WELCOME VISIT

THE Wilson Barrett Company, a famous English repertory company, has just concluded a seven week season at His Majesty's Theatre in Johannesburg. Before they leave South Africa they are to play in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria and Cape Town.

If the Company has done one thing more than another, they have exposed the Johannesburg drama critics as being entirely without a sense of proportion. The critics over the past few months just have not known where to draw the line — the line of 'standard'. For years out of touch with the standards that are maintained in London, the critics had reached the stage where they could lavish praise on even a poor amateur production. Then came the Old Vic and they swooned with rapture and delight. Thereafter, all locally produced plays were beneath contempt.

Then came W. B. and his company, but, lo and behold, this overseas company was not the same as the Old Vic. Dear, oh dear; this is bad . . . said our critics. And then with fervid patriotism, they said, "Why our own amateurs can do better than this."

How wrong they are. Under the same repertory conditions, our amateurs could not do better, could not do as well.

For my part I would be happy indeed if the Barrett Company were to make its home in Johannesburg. Then I would know that I could drop into the theatre at any old time and be sure of finding a certain standard of production, acting and artistry. I could make my choice of plays, discarding the thriller, for instance, but always grabbing the Shaw,

The first half of the book is written in a pedestrian style and within a shaky framework. The second half is quite different. The structure is tight-knit and the style becomes crisp with elements of grace. Mr. Gordon has written a book which is well worth reading and which makes one hope that *Let the Day Perish* is only the first of a series of books on South African affairs from so sincere a writer.

knowing all the time that the Company, as distinct from the dramatist, is going to give me competent presentation, at times rising to brilliance.

I would select three or four plays from the Company's repertory and strongly recommend you to see them. "Pride and Prejudice", an adaptation of Jane Austen's novel, delighted me by its wonderful humour and its unexpectedly gripping plot.

The Company's production of "Saint Joan" had great virtue. The acting had enormous strength and conviction about it, which swept the audience up to the tremendous inquisition scene. June Duncan's portrayal of Joan had great vitality, variety and sincerity. I am haunted still by her appearance and performance in the inquisition scene.

A totally different sort of play was "His Excellency" . . . modern, fast-moving, dealing with the clash of the Conservative entourage with the Labourite new Governor of some British colonial island. It was a splendid production, amazingly realistic characterisation, subtle variations of tempo, and above all a really exciting plot. I have not spent so exhilarating an evening in the theatre for a very long time.

If you have the opportunity, don't fail to make the acquaintance of the Wilson Barrett Company.

“VULTURES”

The other view

Dear Sir,

With due respects to “The Law of the Vultures” as a novel well above the general run of South African books, I feel that it does no-one any good to lean over backwards avoiding criticism of it. I feel your critic (See Fighting Talk Nov. 52) has done so. Mrs. Altman, as a serious writer with promise of more books to come, deserves better treatment.

It is not possible, in my opinion, to avoid the feeling that in attempting to draw an unsentimental picture of the lives of Africans, Mrs. Altman stands on the outside looking in with the eyes of a blue-book. After reading her tale of grim, unrelieved misery of the Africans, one wonders why there is no phenomenon of mass suicide amongst them. The answer can only be that, from the inside, life is not like that. Despite the bitter truth of repression, suffering and hardship which our country visits on Africans, life, courage, joy and happiness persist. This is the secret of the strength and resilience of the African people, which has enabled them to come through fighting after hundreds of years of the baasskap treatment. Anyone who fails to understand this cannot possibly understand the African people or the confidence in their own strength and future which is rising everywhere today.

This semi-blindness which sees only the obverse and not the reverse of the scene is a disease of those looking from outside with pity for the Africans, but not joining with them, working with them, feeling *with* them. It is the disease which afflicted Alan Paton perhaps even more deeply than Mrs. Altman. And because of it, the Africans they portray are not representative of the people, as they try to make them, but are either rare, freakish specimens such as do admittedly exist, or caricatures of the African people as a whole. It is logical that a character seen in this way, as Thaele is, should crucify himself on a cross of hopelessness and frustration.

Perhaps it is the same basic weakness in her own outlook which leads Mrs. Altman into another error so typical of European South Africans, the error of

imagining that Africans are simple, easily beguiled, easily led and misled. Who but a collection of village idiots would pay good, hard-earned money to join Thaele in an organisation whose sole *raison d'être* is that it is against the whites according to “my plan”, my unrevealed, unknown and unformulated plan. How can this be anything but caricature, when the hard facts of the painfully slow growth of the African National Congress, the Trade Unions and the Defiance Campaign are irrefutable? Contrary to Mrs. Altman's picture, Africans have proved beyond doubting that they are not simple Step'n Fetchit creatures except when portrayed by backveld farmers. They are careful, hard to convince, slow to act like working people everywhere. There are some, as there are amongst all races, who are suckers for the confidence trick. But not many, as any shopkeeper who has tried to pass off soya-bean zoot-suits as Saville Row tailoring will tell. The suckers are the freaks. And freaks are not the subject of literature, but of circus barkers.

Finally, there is the undecided twitching of Mrs. Altman's conscience which reveals that, right at the end of the book, she begins to doubt whether the destructive path of black-white strife isn't, after all, too awful to contemplate. Unwillingly, on the last page, she concedes that Nkosi's way, the trade union way of black-white co-operation is “the way of life.” There is no conviction in it; only the first creeping seeds of doubt. And because there is no conviction here or elsewhere in the book, the whole result is to lend sympathy and support to the utterly destructive philosophy of Thaele. He ends, as all who follow his philosophy must end, by beating himself insensible against a brick wall.

I trust that Mrs. Altman manages to convince herself which way lies the “way of life”. For while “The Law of the Vultures” has enlisted much sympathy for Africans amongst its readers, its philosophy if persisted in cannot but contribute to the destructive racial strife which is already looming large on the South African scene.

Yours faithfully,

E. C. PATERSON.

AWAKENING

“Today it is essential that this country should provide machinery whereby the responsible majority of the African people shall come to believe that their future is secure in the Government of this country. Today the fact is that not a single responsible group of Africans has confidence. That is our danger and our challenge. We are at the point where we have got to meet this challenge. It is no good putting off the position. We have got to use our brains.”

—(Mrs. Margaret Ballinger.)



“We shall make a great mistake to conclude from the fact that the State has legitimate authority that, therefore, its power is unlimited. Christian thinkers maintain that a just law must be directed toward the common good and not exceed the competence of the authority making it. If it imposes burdens on the citizens, it must impose them fairly. Conversely, a law is against the common good which demands either that citizens shall perform duties which are recognised as evil in themselves or forbids citizens to perform actions that are accepted as good. If we are prepared to accept this as a fair description of just and unjust laws from the standpoint of Christianity, there is no alternative but to state simply and directly that the laws against which the passive resistance movement is directed are unjust.”

—(Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg.)



“The sense of injustice that burns in any non-European may not be the same as mine or yours, but it is their sense of justice that is offended . . . and let no one, who has not had to live under non-European law, claim to say what are and what are not the limits of human endurance. The fact is that our country has yet to learn the lesson that in the last resort authority cannot be long maintained by coercion: for authority lives not by authority to command but by authority to convince, and conviction is born of consent. Inevitably the power to coerce the minds of men to behaviour, which they reject, breaks down:

—Mr. Julius Lewin.

UNO IN A RUT?

A.P. Van Rooyen

THE United Nations General Assembly has opened what looks like being one of the unhappiest sessions in its history.

The first reason for the unhappiness is that American Government witch-hunting is making it extremely difficult for UNO to maintain its permanent staff in New York. The F.B.I. apparently regards UNO employees as being on the same footing as U.S. Government employees for the purposes of political persecution. The result has been the resignation of Mr. Trygve Lie from his post as Secretary-General of UNO.

Mr. Lie could not possibly be called a Communist or a fellow traveller. On the contrary, he has during the past few years made only the most perfunctory attempt at official impartiality and has not concealed his sympathy for the Western bloc. He has, nevertheless, tried to uphold the principle, that the UNO Secretariat is independent of the policies of any one member nation, and this has brought him into conflict with the American authorities.

CAN F.B.I. RULE?

Mr. Lie's resignation faces the General Assembly with a very grave decision. If F.B.I. interference has been intolerable to Mr. Lie, it will obviously be intolerable to any successor who makes any attempt to uphold the neutrality of the U.N. Secretariat. The General Assembly must, therefore, either demand that the American Government cease its persecution of U.N. employees, or it must replace Mr. Lie by an American of the McCarthyite persuasion who will find the present atmosphere congenial. The latter course would obviously lead to the break-up of UNO in fairly quick time. The future of UNO therefore depends on the General Assembly's summoning up the courage to rebuke the United States for its witch hunting activities. There seems to be little prospect of such courage being forthcoming.

Then there are the South African and the North African questions. On both these questions, it is fairly clear what the majority opinion in the General Assembly is. There are only three or four member states of UNO who have consistently refused to express any dis-

approval of South Africa's racial policies. For the rest, opinions range from the outraged fury of the non-white nations to the lukewarm, calculating disapproval of the major European powers.

Similarly, French handling of the Tunisian situation has few admirers. Nevertheless, the Assembly finds itself in great difficulty in dealing with either of these questions effectively.

MOUNTAIN MUST MOVE

Both are matters of the internal politics of member states, and many nations are hesitant about setting a precedent which may be used against them in future. Britain cannot possibly vote



against South Africa and France — Kenya and Malaya might be on next year's agenda. Belgium and Holland are in the same position. The United States and her Latin American voting squad vacillate helplessly between their desire to boost their prestige among the non-white peoples, their fear of being called to account for their own undemocratic practices and their fear of upsetting such sound anti-Communists as Messrs. Pinay and Malan. The threat of secession by France will very likely be sufficient to prevent anything being done about North Africa. South Africa, being in a weaker blackmailing position, may have to put up with another resolution against her, but the prospects of any action following such a resolution seem to be less than ever before.

Lastly there is the question of the Korean War. Obviously, the General Assembly cannot do anything very effective towards settling the question as long as China and North Korea are allowed no voice in its proceedings. All that can be done is to induce America to put forward armistice proposals which have some hope of acceptance by the Chinese. The Israeli resolution

seems to contribute something in this direction, but the problem is obviously not going to be solved easily.

With all these grave and difficult problems before it, the General Assembly is showing a depressing lack of courage and decision. We are told that delegates do not know what to do because Mr. Eisenhower refuses to give them a pronouncement upon his foreign policy. If this is a true reflection of the mood of the Assembly delegates, we cannot expect much from the present Assembly session. Is it too late for public opinion to jerk these somnolent diplomats out of their profitless rut and force them to do some constructive thinking about the peace of the world?

A.N.C.

"There is thus no escape from the conclusion that the African National Congress must now be recognized and accepted, for better or worse, as the body representative of African opinion. Of course, the A.N.C. doesn't really speak for eight million Africans because most of them are inarticulate. But it does reflect — as no artificial rival agency set up by Dr. Verwoerd or Mr. Strauss can — the outlook of the overwhelming majority of Africans who are aware of the issues involved in the current trial of strength.

"This is not to say that the A.N.C. is not itself open to criticism or that all its leaders are wise and reasonable men. It does mean that only after recognition of the A.N.C. has been granted, can white politicians begin to negotiate with Africans in the hope of discovering what they really want today and tomorrow, and how their legitimate aims and aspirations can be met."

(From Agenda.)

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The World Today

IKE'S KOREAN HIKE

by Ben Giles

AND the Dancing Girls go to their well-earned rest; the cheer-leaders take time off to suck throat lozenges and recover their breath and probably the special coaches are shunted into sheds for repair and overhaul.

Ike grins his last grin and is led away like a tired schoolboy after a gingerbeer party for some hasty briefing by the backroom boys. For one thing is certain: they may like Ike, they may really believe he is the greatest living American, but he will never enjoy the pleasure of governing his country. From now on his job is to keep his trap shut and do whatever he's told.

It is an even bet that as these lines are being written the American people are nursing their sick headaches and wondering what it was really all about. They know that the fight was hard and dirty beyond all description. But what were the candidates fighting about? and, apart from the fact that the long reign of the Democratic Party has come to an end, has anything really changed?

The answer is probably, "No! nothing has changed."

SHADOW-BOXING

At this distance the fight that has just come to an end looked suspiciously like shadow-boxing, for there is no fundamental issue on which Democrats and Republicans disagree to any great extent. Both are anti-Communist, anti-Labour and imperialist in their foreign policy. Both adhere to the North Atlantic Treaty alliance: both are married to the Wall Street Moguls. Like the Nats. and the U.P. in South Africa, their disagreements are on minor matters of method and tactics. Like our Mr. Strauss, Stevenson would call himself, 'a middle of the road' man, which probably means that the Republicans use less double-talk and roll their eyes less piously—that and no more.

However, in a world balanced as precariously on the edge of catastrophe as is ours, even slight shades of difference assume some importance. Rather a prevaricator than a fascist; rather a crowd of dumb civilians than a crowd of trigger-happy Generals with six-shooters (atomic type) slung across

their buttocks. For one thing seems certain: with the election of Ike, the long battle between the civilians and the military for control of atomic energy production and foreign policy has come to an end, and the 'tough' school of policy-makers have the reins firmly between their fingers.

OVERSEAS REACTION

It is significant that our press carried few reports of overseas reactions to Ike's victory. It is most unlikely that these reports were lacking. Probably they have been blue-pencilled in the interests of the Grand Alliance of the West. Such reports as did trickle through, for example, from France, suggests a world — sorry! a 'free' world — frozen stiff with fear and worry. For this same Ike championed the cause of McArthur and was carried to victory on the shoulders of McCarthy, Taft-McCarran etc., who are the men who really push the buttons.

The American people doubtless want peace and it was Ike's promise that he would go to Korea and end hostilities that got him the votes. But peace, like freedom, has had many crimes committed in its name.

The men who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima did so in the name of peace: the men who bombed the Yalu River power plants while the truce negotiations were in session did so in the name of peace: and those who propose extending the war to the Chinese mainland protest more loudly than all the rest that theirs is the only way to lick the 'reds' and bring us peace.

WELL-FOUNDED FEARS

To us in South Africa it seems that the Americans have made a grave mistake in their choice — a mistake that may yet wipe the grin off many faces, Ike's included. Informed opinion fears that Ike — far from ending the Korean War — will succeed only in extending it to the Chinese mainland. If the United Nations during the present session fail

to break through the deadlock, these fears are likely to prove well founded.

The immediate result of Ike's peace-offering to the electors is a report stating that Anglo-American leaders are considering the use of "atomic tactical weapons" to "put pressure on the Communists" to accept U.N. terms regarding repatriation of prisoners.

The only outcome of such "pressure" is likely to be counter measures. We cannot imagine a people who have stood up to the terrors of napalm bombs being frightened into submission by this contemplated new atrocity, or that it will yield any results to the Americans themselves other than the pain and chaos of a large-scale war, which the Americans cannot hope to win.

IN CHECK?

It may be that Ike's proposed flight to Korea will yield no better harvest than world-wide misery and suffering. Perhaps he will be held in check by the wiser counsels of his more moderate allies.

In either event we cannot feel altogether gloomy about the shape of things to come. Bigger and better tyrants than Eisenhower and his Wall Street headmen have in the past plotted against the lives and the liberties of the people and they have all found in the common man a larger and greater force than they.

It would be as well for Ike, if he popped in for a chat with the erstwhile Emperor Hirohito en route to the conference table in Korea. After all, there is no living man who is a greater expert on all the aspects of DEFEAT — unless it be Chiang Kai Shek.

SALUTE TO COURAGE

(Continued from page 1)

cided to act in the only way which will make an impact at this desperately late hour. They took their stand for full equal rights, without equivocation, without sacrificing the solidarity of non-European citizens on the expedient altar of European prejudice. Radical? Yes. Too revolutionary for many Europeans to accept? Possibly so, today. But nonetheless the thing that had to be done now, if Europeans are to live in peace in this country. And done it was by the majority, courageously.

We salute them all. We wish them success in their vital and difficult task. We pledge them our support, because we know that this way, and this way only, can South Africa become a democratic state in which the Europeans and the non-Europeans can live without bloodshed and without fear.

CHINA'S CHRISTIANS SPEAK

APPEAL OF CHINA'S CATHOLICS

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Johnson,

As peace-loving Chinese Catholics who love their country as well as their church, we have raised strong protests with the anti-Christian bacteriological warfare waged by the American aggressors in Korea and China, and have issued the "Manifesto Issued by the Chinese Catholics Protesting Against the American Bacteriological Warfare." Up to now the number of those who have signed on the Manifesto amounted to 13,755, including two Bishops, two Coadjutor Bishops, 141 fathers, 139 priests, 110 nuns and 13,370 lay Catholics in different social circles. Signatures are still continuing to be gathered on a larger scale among Catholics of the whole country.

As you are the messenger for world peace, we now send you our manifesto together with its English translation with the hope that you will tell the Catholics of Britain, of the U.S.A. and of other countries of the world about the protests of Chinese Catholics against the American bacteriological warfare, so that they may unite with us to stop the bacteriological warfare, waged by the American aggressors, and to defend world peace.

MANIFESTO OF THE CHINESE CATHOLICS

As free and fortunate Catholics of New China, we have in religious conscience raised strong protests with the American aggressors who have waged bacteriological warfare in Korea and China in violation of international conventions and against human morality.

The bacteriological warfare waged by the American aggressors has already been proved to be an irrefutable and irrevocable fact through the investigations made by both Chinese and foreign people and through close examination by scientists.

For the sake of dignity and righteousness of mankind, for the sake of the Gospel of Christ and for the sake of world peace, we stand for the prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons. We appeal to the Catholics of the world and all the righteous and peace-loving people as to unite together to stop the crimes of the American aggressors in waging the bacteriological warfare.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY

Here is the voice of millions of Chinese Christians. It is a spontaneous voice. It is a passionate voice.

No longer can these allegations of germ warfare be dismissed as mere Communist propaganda, emerging from Moscow.

Can we, dare we doubt the integrity of our Eastern Christian brethren?

That great Eastern body of Christians listens eagerly at the response of their Western brethren.

The Archbishop of York has declared his Christian abhorrence of the use of germ warfare. I appeal to him.

PEACE CALL OF THE CHINESE PROTESTANTS

Dear Dean and Mrs. Johnson,

We Christians of China would like to report to you an inhuman and anti-Christian crime recently committed by the American aggressors, which is the bacteriological warfare they have launched against the Chinese and the Korean people. Rev. Wang Tzu-chung of the Peking Congregational Church went to Korea and North-East China as a representative of the Chinese religious circles and saw with his own eyes the various germ-laden insects dropped by the U.S. Armed forces as well as shells of containers carrying insects. . . . Many of our Christian doctors have witnessed the germ-disseminating insects and other carriers spread by the American aggressive forces, and taken active part in making every effort to defeat the American bacteriological warfare. We Chinese Christians confirm that the crimes of bacteriological warfare committed by the American aggressors are irrefutable and undeniable.

... We Chinese Christians should like to ask you to tell our fellow Christians of Britain and America and those elsewhere in the whole world about our strong protest against the United States of America for her crime of launching the bacteriological warfare. For the sake of humanity, righteousness and world peace, we want to appeal to the Christians throughout the world to raise protest so as to put a stop to the atrocious deeds of the American aggressors in massacring Chinese and Korean people with bacteriological weapons.

Signatories to the Chinese Christians' Appeals

Y. T. Wu, Chairman, Christian Refuges Committee.

Li Liang-mo, Secretary, Christian Refuges Committee.

Robin Chen, Presiding Bishop of the Anglican Church of China.

P. C. Fin, Secretary of the Anglican Church of China.

Lindel Tseng, Presiding Bishop of the Anglican Church of China (retired).

Tseng Chien-sek, General Secretary, Central Office, Anglican Church of China.

Lin Hsiem-yang, Bishop, North China and Shaanxi, Anglican Communion.

H. H. Tain, General Secretary, Church of Christ in China.

George W. Chairman of National Christian Council of China.

Hsiao Yang-ching, Chairman, Chinese Independent Church.

Chih Ching-tsai, Chairman, China Baptist Ch.

Al Nien-sun, Vice-Chairman, Lutheran Church.

Mao Ke-chang, Bishop of the Anglican Church.

Qiang Fu-hai, Sec. Council of Christian Publishers.

T. S. Yui, Secretary, China Christian Kadzour Union.

Z. T. Kauag, Bishop, Methodist Church.

Kiang Chung-kuang, Vice-Chairman, Seventh Day Adventists.

Ren Dah-ling, Secretary, China Baptist Publication Society.

K. Y. Yang, Secretary, Chinese Home Missionary Society.

Wu Chi-chang, President, China Baptist Theological Seminary.

Hsiah Shan-sun, Congregational Church.

Peter Wang, Chinese Independent Church.

Caro Deag, General Secretary, National Committee, Y.W.C.A.

Phoebe J. C. Shi, Secretary, National Committee, Y.W.C.A.

Li Shou-iao, Secretary, National Committee, Y.M.C.A.

K. H. Ting, General Secretary, Christian Literature Society.

Peng Tso-ken, Chairman, Peking Church of Christ.

Chiang Yu-chang, Acting President, School of Religion, Yenching University.

Wang Chia-hua, Secretary, Methodist Church.

Li Chang-shen, President, Peking Theological Seminary (Methodist).

Wang Hsu-ching, Bishop (ret.), Methodist Ch.

Feng, Major, Salvation Army, Peking.

Chin-ta, Brigadier, Salvation Army, Peking.

205 other signatories of pastors and lay leaders of Protestant churches and organizations from Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin.

Walter S. K. Deag, Bishop of Chekiang Diocese, the Chinese Holy Catholic Church.

Hsuen Shai-shiang, Pastor of the Hu-San Church, the Church of Christ in China.

T. C. Pao, General Secretary, the Chekiang Shanghai Baptist Convention.

Tsai Wen-hao, General Secretary, Chekiang Synod of the Church of Christ in China.

Fan Kwong-jiang, Pastor of the Sao-shan Church of Christ in China.

Keng Tso-hao, Pastor of the Ku-ku Church, the Church of Christ, China.

Wu Chih-feng, Pastor of Cheng-pai Church, the Church of Christ in China.

King Cho-kuang, Pastor of the Yui yang Church, the Church of Christ in China.

Cheng-Mien-yu, Pastor of the Tien Shun Church, the Church of Christ in China.

Shih Tien-ming, Pastor of Ming Chang Church.

Chen Kwong-yung, Pastor of Hanchow Church.

Chung Lip-kuang, Pastor of Cheng Yi Church (China Inland Mission).

Hsu Shih-hsun, Pastor of the Seventh Day Adventists' Church.

Tu Hao-shun, Pastor of the Chen Shen Ch.

Wang Pi-teh, Pastor of the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Yang Ju-hsi, Pastor, Jesus' Church.

Nia Shu-chen, Pastor Lin Lien Church.

Chen Shu-chen, Pastor of the Lin Lien Church.

Hsu Pi-teh, Pastor of the Apostolic Faith Ch.

Chia Chia-lin, Dean, the China Theological Sem.

Wu Chih-feng, Dean, the Hanchow Bible Inst.

Ke Chia-shan, Pastor of the Chekiang Preaching Mission.

Nia Chih-feng, General Secretary, the Hanchow Y.M.C.A.

Chang Wen-chuan, General Secretary, the Hanchow Y.M.C.A.

Chia Chia-lin, Pastor of the Hu-San Church, the Church of Christ in China.

Chia Chen, Acting Chairman, the Chinese Catholic Church Reform Committee of Peking.

Li Chen-su, Assistant Bishop, the Peking Diocese, the Chinese Catholic Church.

FROM HANCHOW'S CHRISTIANS

... We protest against the American imperialists' germ warfare. Many of our Christian medical workers throw themselves into the patriotic anti-pestilence campaign. We are prepared to devote all our strength to the fight against germ warfare for the cause of world peace and the dignity of mankind. . . .

Beloved Dean, we hope that you will disclose the facts of American imperialists' germ warfare to all peace-loving people of the world. They should no longer be deluded and threatened. Let us all have one faith, that is: Peace will win. Please tell the Christians in England that we Christians in New China have seen much clearer the light of the gospel in the great revolutionary movement of people's liberation. May we shoulder together the great task of defending world peace and peace will win greater victories when we meet again.

THESE LETTERS AND
STATMENTS
HAVE BEEN IN THE HANDS
OF THE PRESS
FOR OVER FOUR
MONTHS!
WHY HAS NO
SINGLE
PAPER IN THIS COUNTRY
DARED
TO
PRINT THEM?

When Fighting Talk interviewed D. N. Pritt on the subject of germ warfare, a Soviet's seat of criticism descended upon us. We did not then, nor do we now give our own opinions. We print below extracts from three letters sent to the Dean of Canterbury when he visited China recently. We leave our readers to decide whether any serious paper which tries to report honestly has any right to suppress information such as this, so vital to the future of the peoples of all countries, our own included.



THE full story of the riots these last few weeks will perhaps never be known. The Government's point-blank refusal to hold a judicial and impartial enquiry into the cause of the bloodshed at Port Elizabeth, Denver, Kimberley and East London indicates, I venture to say, that a full disclosure might not reflect too happily upon the Nationalist Government in general and the police in these areas in particular. Meanwhile the story has been splashed in almost every major newspaper in the world and comments there are aplenty. If the Nationalist Party and Dr. Malan had any prestige left to lose, the riots in South Africa have well and truly robbed them of it.

A STUPID ACTION

The Port Elizabeth City Council, of course, hitherto regarded as being composed of the more liberal citizenry, have not covered themselves with glory in this connection. In an endeavour to act like elder statesmen administering well-deserved punishment to erring colonials, they have finished up by appearing stupid and petty. The introduction of the curfew and the Pass Laws as well

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.

as the wholesale sacking of Council employees will not help one iota to restore harmony in that city. On the contrary, it will embitter the Port Elizabeth Africans, the vast majority of whom were in any case not involved in the riots.

THEY'LL NEVER LEARN

If you strain your ears very hard, you will hear the hammer-blow for Democracy which the United Party Congress in Bloemfontein has struck. I have come to the regrettable conclusion that Mr. Strauss and his colleagues will never learn how to wrest power from the Nats. The amount of ballyhoo spoken at the Congress would do credit to a party convention in one of the more backward American states, but will do little to raise the flagging spirits of the poor, befuddled South African elector. Why the devil doesn't the U.P. say in clear and unmistakable language: "We will withdraw the Group Areas Act since we recognise the fascist design behind its imposition; we will abolish the Suppression of Communism Act since it is undemocratic and totalitarian; we will abolish the Pass Laws since they hamper the proper growth and prosperity of South Africa; we will enact legislation to provide for the extension of democracy, not its restriction, free and compulsory education for all children, a scientific and just housing plan which will provide shelters for everybody in order of priority and irrespective of race or colour."

If the United Party Congress had put forward such a policy they would most probably have lost people like Mr. S. F. Waterson or Mr. Blaar Coetzee, but they would have provided an alternative Government to about sixty per cent. of the electors of South Africa. At least a party with such an unequivocal policy would have acted as a brake upon any future Nationalist inroad on our freedoms.

BATTERSBY AGAIN

A trip across the ocean, now, to London, where the spotlight falls on a certain James Battersby, of cursed memory. This gentleman was fined by a London magistrate for shouting "Heil Hitler" during the two-minute pause on Remembrance Day. South African ex-servicemen will not forget that it was largely as a result of the Springbok Legion's efforts that Mr. Battersby was refused entry into South Africa where he hoped to find a more ready market for his Nazi poison.

This Africa

BUT DON'T QUOTE US

From the *Rand Daily Mail*, 7/11/52: " . . . Responsible Native leaders anonymously urged fearless opposition to the African National Congress" (on the Port Elizabeth strike issue).

SAMARITANS

Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, at the City Hall, Johannesburg, 8/11/52, as reported in the *Rand Daily Mail*:

" . . . The Europeans have looked after the Native all these years out of the goodness of their hearts."

WE BREED 'EM TOUGH

Mr. Swart, Minister of Justice, at a platteland meeting:
"Tear-gas is child's play."

"Fighting Talk" will welcome contributions to this column from readers. All contributions must be accompanied by cuttings from the press.

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AN AFRICAN SPEAKS

MR. President, Delegates, and fellow-South Africans:

It is with humility and a deep appreciation of my limitations that I approach the task of opening this momentous and historic Conference of the African National Congress (Natal). What prompted me to accept this signal honour was the conviction and knowledge that this honour was not bestowed on me personally, but on the African people of the Cape who have been the spearhead of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign.

As Acting President of the Cape, I wish to express my appreciation of the people of the Cape for the honour . . . The people of the Cape have had a longer contact with oppression. I bring to this Conference their greetings and best wishes. They have asked me to assure you that they are determined, together with you and the rest of South Africa, to wage this non-violent, peaceful struggle against unjust and racially discriminatory laws.

UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

To you has been reposed the difficult task of leading the African, Indian, Coloured and European people of this country towards the formation of a single, united, prosperous South African Nation. To fulfil this obligation, political clarity and a desire to learn are necessary. To lead a people is a difficult task, and the issues involved in liberating an oppressed people must be clear-cut and leave no room for deviation and opportunism.

For three centuries, the African people have suffered and endured incredible hardships.

NO RACIAL ARROGANCE

Because of the experiences of the people about *Afrikaner Nationalism*, with its *herrenvolkism*, people of other racial groups have been suspicious about the development of African Nationalism. Our creed has been developed with due regard to the multi-racial character of South Africa. We accept, and know that the European, Indian and Coloured people are South Africans, no less than the Africans themselves. Their culture and history may be different, but the fundamental point is that they are all South Africans.

An understanding and appreciation of this South African outlook is very important at the beginning of our Struggle. We shall not be a party to the development of racial arrogance on the part of the African people. If my people developed racial arrogance and *herrenvolkism*, I would fight this menace just as we are now fighting *Afrikaner Nationalism*.

I have been asked: "What is the ultimate object of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign?" My answer is: "Full citizenship rights for all South Africans."

As leaders of the people, the danger of racial hatred and racial arrogance must be fought by you at all times. You must deal with it ruthlessly. Our Struggle is based on a broad African Nationalism, embracing all the racial groups, on Non-Violence and the basic Christian teachings of peace, love and tolerance.

PEOPLE MAKE THEIR OWN HISTORY

I have stressed the need for political clarity deliberately. It is important to have faith in the African people's self-emancipation. The salvation of the people is in their own hands. It cannot be bestowed or granted by any outsider. The people make their own history; their emancipation must be based on their own consciousness and willingness. They must organise themselves.



Dr. J. Njongwe, President of the African National Congress in the Cape. Alongside we publish portions of the speech he delivered to the Conference of the African National Congress in Natal on November 1st. By both non-European and European South Africans Dr. Njongwe is coming to be recognised as one of the country's political 'brains.'



NEW ORGANISATION TO FIGHT COLOUR BAR

IN response to an invitation from the National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, over two hundred Europeans, representing a cross-section of the community, attended a meeting on Thursday, November 20th, at Johannesburg's Darragh Hall.

Mr. Walter Sisulu, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia and Mr. Oliver Tambo, speaking for the leaders of the Defiance Campaign and the Congresses, emphasised that the Campaign is not directed against any racial group. Its basic purpose is to achieve the recognition of non-Europeans as human beings by the peaceful method of passive resistance.

Mr. Tambo said that a clause in the constitution of both Congresses pledges them to work for the ideal of full democratic rights for all South Africans. The silence of European democrats to the challenge of the issues involved in the Defiance Campaign is being construed by non-Europeans as acquiescence in and approval of the Government's policies. This is rapidly creating the belief among large numbers of non-Europeans that all whites are hostile to them and their aspirations and that the situation is being transformed into a white-versus-non-white struggle.

Mr. Cachalia appealed to the meeting to prevent the division of the

(Continued on page 13)

SHOOT FIRST . and BURY

THE front page of the "Rand Daily Mail" of the 15th November carried a report of a Nationalist Party meeting at Clocolan (O.F.S.). This meeting was addressed by no less a person than the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart. Ostensibly, nothing was said at this gathering that had not already been widely publicised. What is interesting is that the Minister found it necessary to make a bald repetition of the statement that he had instructed police officers not to wait until their men were killed or injured in riots before they fired.

"They have been told to shoot first."

The Minister then went on to say that the Government would deal with the unruly element with all the force at its disposal and would if necessary call out the Defence Force to maintain law and order. He pointed out that the Native leaders had made it plain that they would be satisfied with nothing less than full political equality and that the Government would never hold discussions with these people.

At an earlier meeting reported in the *Star* of 3.11.52, the Minister of Justice had said:

"We will not play with them. My instructions to the police are that they should act and act drastically. As Minister of Justice I will support them. They will use batons if necessary and they will shoot if necessary."

Apparently the Minister of Justice sees no conflict between his repeated statements and at least one law of the land. The following is a quote from Section 5 of the *Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act (Act No. 25 of 1914 as amended)*. "... in order to disperse the rioters, firearms or other weapons likely to cause serious bodily injury or death shall be used with all reasonable caution, without recklessness or negligence, and so as to produce no further injury to any person than is necessary for the attainment of the object aforesaid."

The contradiction between the Minister's statements and the above act becomes even more marked in view of an article that appeared in the *Star* of the 7.11.52 under the following heading: *Costly anti-riot equipment never used by the police. Existence seems unknown to senior officers.*

BIGGER AND BETTER GUNS

Apparently thousands of pounds worth of the latest anti-riot equipment brought from the United States, includ-

ing special tear gas canisters and short-barrelled Tommy-guns firing gas cartridges, has been lying in police arsenals for three years and has never been used in disturbances. Senior police officers seem to be unaware of its existence despite the publicity given to its arrival after the 1950 May Day riots. Officers say that its employment has never been authorised by Police Headquarters in Pretoria. After the May Day riots in 1950, inquiries were made why the South African Police did not use American-type riot material. The reply came that some equipment was on order and

that some had already arrived and that special riot squads were to be trained, especially on the Rand. But there has been no sign of these squads. According to the *Star* report, the most interesting weapon is the Tommy-gun which fires gas cartridges (irritant but non-injurious) from a long distance and thus enables the Police to keep out of range of stones. A second type can penetrate a door or wall.

One might very fairly hazard a guess that the Minister of Justice prefers not to use the riot equipment as it is extremely unlikely that he is unaware of its existence. It is obvious that if rioters are to be dispersed with as little friction as possible, sten guns and baton charges used on unarmed mobs are not the answer. It would seem that the elusive riot equipment would fulfil much more satisfactorily the provisions of the *Riotous Assemblies Act* and at the same

LEGION DEMANDS JUDICIAL INQUIRY

THE Springbok Legion of Ex-servicemen and Women vigorously protests against the indiscriminate use of firearms by the police in the quelling of disturbances, in contrast with the practise in every civilized country of using firearms only as a last resort after tear-gas, firehoses and other non-lethal means have failed.

We consider that the brutal shooting down of African men, women and children in Denver, New Brighton, Kimberley and East London follows as a direct consequence of the Minister of Justice's instructions to the police to "shoot first and talk afterwards."

The desperate attempt to bludgeon the non-European peoples into submission to the inhuman policies and intolerable conditions imposed on them by the Nationalist Government will continue to call forth equally savage reprisals by Africans, first against the police but ultimately against all Europeans as the group responsible for the Nationalists' accession to and continuance in the seat of government.

We share with the whole civilized world feelings of alarm and horror at what is taking place in our own country. We reject the contention that the police and the Government act with the support and approval of all white South Africans. We call on all democratic South Africans to join with us in an attempt to preserve the rule of law by joint opposition to the unrestrained rule of force and terror.

In particular we ask for support for the two urgent demands we make of the Minister of Justice:

that the order to "shoot first and talk afterwards" be immediately withdrawn;

that a judicial inquiry into the Denver, Kimberley, New Brighton and East London disturbances be instituted immediately.

THE LAW!

time its use would be less likely to lead to further outbreaks of violence by mobs incensed by unnecessary killings.

SNIPING

It is very significant that shortly after Mr. Swart had given the Police the order to shoot, two occasions occurred almost immediately in Kimberley and Johannesburg at which the Police brought out their guns whereas in former times they would probably have used some less violent method such as tear gas. To the average citizen the casualties will seem high. In East London and Kimberley for example the official figures given were: 2 Europeans and 17 Natives dead; 105 Natives injured. One becomes even more disturbed, however, when one reads that an eminent Q.C. such as Mr. N. E. Coaker, is able to produce evidence that the Police sniped at Native residents of the Denver men's Municipal hostel, from outside the hostel gates. At the time of the sniping the disturbance was already over. One man was killed on the third floor of the building; a second was killed in the kitchen on the ground floor while the third death occurred on a balcony of a middle floor. This is apart from the number of men injured. This information was produced in court and appeared in the *Star* of the 6.11.52.

The record of our police force was far from good even when the Government leaders were urging restraint. It is interesting that in both the *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Riots in Durban, U.G. 36-49* and the *Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into Acts of Violence committed by Natives at Krugersdorp, Newlands, Randfontein and Newclare, U.G. 47-50* the police were accused of needless brutality. In both cases Government officials denied any truth in these accusations. The Krugersdorp, Newlands, etc. commissioners were, however, forced to admit that "young policemen are wont to assault their prisoners and generally treat them with unwarranted hardness. There seems to be justification for the complaints against some of the younger members of the South African Police. It appears that they treat natives

with undue harshness and this has grown." This state of friction between Natives and Police was advanced as one of the reasons for the riots. This reinforces the findings of the *Report of Police Commission of Inquiry of 1937 U.G. 50-37* which found "abundant evidence that the enforcement by the Police of the present laws is often marked by unnecessary harshness, lack of sympathy and even violence." Surely it is obvious that only the Government's sanction is required to lead to yet further excesses.

SWART'S VIOLENCE

It is possible that the Government feels that violence is the only way of crushing the Non-European organisations. Mr. Swart has stated that he would never discuss the situation with them, and it is a fact that up to the present the great weight of Government authority has so far been used to crush disturbances once they have occurred rather than to find out the inner causes and to forestall them.

The Minister seems reluctant to hold enquiries which might reflect any discredit on the Police and uncover the real causes of the Riots. How else can one explain his refusal to hold enquiries in the face of consistent demands by all sections of the population, including the African National Congress? Is there an additional clue to be found in Schoeman's statement that the one good thing to emerge from the riots is that they have united all sections of the European population? United then, one presumes, against the Non-Europeans. In other words, the more rioting there is, the more racial tension, then the more complete will be the approval of the European population to the Government's efforts to smash the Non-European fight for political and economic rights.

Is this the reasoning of Mr. Swart and his Cabinet?

Let us be warned.

(Continued from page 11.)

ANTI-COLOUR BAR

country into opposing racial groups.

The Congress spokesmen then handed over the platform to the Europeans present.

In reply to a question Mr. Sisulu said that he did not think the offer of a limited franchise would have any appeal for the great majority of the non-European people.

The meeting agreed to form an organisation to:—

Expose the evils of discrimination and colour bars;

Mobilise support of the greatest number of people for the abolition of all discriminatory laws and practices;

Stand for equal political rights and economic opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or sex;

Win for all South Africans the freedoms of speech, assembly, movement and organisation.

To implement these aims, while not entering candidates to public office, the organisation would carry out investigations, educational work, hold public meetings, issue publicity material and enrol members throughout the country.

Without any dissentients the meeting expressed its sympathy and support for the objects of the Defiance Campaign.

The meeting elected a provisional committee to draw up a constitution for the new organisation.

* * * *

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A PROTEST AGAINST

NAPALM BOMBING

THE following is the text of a letter sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and Dr. D. F. Malan, the Union's Prime Minister, by a number of prominent South African citizens, including Dr. F. W. Fox, Dr. Henry Gluckman, Alan Paton, Leo Marquard, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, the Bishop of Johannesburg, Mrs. M. Ballinger, Dr. A. E. Blesley, Dr. Elsie Chubbs, Dr. E. H. Cluver, Mr. D. R. D'Ewes, Professor J. Gillman, Rev. Henri Junod, Dr. Sidney Kark, Dr. Emily Kark, Mrs. Phyllis Lean, Rev. J. B. Webb, Mr. Maurice Webb, Mr. B. M. Clark, Miss E. Hawarden and Dr. O. Wollheim.

If our readers agree with the sentiments expressed, we suggest they send copies of the letter to the Prime Minister and to the United Nations.

We, the undersigned citizens of the Union of South Africa, have been deeply disturbed by the continued use of bombs containing napalm, or jellied petrol, by the United Nations forces in Korea, and by the indifference of the Governments concerned to the widespread disquiet which this form of warfare has evoked. We do not suggest that, in war, one means of killing a man is more laudable than another.

Our objections to this particular weapon are precise and they have not been met:—

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The burns inflicted by napalm are among the most painful wounds which any weapon can produce. They result in permanent disfigurement and maiming — out of all proportion to the extent of the original injury.

More serious, however, than the barbarity of the weapon itself is the abundant evidence from non-Communist sources that it has been and is being used indiscriminately against inhabited places with appalling results.

It is a measure of the deterioration of our values that an international organisation set up to defend the rule of law should conduct itself in this manner. 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.

We feel that the time has come for humane men and women to voice their feelings in this regard. Accordingly, we address this protest to you.

* * * *

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The Editor.

Sir,
Many thanks for "D. Day for Democracy", which we have read with great interest. I will let you know whether we can do anything to help you here.

We know about the courageous attitude of the Springbok Legion and admire it.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
BASIL DAVIDSON,
(General Secretary, Union of Democratic Control, London.)
* * * *

The Editor.

Sir,
Congratulations to the Legion on the pamphlet, "D. Day for Democracy." I think it has the virtues of clear-thinking, courage and realism. Why don't you ask the newspapers to quote extracts from it?

Yours, etc.,
R.L.M.

Roodepoort.

Our reply:

We tried. Two copies of the pamphlet were sent to about 30 newspapers in the country, asking for editorial comment and a review in the columns of the book-page. As far as we know, only the "Advance" and "Die Transvaler" have noticed the publication! Is Dr. Donges's powers of censorship so strong? Is there need for the present Commission of Inquiry into the Press to find out whether newspapers do purvey news and views in an unbiassed manner?—Editor.
* * * *

The Editor.

Sir,
In a statement of policy published by the Springbok Legion in the pamphlet, "D. Day for Democracy" — which I greatly admired, by the way and offer my congratulations — the writer recommends the reader to engage in the struggle in a number of ways; for example, "... speaking up for justice and

those who fight for justice, regardless of race or colour": "... fighting for recognition of the 'Defiance' volunteers as allies against tyranny...": and "working for the broadening of policies, which will proclaim to the non-European people that we, too, fight for justice for men of all races."

With these injunctions I am in entire agreement. I notice, however, that the writer does not suggest activity which I believe to be imperative: namely, the setting up of councils or groups of both Europeans and non-Europeans, with a view to building bridges to span the gulf between the races: with a view to exchanging views and plans for carrying the fight further.

Since I myself believe that the future security and development of South Africa will be achieved only by the activities of all races working in harmony and on a basis of equality, why should we not start now in forming such co-operative groups?

Yours, etc.,
R.C.

Cape Town.
* * * *

The Editor.

Sir,
Just a line to express my heartiest approval of the leading article in this month's "Fighting Talk". The note of grimness and exasperation completely echoed my own feelings of frustration at the stupidity and short-sightedness of us Europeans — in Kenya as well as in South Africa.

We have heard so much talk about 'the natives being children' and having to be gradually educated like children. Why in the name of sanity, then, cannot the Government AND the opposition make use of some elementary child-psychology? Can these so-called rulers and statesmen learn just a little commonsense from the appalling events in Port Elizabeth and East London and Kimberley?

Yours etc.,
P.C.S.

Johannesburg.
* * * *

MUD FROM THE LEGION

"It is dismaying to find the American Legion raising the cry of 'Communist' against the American Civil Liberties Union. It is a pity that the Legion forgot American principles long enough to throw mud at an organization which has proven over the years that it knows and understands what true Americanism means."—(Washington Post).

Compliments of the Season

THE National Chairman and National Executive Committee of the Springbok Legion wish all Legionnaires the compliments of the season — a happy Christmas and a peaceful New Year.

The year that is passing has shown the Nationalists moving into ever more totalitarian patterns of government. Democratic rights of all kinds have been under attack: vicious race theories have been put into practice in the face of world condemnation: commitments for war have sent the high cost of living still higher: feelings of personal and economic insecurity have spread throughout the land.

But as fast as the Government has adopted some new fascist measure, the forces striving for democracy have fought back.

Above all, we have witnessed the emergence of the non-Europeans as a powerful, purposeful political factor. The Defiance Campaign has challenged the very basis of our 'white supremacy' state. Willing sacrifice and courage and heroism have been poured forth to the admiration of the world. The Legion has stood alone among European organisations to proclaim their sympathy with and support for the objects of the Defiance Campaign.

The Government has made regulations to destroy the Campaign by destroying democracy itself. Black, brown and white democrats are to be penalised. The choice before us in 1953 will be as it always has been: Defy unjust laws or submit to tyranny.

Because we know in the very fibre of our beings that evil is always routed, let us keep strong hearts as we meet the challenges of 1953, knowing that our cause of freedom and human dignity and peace will beyond any doubting prevail.

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