

FIGHTING TALK

**THE NAZIS
ARE BACK!**



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**THE FACTS
ABOUT
GERMANY
RE-ARMED**
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THE NAZIS ARE BACK!

THE dread decision has been taken. Once again a German army is to be built up, by decision of the Anglo-American bloc. Again it is claimed that the only purpose of this army is "defense of peace", and containment of "Communism". Free license is being given to Western Germany to prepare for a new war for Lebensraum and Aryan civilisation, before the scars of their last attempts have healed on the face of the cities and fields of Europe.

There is talk of "guarantees" from Chancellor Adenauer; and of treaties. As the former Chancellor made the world so well aware, treaties are "scraps of paper," for those who prepare war. And let the Czechs bear testimony to the value of these guarantees; they will remember the 1939 at Munich, even if the rest of the Western world has forgotten.

It is said, hopefully, that this time it will be different. This time, it is said, they are on "our side". Tell it to the marines, the dead and the wounded marines from Pearl Harbour, who received back shells made from the scrap-iron supplied by their countrymen to an enemy they hoped was on "their side."

Hope is not enough. There are the cold, stark facts that say that this threatens war. This time it will not be different unless we make it so, unless we stop this insane crime before it is too late. Here, in this issue, are the facts. It is time they were dragged into the light. Let the people take heed and defend the peace. The Nazis are back!

REICHSMINISTERS — 1954

The Minister of Housing: Victor Emanuel Preusker. Joined Hitler's S.S. in 1933, was an official instructor on racial questions, and a teacher of anti-Semitism.

The Minister of the Interior: Gerhard Schroeder. Was a member of Hitler's Storm Troops, the S.A.

The Minister for Expellees: Theodor Oberlaender. Was a Nazi Storm Troop major, attached to the Gauleiter for East Prussia.

The Minister without Portfolio: Waldemar Kraft. Was a major in Hitler's S.S., and interned by the British Authorities in Germany from 1945 to 1947 as a dangerous Nazi.

The Minister of Finance: Fritz Schaeffer. Was a strong Hitler supporter, regarded in September 1945 by the American Military Government as a Nazi collaborator, not fit to hold any position of importance or influence.

The Minister for Special Duties: Werner von Barmen. Was in the Nazi Government in Belgium and France. On April 6th, 1944, cabled Ribbentrop: "S.S. Obergruppenfuhrer suggests that Foreign Minister should obtain a list of suitable persons from the Reich Security Office . . . (for shooting as hostages.—Ed.)."

THESE ARE SOME — BUT ONLY SOME — OF THE MINISTERS IN CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S GOVERNMENT. IN THEIR CONTROL WILL BE THE NEW WEST GERMAN ARMY. IN THEIR HANDS WILL LIE THE FATE OF EUROPE, PERHAPS THE WORLD.

The de facto Minister of War: Theodor Blank. Served throughout the war as a lieutenant in the Nazi army. Stated in 1954 that the Waffen S.S. would be re-used in the ranks of the West German Wehrmacht.

The State Secretary to the Chancellor: Hans Globke. Was head of the Department for Racial Questions in Hitler's Ministry of the Interior. He was responsible for drawing up the Nuremberg Racial Decrees under the Nazis.

The Minister of Labour: Anton Storch. He stated in a speech in 1952: "If people complain that I spread fascist ideas, I do not regard this in any way an insult. When I hear the sounds of martial music, then my heart beats higher."

Adviser to the War Ministry: General Hans Speidel. Formerly General Staff officer in "Group B" of the Ukrainian front; responsible for burning of hundreds of villages.

Personnel Department of the Foreign Ministry: Wilhelm Malchers. One time head of Oriental Department in Nazi Foreign Ministry. Evidence was given at Nuremberg trial that he was directly responsible for gassing 600 Jewish children.

Head of Political Department of Foreign Ministry: Herbert Blankenhorn. Joined Nazi Party in 1938. In September 1941 made special trip to Vitebsk, Smolensk and Warsaw Ghetto to study methods of liquidating Poles, Russians and Jews. Later deported from Switzerland for spying for Nazis.

Head of East European Department of Foreign Ministry: Dr. Otto Breutigam. During the war was Deputy Chief of the Political Department, in Alfred Rosenberg's Ministry for the Occupied Territories.

The Chancellor: Dr. Adenauer. He speaks of the "New Order". "The rearmament of West Germany should be the preparation for a new order in Eastern Europe." (Speech at Seigen, March, 1952). He speaks of "Lebensraum". "We shall give our youth what it needs, a greater space for its political, economic and cultural development." (Sept. 1953). He speaks of "Liberation". "Our aim is to liberate our brothers and sisters in the eastern territories." (Bonn. Sept. 1953).

HE CHOSE THESE MEN FOR HIS GOVERNMENT.

HITLER'S GENERALS ARE BACK!

The Fuhrer has gone; but his generals are back

To these men will fall leadership of the new West German army!

GENERAL DETTLEFSEN. Designated as corps commander in the West German Wehrmacht. Former chief of the "Leadership Group" in the Nazi General Staff.

GENERAL GEHLEN. Chief of West German Military Intelligence. During the war, headed the section "Enemy Armies in the East" on Nazi General Staff.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HEUSINGER. Chief of General Staff of West German Wehrmacht. Former Chief of Operations Branch in Hitler's Wehrmacht. Planned the attacks on Holland, Belgium and France.

FIELD MARSHAL KESSELRING. President of the right-wing ex-soldiers' organisation, "Stahlhelm". Murdered 335 Italian civilians in March 1944, sentenced to death for this crime by British Military Court. Released by British Authorities in October, 1952.

COLONEL COUNT VON KIELMANNSEGG. Chief of Section 1 of reactivated German General Staff. Worked on Nazi General Staff as assistant to General Heusinger.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL KUNTZEN. Chairman of Officers Selection Board of West German Wehrmacht. Former Department Chief in Personnel Section of Hitler's Wehrmacht, and commanded a tank division in 1940 invasion of France.

MAJOR GENERAL VON LUETTWITZ. Leading member of the Officers' Selection Board for new West German Wehrmacht. Played leading part in destruction of Warsaw, and sought by Poland for trial as a war criminal.

GENERAL VON MANTEUFFEL. Designated as corps commander in new West German Wehrmacht. Formerly commander of Hitler's SS tank division, "Greater Germany."

GENERAL SPEIDEL. Former Nazi Military Governor in Greece. Sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for murdering thousands of Greek civilians. Amnestied by American authorities in 1951. With his brother, Hans Speidel, adviser to War Ministry, drew up first plans for German post-war rearmament.

And the new Wehrmacht, headed by these men, is to be built out of the West German semi-military Police Force.

"If the circumstances are considered objectively, the officials of the Jewish section of the Gestapo cannot even be held responsible for the deportation of the Jews, since they knew nothing about the fate which was waiting the Jews in the Camp at Auschwitz, etc.

"The mass of the Gestapo had nothing to do with the deportation and extermination of the Jews. The officials did their unpopular work in a correct, decent and irreproachable manner." This is a circular issued by the Federation of West German Police Officials in 1953.

HITLER'S BANKERS ARE BACK!

The great banking combines of pre-war Germany financed and supported his war against the world. When the war ended, many leading bank directors were listed on the Allied rosters of war criminals. Everywhere, people and political leaders said: "Never again!" In East Germany the bankers were dispossessed, and the banks nationalised. But

in West Germany, the great banking trusts were split up into smaller provincial units. They have been allowed to amalgamate. The great banking trusts that made Hitler and paid Hitler are back! And again in the hands of exactly the same people.

Look at the lists!

DEUTSCHE BANK

1941.	1954.
Erich Bechtolf.	Erich Bechtolf.
Oswald Roesler.	Oswald Roesler.
Fritz Wintermantel.	Fritz Wintermantel.
Karl von Halt.	Karl von Halt.
Karl Schirner.	Karl Schirner.
Hermann Abs.	Hermann Abs.
Florian Kloeckner	Guether Henle (Kloeckner's son-in-law).
Hugo Henkel	Jost Henkel (Hugo Henkel's son).

DRESDNER BANK

1941.	1954.
Hugo Zinsser.	Hugo Zinsser.
Hans Schippel.	Hans Schippel.
Erwin Dirks.	Erwin Dirks.
Carl Goetz.	Carl Goetz.
Carl Schleipen.	Carl Schleipen.

COMMERZBANK.

1941.	1954.
Theo Goldschmidt.	Theo Goldschmidt.
Heinrich Fleitmann.	Heinrich Fleitmann.
Wilhelm Vorwerk.	Wilhelm Vorwerk.
Hans Erkelenz.	Hans Erkelenz.
Wilhelm Nueber.	Wilhelm Nueber.
Carl Nottebohm.	Wilhelm Nottebohm (Carl's son).

"Who really are the war criminals? They are those who made the tragic peace. It was an honour to have been on the enemy's black list."—(General Ramcke, to a reunion of SS men, October, 1952).

I. G. FARBEN IS BACK!

THE CHEMICAL TRUST'S

NEW OPPORTUNITY

HITLER'S high explosive came from I. G. Farben, the greatest chemical trust in the world. Hitler's poison gas for the extermination camps came from I. G. Farben plants all over Germany. This was the company that helped Hitler devastate Europe. "For twelve years the Nazi foreign policy and the I.G. foreign policy were largely inseparable . . . I also conclude that I.G. was largely responsible for Hitler's foreign policy." These are the words of I.G.'s commercial committee chief, Baron George von Schnitzler, to the Nuremberg trial investigators.

I. G. Farben was confiscated by the Allied Control Council in 1945. The law under which they acted recalled that I. G. ". . . knowingly and prominently engaged in building up and maintaining Germany's war potential." Confiscation was necessary ". . . to ensure that Germany will never again threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world."

Nine years have passed. I. G. Farben is back. But this time the name is different. Remember these names — you will hear them again if Germany is re-armed. *Farberwerke Hoechst; Farbenfabrik Bayer; Badische Anilin-und-Sodafabrik.* These three, with other smaller firms, are the new I.G. combine.

The industrialists who control the new combine controlled I.G. The shareholders who profited from I.G. poison gas profit from the new combine.

"What these men did was done with the utmost deliberation and would, I venture to surmise, be repeated if the opportunity should recur." This was the verdict of General Telford Taylor, Chief U.S. Prosecutor at the Nuremberg trial of the directors of I.G.

". . . IF THE OPPORTUNITY SHOULD RECUR." West German rearmament is their opportunity. They are back, the I.G. war criminals — back with the new chemical trust!

'DON'T LET THEM LOOSE!'

A Statement by the South African Congress of Democrats

ONCE again, the insane folly of the 1930's is being committed by the leaders of the Western Nations. Once again, Western Germany is to be rearmed for the specious purpose of "containment of Communism." Once again the Hitler generals — Kesselring, Speidel — are being licensed to ravage a world which is still unrecovered from their last war.

The alleged German 'guarantees' of good behaviour will allay no fears; the Hitler guarantees to Chamberlain at Munich are still remembered. "We have no further territorial claim in Europe." This time it will not be different; unless the ordinary people of all nations make their voices heard against plans for new war, and against rearmament of Germany which is the basis of those plans.

The S.A.C.O.D. calls for immediate reversal of decisions to rearm West Germany. In this case we are not alone. Nowhere in this world is there a country where the common people would not vote overwhelmingly NO! to a referendum. In West Germany itself, amongst those who suffered worst from the world-conquering appetites of the Wehrmacht — the German trade union movement — there has been an overwhelming vote against their own rearmament, as cannon fodder for a new crusade against the East.

Let the people everywhere make their voice heard, before the sirens shriek again. "No arms for West Germany!" It is still not too late, if the people over-ride their rulers in defence of peace.

There is Dr. Otto Ambros.

Position under Hitler: I. G. Farben director; chairman of Chemical Warfare Committee of Nazi Arms Ministry; manager of I.G. slave factory at Auschwitz; member of I.G. commission appointed in 1941 to take over captured Soviet chemical factories.

War crimes sentence: 8 years' imprisonment.

1954 Position: Director of Süddeutsche Kalk-Stickstoff-Werke A.G. (Chemical factory at Trostberg, Bavaria).

There is Heinrich Buetefisch.

Position under Hitler: I. G. Farben director; head of Leuna chemical combine; production chief of Auschwitz slave labour factory; S.S. officer; member of the 'Himmler Kries' of businessmen closely associated with Himmler.

1954 Position: Director of Feldmühle Papier-und-Grundstoffwerke A.G. (25 million marks capital, majority of shares held by Hugo Stinnes Inc. New York), Director of Deutsche Gasolin A.G. (16 million marks capital; main shareholder I. G. Farben; quarter share held by Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey).

There is Fritz Ter Meer.

Position under Hitler: I. G. Farben director; personally responsible for all poison-gas production; told Allied investigators in 1945: "Experiments on camp inmates were justified. They would have been killed anyway."

War crimes sentence: 7 years' imprisonment.

1954 Position: Director of T. Goldschmidt A.G. (Herr Goldschmidt is director of I.G.'s successor, Farbenfabrik Bayer).

There is Max Ilgner.

Position under Hitler: I. G. Farben director; chief of Berlin office in charge of espionage and propaganda.

War crimes sentence: 3 years' imprisonment.

1954 Position: Chairman of the "International Society for Christian Reconstruction".

There is Walter Duerfeld.

Position under Hitler: Constructor and director of I.G. slave labour factory at Auschwitz.

War crimes sentence: 8 years' imprisonment.

1954 Position: Director General of Schloven-Chemie A.G., a chemical firm owned by Dr. Adenauer's West German State.

THE 'BIG LIES' ARE BACK!

These extracts are from the history text-book most widely used in West German schools — "Geschichtsbuch für Real- und Mittelschulen" (History Book for Grammar and Secondary Schools) Part V, edited by Schulrat Fritz Simonsen, published by Ernst Klett-Verlag in Stuttgart in 1953.

The book is not openly pro-Hitler. It devotes a total of 13 lines to Hitler's racial policy, dealing solely with the anti-Jewish aspect of it. It makes no mention of such Nazi crimes as the devastating air attack on Rotterdam, save for an exultant, congratulatory quotation from the Nazi propaganda paper, "Wehrmacht". There is not a single mention of the crimes committed in occupied Europe, such as the total destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, Lidice or the massacre at Oradour. Hitler is mildly criticised, and a few lines are devoted to mild praise for the men who attempted to overthrow Hitler in 1944.



HITLER COMES TO POWER (1933)

"General Schleicher became Chancellor, but he could not bring order into political life . . . 'One must have this picture of the state of affairs in Germany clearly in mind in order to understand the attitude towards the new man who took over power (Hitler Ed.), the man who had so bravely opposed the Reds, and who had offered to restore order in the interior and to restore the Reich to might and power externally.'" Page 115.

HITLER SUCCEEDS (1933-1939)

"The abolition of unemployment was particularly difficult, and the fact that Hitler was successful in this consolidated his position with the German people very considerably. By the end of 1933 unemployment had sunk to four million, and later, when rearmament was in full swing and the Western Wall was being built, Germany even had to bring workers in from outside . . . More than half a million workers were recruited to work on the Western Wall. They were well paid and their families were well looked after but their freedom to choose their place of work was strictly limited . . . Agriculture in Germany was made into a paying proposition once again . . . and the officials of the Reichsnoehrstand (Nazi Food Office, Ed.) saw to it that sowing was properly controlled and that harvests were increased.

HITLER ATTACKS POLAND (1939).

"Poland had not understood how to make the German minority contented with their lot; the Germans living in Poland and in the purely German city of Danzig had continually had to complain to the League of Nations about Polish excesses. Until this date (1939), London had always shown understanding towards the rightful German wish for the return of the 'Polish Corridor', but after the creation of the Protectorate (Nazi puppet state in Czechoslova-

kia, Ed.) Britain's attitude towards Germany had become so hostile that Poland could dare to refuse Hitler's demands." Page 126.

HITLER'S SUBMARINES

"When Germany could subject Britain neither by a landing nor bombardment, she set her last hope upon U-boat warfare. The brave crews tried to compensate by their self-sacrifice for their lack in numbers and fighting strength." Page 134.



"German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas."

From the Potsdam Agreement, signed in 1945 by President Truman, Premier Attlee and Marshal Stalin.



HITLER'S ARMY (1940).

"The German Wehrmacht understood magnificently how to use its superiority in tanks and air force. On May 14th, Holland capitulated. Always supported by the planes, the tank divisions smashed through by Sedan and reached the mouth of the Somme . . . Marshal Petain, the new Premier of France, realised the uselessness of further resistance, and on June 22nd (1940) an armistice was concluded. The French negotiator stated that the conditions imposed were 'Hard, but they contain nothing dishonourable.'" Pages 129-130.

HITLER'S ENEMIES (1941-1945).

"The length of the lines of communication made the war in Russia very difficult. In addition there was the activity of the partisans, who according to Russian statistics, have the lives of 300,000 Germans on their consciences." Page 133.

HITLER'S 'BLITZ' (1940)

"The Luftwaffe could take the credit for a considerable share in the victories of the Wehrmacht . . . During the campaign in the west, British planes repeatedly attacked Berlin and other cities. Hitler therefore ordered reprisal attacks against Britain." Page 135.

HITLER'S CRIMES

"In Nuremburg the victors, with the help of the Russians, staged trials of leading men of the National Socialist Party, the State and the Wehrmacht. Many death sentences were passed against, amongst others, Goering and Ribbentrop . . . The German people have a critical attitude towards these trials, since they are convinced that many of the sentences were unjust, owing to the fact that the prosecutors and judges were still under the influence of hate propaganda, that the prosecution witnesses were unreliable, and that the accused were tortured to get confessions, and that obstacles were put in the way of the defence. It is regarded as particularly unfair that the same crimes on the Allied side were not punished. The process of denazification also caused much bad feeling." Page 144.

HITLER'S FOLLOWERS (1945)

"The hardest and most unbearable fate met the Germans in the eastern territories . . . Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary prepared an inhuman fate for these unhappy expellees. They were forced to leave their homes with no more than a bundle under their arms." Page 143.

The book is not openly pro-Hitler. But it is giving West German children a thorough indoctrination in militarism, and in aggressive national-superiority. This is the education to ensure that the Nazis come back — in strength!

THE SCOURGE OF THE SWASTIKA

A review by Cecil Williams

SO horrible is this story of Nazi war crimes that it is almost impossible to write a 'review', discerning, discriminating, appreciative. Yet in the book itself it is this absence of desperate grief and revulsion that renders Lord Russell's writing all the more compelling.

After recounting some of the ghastly German crimes against humanity, Lord Russell says, "It may well be that it is because all this slaughter took place at a time when the world was preoccupied with battle, murder and sudden death that its enormity has never been generally recognised and has so soon been forgotten."

The writer follows a simple pattern in his book. In his prologue he briefly shows that all the war crimes of which the Germans were guilty, sprang not from the necessity of warfare in the heat and despair and disorganisation of the moment, but from the Nazi ideology itself. The war crimes started with 'Mein Kampf': all the crimes were perpetrated first against German citizens in Germany itself before 1939. After 1939 the crimes were committed on a larger scale against foreigners. But Lord Russell emphasises the fact that the crimes were conceived, their execution devised by the filthy leaders of the Nazis, as part and inevitable parcel of their ideology long before World War II started. The writer outlines the means employed:

"The suppression of free speech including freedom of the Press, the control of the judiciary, the confiscation of property, the restrictions on the right of peaceful assembly, the censorship of letters and telegrams, the monitoring of telephone conversations, the regimentation of labour, the denial of religious freedom: these are the bonds with which the tyrant binds his subjects. If Hitler thought so little of the 'master race', is it surprising that he should have regarded as less than vermin the peoples of the countries which his armies invaded?"

Lord Russell then devotes separate chapters to the major war crimes — the ill-treatment and murder of prisoners of war: war crimes on the high seas; ill-treatment and murder of the civilian population in occupied territory: slave labour: concentration camps and the 'final solution' of the Jewish question. In each chapter he first sets out the

relevant sections of international laws and proceeds to show how horribly, how deliberately the German High Command broke every one of the international agreements.

It makes unbearable reading, of course, and yet, as one reads, one is shocked to realise how much and how completely one has forgotten. The factual accounts, taken only from official sources, given by Lord Russell have a quality of fantasy, of incredibility about them. And yet, how well at the time we knew the killing of p.o.w.'s 'shot while attempting to escape'. Compare the fabrication with the official records (all so carefully compiled and preserved by the meticulous Germans): "To Gestapo, Strassbourg: The British prisoner of war who has been handed over to the Gestapo by the Strassbourg Criminal Police, by superior orders, is to be taken immediately in the direction of Breslau and to be shot en route while escaping."

The record of German treatment of Russian prisoners is ghastly in the extreme. Prisoners were used to detect and clear minefields, to cover a German attack, to drive ammunition lorries up to the front lines. Brutality towards Russian prisoners have been investigated and confirmed. Some were tortured with bars of red-hot iron; their eyes gouged out; their stomachs ripped open; their feet, hands, fingers, ears and noses hacked off.

Lidice, Oradour-sur-Glané, the Ardeatine Caves — millions of Jews were exterminated; thousands of innocent civilians were killed in mass executions; towns and villages were razed and millions of fertile acres ruined.

Let us take note of a footnote in this section. Field-Marshal Kesselring gave orders for the reprisals which resulted in the death of 335 Rome citizens in the Ardeatine Caves. At his trial Kesselring was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to death by shooting, but the sentence was commuted by the confirming officer to one of life imprisonment — and he was released in 1953 as an act of clemency. He is now President of the Stahlhelm.

One could continue quoting from this terrible book — the 1,500 dead prisoners unloaded from a single train, the 5,000,000 deported labour-slaves, the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, the

In June 1946 Lord Russell became Deputy Judge Advocate, British Army of the Rhine, a position he held until June, 1947, and again from October 1948 until May 1951. During his tenure of this appointment he was legal adviser to the Commander-in-Chief in respect of all trials by British Military Courts of German war criminals. At a time when the British Government is moving heaven and earth to rearm West Germany, to re-instate Wehrmacht Generals, to put military power again into the hands of the scores of Nazis surrounding Adenauer, Lord Russell chooses to publish this textbook of Nazi war crimes. So heavy does he feel his responsibility to do so that he has resigned his high position rather than accept the Tory government's attempted gag.

3,000,000 prisoners killed at the Auschwitz Camp, the 10,000 people a day put into its gas chambers, the medical experiments on prisoners, the using of babies for target practice . . . and all the bestiality, the utter inhumanity of the evilly-conditioned German soldiers carrying out the orders of the High Command and the Nazi leaders. But one must draw from this information, so soberly presented, the lessons for us today. And they are, it seems to me, two.

First, Germany must not be re-armed while the guilty generals and other army officers and the leaders of the Nazi party are taking over the reins of civil and military government.

Second, the ideology that gave birth to the war crimes must be understood and recognised wherever it may be found. Let us look in South Africa for the duplication of the 'master race' theory, for from that wicked deception flowed the 'justification' of the extermination of the Jews and all non-German peoples. That ideology in South Africa must be killed before it can find expression in the crimes against humanity of which the Germans were guilty.

Lord Russell's book is a reminder to our consciences, a challenge to us all to move heaven and earth to prevent a repetition of Nazi 'frightfulness'.

HITTING BACK

COMMENT

BEFORE ever E.D.C. was thrown out, and the new formula for rearming West Germany adopted, Adenauer's state had started on the production of the latest and most destructive weapons of war — including electronic and atomic weapons. This is the story disclosed in the Paris independent paper *La Tribune des Nations*. Columnist Jerome Cerdan states that a factory for the production of a radio-active "death dust" is already functioning, with a carefully camouflaged atomic pile. This, says Cerdan, explains the decision of Minister Schmidt-Wittmack to leave West Germany for the Eastern Republic. On Lake Constance, the Degussa factory is turning out titan reaction blowers. Visol fuel for jet engines is being made in the 'Ruhrchemie' plants in Oberhausen-Holten; and the deadly nerve gas is being cooked up in the Mannheim and Ludwigshaven plants of the former I. G. Farben combine. The last, says Cerdan, accounts for the remarkable epidemic at the end of 1953 of officially-recorded "suicides by the use of insect exterminators."

There is nothing missing from the list for another full-scale world war, 1954 model. Submarine detectors made by Lehfeld and Co., at Heppenheim: infra-red detectors for night-fighters and long range bombers by Schmitz & Co., Frankfurt, which ensure that all night bombs are hits, and no misses; jet bombers at the Borsib Loco factory; Bailey Bridges by Ferdinand Rhode Eisenbau at Hanover; bacteriological weapons at the Bayer factory in Hoechts, formerly I. G. Farben; atomic cannons at the Krupp works; napalm at the factories of the Rheinprussen Company.

"If E.D.C. is not ratified, and if any basic change in the situation should lead to quadripartite inspections, then Germany will have gambled and lost", say Cerdan. As it is, Adenauer and his American backers have gambled and won. Temporarily. The arms production of frightful weapons is now legal in the land of the Nazi revival. There is still time — a little time — to see they don't beat the gun again, and try their weapons out on new battlefields of Europe. E.D.C. was the beginning. But ordinary people everywhere have it in their power to say the last word! The battle against German rearmament is entering its decisive, fateful last stage.

THE acts of police despotism come too thick and fast to be separately recorded. Mr. Swart's Suppression of Communism powers are rapidly being extended to include any and all opponents of the Nationalist juggernaut. The newspaper "Advance", the most widely-read and effective organ of South African democracy has been arbitrarily suppressed, without charge, trial or hearing, and with no reasons given. A dozen leaders of the Congress of the People campaign have been summarily banned from gatherings and from membership of a host of democratic and progressive organisations. It is, perhaps, a sign of the extent to which the spirit of democracy has corroded, that all this takes place in a blanket of impenetrable silence from the daily press and the leaders of the parliamentary political parties. But nothing so adequately illustrates the purposes to which the Government is putting its sweeping dictatorial powers, as the banning of Mr. Len Lee Warden from all gatherings for a period of two years.

V2's—AND WORSE

Lee Warden is a candidate for "Native Representative" in Parliament for the Cape Western ward. He is also National Vice-Chairman of the Congress of Democrats. He is not listed as a member or an active supporter of the former Communist Party. His offence is clearly that he puts forward a policy of full and equal rights and opportunities for all South Africans, regardless of colour. His banning is clearly an attempt to handicap his election campaign, and assist his more "acceptable" opponents, who have none of his uncompromising democratic faith. If the Cape Western voters were as chicken-hearted as the daily press, Lee Warden's election campaign would be lost without a vote being cast.

But Cape Western has a tradition which might still unsettle Mr. Swart's best laid schemes. Based on three past elections—Kahn's, Bunting's and Ray Alexander's—a banning order from Mr. Swart seems to be the passport to election victory. We trust the Cape Western will keep the tradition up; for it is this spirit of fighting back that keeps our withering liberties from complete extinction. In the same spirit is the launching of a new weekly paper "New Age", published in Cape Town to fill the vacuum left by the strangling of *Advance*. To its editors, we give our warmest greetings and our fullest support. More power to your arm!

WHEN Johannesburg citizens lobbied their Councillors in mass deputations against the Western Areas Scheme some six months ago, some of the more cynical Councillors declared the deputations were a "put-up job."

VERDICT GIVEN
Last month, the voters gave their verdict in the municipal elections. Mr. J. J. Page, foremost United Party protagonist for the removal of people from the Western Areas, went down to defeat in the ward he has represented for 25 years. Not even the belated United Party opposition to the precise methods adopted by the Government to effect removal could save the day. Mr. Jack Cutten, standing as an independent candidate, tumbled him from his traditional seat. The election was fought on the Western Areas removal; and Mr. Cutten's name has consistently been linked with the opposition to any forcible, mass deportation of the African people from those areas. He favoured neither the Nationalist nor the United Party schemes for forcible eviction. And this traditionally United Party ward voted for him and for his policy in the heaviest poll of the day. It was a tribute both to the man, and to the democratic principles for which he campaigned, backed by a small band of members of the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and some non-party progressive citizens.

The lone "Bekkerite", former councillor Klipin, went crashing to a defeat in which he forfeited his deposit. This renegade from the United Party not only supported the Nationalist Removal Scheme, but accepted Verwoerd's nomination to the Resettlement Board which will carry the scheme through. Yeoville voters have removed the last shred of justification for the Government's specious claim that Mr. Klipin represents the voters of Johannesburg on the Board. With him to political eclipse went Observatory's Mr. Weiner, another supporter of Western Areas Removal, and one who riled the protest deputation from his ward by his refusal to say outright whether he would even toe the United Party line and oppose the Verwoerd removal scheme. Johannesburg's voters had made their opposition to mass removal clear beyond the doubting. It was, no doubt, a bitter pill for the United Party to swallow.

IRON CURTAIN

THEY MARCHED TO VICTORY!

PEOPLE who live along Louis Botha Avenue became accustomed to the noise of traffic that races along the highway night and day. They became accustomed to the uproar caused by the Alexandra buses, the roar and the rattle, the grind of gears. The Alex. buses start very early in the morning, before traffic fills the roads.

One morning in November, ten years ago, those living in the houses and flats along Louis Botha Avenue were woken by an unfamiliar sound.

Perhaps the first thing that woke them was the absence of noise, for it was unusually quiet. Or it might have been the strangeness of an entirely new sound that woke them, and brought them from their beds to see what it was.

It was the sound of thousands and thousands of people walking.

The watchers from doors and windows saw an amazing sight. They saw men and women, walking singly, in twos and threes, in small groups, straggling out as far as one could see along the Avenue. The walkers came on and on, endlessly. The first ones had passed long before it was light, and they continued to come with the swift Johannesburg dawn, and they went on coming as cars and lorries filled the road. They walked on either side of the road, they spilled over into the road, an endless stream of people nine and a half miles long.

The people of Alexandra Township were walking to work. It was the first day of the seven week long bus boycott.

THE FIRST PROCESSION

It was not the first time that the people of Alexandra had walked to work. Over a year before the Transportation Board allowed the companies that were then operating the Alex. buses to raise fares by a penny for each journey. On the 1st August, 1943, a huge procession of about 15,000 people left Alexandra and marched the 9½ miles to Johannesburg. Stretching out for about three miles, and blocking all traffic to and from the northern suburbs, it was one of the greatest demonstrations Johannesburg has ever seen.

It was a demonstration of the unity and determination of the people of Alexandra Township. It was also a demonstration of the extreme and bitter poverty of the African people. Thousands of white people learned with amazement that Africans would rather walk 20 miles a day than pay an extra 2d. bus fare.

That march lasted for nine days, and at the end of nine days the bus owners

gave in. The fare was reduced once more, and the Government appointed a Commission of enquiry on the question of bus services for non-Europeans.

CLASSIC COMMISSION

The findings of that classic Commission are worth remembering today, when Africans in municipal townships are threatened with greatly increased rates:

"The vast bulk of the African workers in the areas covered by the Commission's enquiry were, in 1940, unable from their own earnings, even when supplemented by the earnings of other members of the family, to meet even the minimum requirements for subsistence, health and decency . . .

"The items which make the most rigid and urgent demands upon the African workers are rent, transport and tax. They cannot be escaped. The worker is compelled to live far away from his work . . . Owing to the compulsion imposed upon Africans by State policy and housing requirements, rent and transport should always be considered together, and these together take too high a proportion of the family income . . .

"Transport charges, in relation to the workers' wages, or even to the total family income, are beyond the capacity of the African workers to pay. Indeed, it may be said that they cannot afford to pay anything. They certainly cannot afford to pay anything more in any direction, except by reducing still further their meagre diet."

But the Government deliberately held back the Commission's findings until they had framed an Emergency Regulation requiring employees to pay any increase in transport fares. Then the new fare for Alexandra of 1d. extra each way was fixed.

The Government's proposal that workers were to collect the increased fare from their employers was completely unrealistic, and immediately recognised as such by the people of Alex. It applied only to those travelling to and from regular employment, and even in those cases placed the onus of collecting the extra 2d. a day on the worker. It

did not cover people visiting friends, attending hospital, going to town for shopping; casual workers; washwomen; children.

The evening before the higher fares came into force, a meeting of over 6,000 people took place in Alexandra. They decided to boycott the buses, and to walk to work.

A policeman mounted the platform and read a notice banning processions and gatherings of more than 20 people as from the following day.

ARMOURD CARS AND BROKEN SHOES

The great march started on 15th November amid a show of police force. Lorry loads of police swooped down on the township at 3 o'clock in the morning, when many people began their three-hour trek to town. Armoured cars waited in the background, and a military plane flew overhead.

The buses were completely empty, except for those filled with conductors — a stupid attempt to make people think

that others had started using the buses. The conductors were soon recognised, and jeered at by the people of Alexandra.

From the beginning, the march stirred public sympathy. It was something that thousands of people saw for themselves; they saw people plodding along barefoot, others with old and broken shoes; they saw washwomen struggling along with heavy burdens; they saw babies, women with veined and swollen legs; they saw men whose faces bore the marks of diseases of poverty and the slums. Coming from the close summer heat of the city each day, tired out and glad to get in with cars or buses to their homes and gardens, they witnessed these other people — the black people — struggling along the road on their weary walk home.

Three nights after the boycott began, a severe storm broke over Johannesburg in the evening. It reached its height as most Africans were on their way back from Alexandra, spread out for miles along the shelterless stretches of road. After the violent thunder and lightning, driving rain and hail beat down on the

people. Motorists stopped their cars to give lifts to some of the walkers, particularly the women.

NO LIFTS

The following night a storm broke again, and many people with cars drove out along the road to Alex, picking up passengers and taking them to their homes. Some made the journey several times, and on the days went by an increasing number of Europeans with cars gave lifts each night. Soon the Transportation Board stepped in, taking names and addresses of drivers and warning them they would be prosecuted for carrying passengers without a licence.

In the second week of the boycott it was arranged for lorries to assist with transportation. Each evening hundreds lined up to get lifts on lorries, dray-carts and in private cars, but the majority still had to walk.

The increasing public sympathy was reflected in the press, in editorials and correspondence, and in statements of

municipal and other circles for the Government's attitude.

Organisations such as church bodies and the National Council of Women sent deputations to Government and Municipality. Letters streamed into the press.

FESTIVE SEASON

After a month of the boycott, the character of the daily procession had changed. At night the road to Alex was packed with bicycles, a tremendous procession of them. While thousands still had to get lifts, or walk, more and more bicycles were being borrowed from friends in other townships, or supplied by employers.

Christmas came and went — and still no solution. The people went on walking. Thousands of pairs of shoes had been worn out, thousands of people still exhausted themselves in the grueling December heat.

Just before Christmas a remarkable feat was made of the tremendous unity and spirit of the people. All lorries had been withdrawn under instructions from the Road Transportation Board, and this naturally angered the people of Alexandra. If the lorries could not run, why were the buses still allowed to travel up and down — empty — but taunting the tired walkers all the time? They decided that if lorries could not enter Alexandra, nor could the buses, and they threw a cord across the road.

The bus owners protested that only intimidation and force were preventing people from travelling in the buses. The cord was broken by police. Under police escort the buses entered the township and drew up waiting for passengers. Not a single man, woman or child attempted to board them, neither while the police were there to 'protect' them, nor after the police had left. The buses remained empty.

VICTORY

Finally, at the end of December, the Council sent another deputation to interview Mr. Hofmeyr, with new proposals that books of coupons should be sold. Passengers using them during the week would pay the old fare, those without coupons would pay the increased fare, while at week-ends no coupons would be available, the full fare being charged. On the 1st January the proposals were discussed and accepted by a mass meeting of residents held at Alexandra. The scheme was to operate for a trial period of three months. On the 1th January the new scheme began. After seven long weeks of walking, the people of Alexandra took to the buses again. The boycott had ended, with victory for the people.

Not long after, while the City Council was negotiating with the bus owners to purchase the buses, it was unexpectedly announced that a new private company had bought out the buses, and reverted to the old fare of 4d. without the coupons during week-days. The new company also replaced the old, broken down buses with the present-day "Tigers", so that today while transport to Alexandra is still completely inadequate — only a proper train service can provide the answer — it is still vastly better than it was before the boycott.

Yes, the people of Alexandra won a tremendous victory. Everything that could be done to break their spirit and prevent a settlement was done by the Government. The display of military force when the boycott started, the banning of meetings and processions, police visits to Alexandra, the obstinate refusal to countenance one proposal after another, the statements from Cabinet Ministers (including the 'liberal' Hofmeyr) that they would not depart from their obviously unacceptable and unworkable scheme — all this gave the impression that the Government was pursuing a vindictive and petty vendetta against the people of Alexandra, disregarding the forthright findings of their own Commission, disregarding the poverty and suffering of the people.

LOOKING BACK

For too many years the people of Alexandra had endured discomfort and inconvenience in ancient, rickety old buses, with torn and flapping canvas at the windows, with long waits in all kinds of weather at seatless and shelterless bus stops.

The bus boycott drew sharp attention not simply to these poor transport conditions, but to the hardships and poverty of the African people as a whole, their low wages and the long distances they are forced to travel with inadequate services.

The bus boycott was a triumph of solidarity and unity, a wonderful demonstration of the mass strength of the people, of unbreakable determination among all sections. Not a single person from Alexandra, young or old, boarded the buses for seven weeks, until the old fare had been won back.

Remember this Alexandra bus boycott. Such military, such unity, can win the day. The people of Alexandra, ten years ago this month, demonstrated to all South Africa the qualities of courage, unity and determination that can defeat reaction and win victories on wider fronts.

MILESTONES TO LIBERTY

Hilda Watts recalls the great November, 1944, Alexandra Bus Boycott

many well-known people in church and commerce.

The Government, however, remained unmoved, while the City Fathers acted in a most peculiar fashion. At first many suggestions were put to them of action they could take — such as running a bus service as far as the municipal boundary at Bramley; or trying to get the Government to subsidise buses, or subsidise their themselves. Each suggestion was turned down with long explanations as to why it was not practical.

As days and weeks went by, however, the Councillors became uneasy. Public pressure is a most powerful weapon, and Councillors felt the breeze blowing around them. Finally they were forced to make tentative proposals to the Government — some of the proposals they had formerly rejected themselves. All proposals were turned down by the Government, which was condemned by the press for being unwilling to take any action itself and for not being prepared to allow anyone else to interpose, an attitude "out of touch with public sentiment and at variance with public interest," reported the Star, adding "little support is forthcoming in commercial,

FOR WHOM NOBEL TOLLS

THERE is no better story teller in America than Ernest Hemingway. A great artist, but limited, narrow, and mutilated by his class egotism, the very brilliance of Hemingway's talents has served only to illuminate the poverty of his mind.

It is poor because its owner has for years lived the limited life of a rich sportsman and tourist. Hemingway's novels so often express this spectator without responsibilities, who holds a box seat at the crucifixion of humanity, and is a connoisseur of the agony and sweat of others.

You go through the Hemingway country and find it a world of cafes; bullfighters; long-limbed, gallant, 'aristocratic' women who succumb easily; and expensive pleasure fishing; and expensive travelling hither and yon; and bootleggers; prizefighters — a colourful if sterile world and one completely divorced from the experience of the great majority of mankind.

It is interesting to search through Hemingway's writings for a single portrait of a man at work. There is never such a hero. The bondholder lives by coupon clipping or other abstract financial means. He can be very philanthropic and even as "pure in heart" as a lean, ironic, hard-drinking, Hemingway hero. But he knows nothing about the factories and fields where men must work and where the sources of his income arise.

All these traits account for the strange distortion that affects Hemingway's novel of the Spanish Civil War, "For Whom the Bell Tolls".

The hero, Robert Jordan, is the same lean, ironic, hard-drinking, very, very noble Gary Cooper-Ernest Hemingway hero. He meets the same long-limbed gallant Hemingway-Greta Garbo girl (this time a Spanish maiden). Against the backdrop of the civil war, they go through the same gallant, skilfully arranged death. (The Hemingway pattern of love, by the way, is as juvenile as the Hemingway picture of society. Just as money comes from somewhere, by magic, and not from the most fundamental fact of life: which is labour; just so does love never become marriage, and babies, and common domesticity. Just as he has never been able to portray a worker, so he has been unable to draw the figure of a single mother).

Robert Jordan, former Spanish instructor at an American university, now

a volunteer in the International Brigade, had been doing guerilla work back of the fascist lines. Hemingway's story is concerned with the last four days of his life when Jordan is assigned to blow up a certain bridge in enemy country.

The inner life of this young volunteer, however, is not that of any loyal member of the International Brigade, so far as one can judge from the letters, writings, speeches and other public records of the majority of them.

It is obviously Hemingway's inner life, intimately resembling the philosophy, or lack of philosophy, of the autobiographical heroes in his other books. It is interesting to note first that this

This extract from an essay on Ernest Hemingway, the 1954 recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature, was written by columnist and critic, Michael Gold, and published during 1940 in the New York Daily Worker.

Hemingway-Jordan cannot work up any real hate of the fascists. He is forever searching for excuses for them; he wants to find the "humanity" in these people.

He is so anxious to be fair to them, that he goes to the length of spending more time telling of Republican cruelty than of fascist cruelty.

That there must have been, in a merciless civil war, some typical peasant excesses against landlords, cannot be doubted. But Hemingway is unable to see . . . that peasant terror is sporadic and individual, but fascist terror is organised in cold blood, on a mass scale.

But from Hemingway's book, it is obvious that he cannot see the class difference. The war to him is exciting, terrible, dangerous: really a bullfight on a vast scale. If one takes sides in it, it is for this very personal reason: "He fought now in this war because it had started in a country that he loved and he believed in the Republic and that if it were destroyed life would be unbearable for all those people who believed in it."

But the majority of the Spanish people fought not only for the forms of a republic. They also fought for bread, against feudal taxes, against the great estates. They were fighting against the

fascists so fiercely because they hated the landlords, usurers and bloated hierarchs and generals who had oppressed them for centuries.

Regarding these class lines, or the enormous central fact of hunger in Spain, Hemingway has not a sentence. Not a word. Not a hint. He doesn't know it exists. The war is some sort of vague battle over words, without roots in man's earth. It is like every other war. It is a thrill.

One of the tricks of the Hemingway style consists of its short, positive, declarative sentences, each of them a final and authoritative judgment on everything. This rhetorical device never admits modifying clauses, or doubt, or, let us add, the painful processes of thought.

Thus, with the usual swagger, Hemingway-Jordan explains all there is to be known about that little subject, Communism. What is Communism? It is bigotry, he dogmatizes airily. And what is bigotry? Bigotry is something that happens to you when you have not slept for a long time with a woman. "Maria was very hard on his bigotry." After he slept with this long-limbed, gallant dream-girl, he tells us, his bigotry and his "Communism" left him. But drunkenness would have served just as well. A drunkard is as little "bigoted" as an adulterer, he says.

Based on this piffling barroom philosophy, this class persiflage of the rentier, is it any wonder that Hemingway-Jordan, after respecting "Communist discipline, because it is the soundest and sanest for the prosecution of the war," immediately repeats the filthiest slanders that appeared in the fascist press during the war? He employs and even adorns their slanders of Andre Marty, a man who lived for twenty-five years the life of a heroic leader of the people, a man who was the brains of a great naval revolt, who was the first Communist deputy of France, who spent years in prison for his beliefs, who led great strikes. No rich tourist can ever understand the mind or the heart of such a man. It must always remain a mystery to him; since, if understood, it might shatter his own smug universe. He is fatally compelled to slander all the ethical and moral values forming such a mind, lest they destroy him.

"For Whom the Bell Tolls" is only the story of Hemingway in Spain. It is

(Continued on next page)

Simon Zukas' London Letter

All God's Chillun . . .

CANON COLLINS' first report-back meeting was well attended and he gave his audience a brief but true picture of South Africa under the Malanazis. A good section of his audience already knew the set up: there were many South Africans in it, including a bunch of Nats, who took copious notes and squirmed right through the Canon's speech. These Nats — I found myself sitting next to them — had evidently been here long enough to know that their views were far from popular here, and remained silent through question time.

Collins was sure enough of his facts to deal with a few cunningly phrased questions from a United Party type and a wishy-washy South African liberal. The audience was obviously convinced that something must be done at this end to support the struggle for freedom in South Africa; but unfortunately no resolutions were moved to canalise this feeling into some concrete channels. The audience were left with the question posed by Victor Gollancz who chaired the meeting: "What can we do to help?" But to those who complained that nothing could be done here to change the

course of events in South Africa, because South Africa is a Dominion, Collins showed that one of the most effective things they could do was to exert sufficient pressure on Parliament to pursue progressive policies in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and the Protectorates and thus exert *indirect* pressure on the Government of the Union.

NOT ALONE

Canon Collins will find wide support in the Labour Movement and amongst liberal Christians if not in the Church itself; but he will first have to establish some sort of unity between several bodies that claim to be interested in gaining support for the S.A. National Liberation Movement. I gather that the Canon originally intended to have this meeting sponsored by several such bodies but having failed to get the co-operation of the newly-formed "Movement for Colonial Freedom" he held it under the auspices of Christian Action.

The best British Press Comment on Dr. Malan's retirement announcement is a cartoon, entitled "Design for a Memorial", by "Vicky" in the Daily Mirror. Mounted on a pedestal is a bloated Malan in cave-man attire and club in one hand standing on an African who is making a desperate attempt to rise up. Inscribed on the pedestal are the words: "All God's Chillun . . ."

T.U.C. BATTLES

At the Annual Trade Union Congress militant trade unionists joined the battle for colonial freedom, but tried in vain to gain official condemnation of Lyttleton's colonial policies. The T.U.C. leadership, dominated by men like Deakin who fails to support even his own union members when on strike — as was the case recently at the Hull dock strike and now in the London bus and dock strike — opposed the following resolution: "*Congress condemns the policy of the present Government, directed by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, as one which has worsened Britain's relations with Colonial people all over the world. Congress calls for an immediate cease-fire in Kenya and Malaya and for negotiations for a peaceful settlement and for a policy which provides for higher living standards; full trade union and democratic rights; abolition of colour bar.*"

The motion was moved by the Fire Brigades' Union which has, for some time, been campaigning for solidarity with colonial peoples and recently invited the President of the N. Rhodesian African General Workers' Union to attend their Annual Conference. (The N. Rhodesian Government refused to issue a passport to Mr. Chimba, the President.)

Mr. Abe Moffat, President of the Scottish Mineworkers, seconded the motion which was also supported by Arthur Horner, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, in his personal capacity.

A lot of work remains to be done to force the T.U.C. leadership to abandon their support for Tory Colonial policy.

The President of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen (Mr. Doughty) tried to get the Council to reconsider their attitude towards financial support for African trade unions in South Africa, but the Council would not budge, claiming that such support would jeopardise within-reach trade union unity in South Africa!!

LABOUR'S TIMIDITY

And what does the Labour Party offer the colonies? Its Annual Conference approved an evasive statement of policy which would enable a future Labour Government to continue where the Tories leave off. The statement pledged the Labour Party to self-government for the colonies, but statements by Tory Governments have gone equally as far — except in the case of Cyprus. And this is where the Labour Party does differ from the Tories. The Conference accepted a resolution deploring the Government's policy on Cyprus and called on the Parliamentary Labour Party to oppose it on all occasions.

So the Labour Party does stand for self-government for *all* the colonies and protectorates. But does it stand for immediate self-government? "Oh no," says former Colonial Secretary James Griffiths, "Britain could not abandon its responsibilities for 50 territories" just like that. A time-table for self-government in stages must be worked out by consultation with the responsible peoples! The never-never system once again.

Hemingway . . .

(Continued from previous page)

a minor story. It is not the great story, the new story, the hopeful and epic story of our time, the story of Brooklyn clogdancers, and Bronx machinists, and Iowa farm boys, and California university instructors, and Alabama sharecroppers. They were not supermen or "lean, ironic adventurers." They were just people. And with little training, and almost no arms, they went out against the professionals of fascism, — the Moors, the army generals, the planes of Mussolini and Hitler, all the trained killers of capitalism. They stopped the Goliath dead in his tracks for three years. They actually did this — these rank-and-filers of the American democracy. They will do it again. And when the breaks finally come, they will win. Not only in Spain, but over the whole world.

Yes, this is the story of democracy itself that Hemingway has missed.

WEHRMACHT IN THE SPRING

The Overseas News Reviewed by Ben Giles

MINISTER HELLWEGE: "Germany was always a bulwark against Asia — the hour of proving has come. We need the strong arm of the Wehrmacht so that we can pass the test." (May, 1953).

MINISTER SEEBOHM. "The German frontiers of 1937 in the east must be removed, in order to create an economic unit large enough to form the basis of life for our people and for the European nation." (December, 1951).

"If the go-ahead comes soon, the first West German soldiers can be in uniform by next spring," says the latest issue of the American magazine *Time*. The Americans can hardly wait.

With the restoration of "sovereignty" to West Germany (but foreign troops, in terms of the London Treaty, will remain until the end of the century), an army of 500,000 men will be added almost immediately to the strength of the Anglo-American bloc. It will consist of 12 divisions, four armoured, each with 1,200 tanks — twice the strength of a Hitler panzer division. The air force will have 1,500 front-line planes, and the navy 180 ships.

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, "the officers and men of the new German army will wear American-type khaki uniform and American-type helmets." Maybe they will also chew American-type gum.

Adolf Heusinger, once chief of operations under Hitler, is the most likely candidate for chief of staff. Hans Speidel, once chief of staff to Rommel, is likely to represent West Germany on the military control body established by the London Treaty.

Old SS men and war criminals will probably flock to the colours at the first opportunity. Recently released war criminals Kesselring and Meyer were received by their old comrades with frantic enthusiasm, and have given the Nazi forces in West Germany a big boost since their return. Kesselring heads the revived Stahlhelm.

No wonder Dulles considers the London pact the greatest diplomatic triumph of the 20th century; and the Queen has knighted Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary who made it all possible.

MISCALCULATION

But the warmongers have made a great miscalculation if they think they have already won the diplomatic battle for Europe. Before the ink was dry on the London Treaty, the Soviet Union staged a counter-offensive which has

already split the shaky Western alliance wide open.

Speaking at the opening of the United Nations assembly in New York, Mr. Vishinsky announced a new plan for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. Central feature of the new plan is that the Soviet Union proposes to begin disarmament in the land forces in which she is strongest — and she has done this specifically to meet the wishes of the West.

Mr. Vishinsky's plan is:

"All states, in six months or a year, to cut their armaments, armed forces and arms budgets by half their size as they stood at the end of 1953.

"At the same time a temporary International Control Commission to be set up under the Security Council with power to observe the carrying out of these steps and to ask for information from the Governments concerned.

"When this first cut has been carried through, the remaining 50 per cent. of the cuts would be implemented, atomic weapons banned, their manufacture stopped, and 'all existing atomic materials used for peaceful purposes only.'

"A permanent 'international organ of control' would be established to ensure that the provisions of the treaty on the banning of atomic weapons and reduction of armaments is observed, with powers of inspection on a permanent basis."

FIRE AND SWORD

Commenting on the London agreement, Mr. Vishinsky warned that the 12 West German divisions now planned would soon become 60 divisions, and within a few years the Germans would have an army of a million men "which, as soon as it feels its strength, will ply its neighbours and all of Europe with fire and sword."

The only solution to the German problem, he said, was the peaceful unification of East and West Germany within the framework of a European

collective security agreement to which the Soviet Union as well as Britain, France and the other European powers would belong.

"The West has to recognise the possibility of co-existence", he said. "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always stood square on this position, and this is our position today."

Mr. Vishinsky's call was followed within a few days by the speech of Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Molotov in Berlin on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the German democratic republic.

Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union should agree now on the withdrawal of occupation troops from East and West Germany, said Mr. Molotov. The Soviet Union considered that German unification on the lines laid down in the Potsdam agreement was the basic solution to the German problem, and with a view to achieving this, was ready to discuss the proposals put forward at the Big-Four Berlin conference on Germany, as well as possible new proposals on free all-German elections.

German unity was impossible if the London agreement was carried out, he said. "A remilitarised West Germany would conjure up a direct danger to peace in Europe."

IN CONFUSION

Mr. Vishinsky's and Mr. Molotov's speeches, containing as they did the very concessions on which the West had insisted before they were willing to resume talks on either Germany or disarmament, threw the whole Western war camp into confusion.

At the United Nations, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, the United Nations delegate, admitted Mr. Vishinsky's proposals "do appear to open an avenue for future discussion," while Britain's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, said: "The Soviet Government appears to have moved toward the Anglo-French proposals (on disarmament) — that is a fact to be welcomed." The

French delegation said it had listened to Mr. Vishinsky's proposals "with satisfaction."

But behind the scenes the U.S. and British top-flight politicians were already thinking of new methods of avoiding agreement with the Russians. "Britain has no intention of accepting any delays," reported Nora Beloff in the *Observer*. "Nevertheless the British Minister of State has no intention of running against the formidable tide of optimism which has swept over the United Nations since Mr. Vishinsky's speech renouncing the basic Soviet principles of disarmament which for so many years prevented any constructive negotiations."

On the continent of Europe itself, the Vishinsky-Molotov proposals naturally had far wider repercussions.

Mr. Jules Moch, former French Minister of Defence and now French representative on the Disarmament Commission, cabled the French Premier Mendes-France urging him to insert a suspensive clause in the London agreement so that an opportunity might be provided to explore the Russian offer, which had brought about a "sensational change" in the world situation.

Mr. Moch said that if his advice were ignored, he would do everything in his power to secure the rejection of the London agreement in the French Assembly.

As it happened, Mendes-France was able to bull-doze the London agreement through the French Assembly despite Mr. Moch; but only by undertaking to use the period before German rearmament came into force to explore the possibilities of peaceful reunification of Germany according to the Vishinsky-Molotov plan.

Mendes-France said he would never have accepted the London agreement if there were any danger of its "straining our relations" with the Soviet Union. He added:

"You know, and the Soviet Union knows well, that time is needed, two or three years without doubt, for the London decision to result in arms for Germany. It is not too optimistic to hope that during this period negotiations (with Russia) will have (ended) in disarmament."

Mendes-France is clever, perhaps too clever, at playing off one group against another. He has won provisional endorsement for his policy from a reluctant Assembly but, as the Paris correspondent of the *New Statesman and*

Nation reported after the debate: "The feeling in the Assembly against German rearmament in any form is strong; indeed, the principal objection raised during the debate — the existence of an independent German General Staff — is shared by a clear majority of the Assembly . . . It is quite clear that to get the final texts (of the agreements on German rearmament) through the Assembly will take a great deal of hard work."

GERMANS UNWILLING

Strangely enough, the most formidable opposition to the London agreement has come from inside West Germany itself.

The Social Democrats, leading opposition party in the Bundestag, pressed for negotiations with the Soviet Union. Party leader Ollenbauer calling Mr. Molotov's offer a "real change", said: "We Social Democrats believe that the federal republic should not accept any new obligations in connection with Western defence before new serious attempts are made by negotiations with the Soviet Union to solve the question of German reunification on the basis of free elections."

Even Dr. Dehler, leader of the Free Democrats, partners in the Adenauer coalition, embarrassed the Chancellor by calling for immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union on the basis of Mr. Molotov's offer. Commented the *Observer's* Sebastian Haffner: "This is the sharpest publish clash on fundamental questions that has yet occurred."

On October 9 the West German Trade Union Congress, representing 6 million workers, passed a resolution at Frankfurt rejecting a West German military contribution to European defence "as long as all possibilities of negotiations for international reconciliation are not exhausted and the union of Germany is not restored." Only four votes were cast against the resolution. All the speakers stressed they were neither Communists nor pacifists, but just anti-Nazi.

At the end of September, the 670,000 members of the trade union youth groups had voted unanimously against an armed contribution of any kind.

Clearly the German people, as opposed to their rulers and the old Nazi gang hoping to stage a come-back, want unity and peace, not rearmament and war. Adenauer may get his Bundestag majority, but it looks like he will also get very reluctant soldiers when the time comes for them to get into uniform.

BANTU BLACKOUT

In ancient times, it was a practice of certain panderers to the despotic rulers of the East to rear children in pots. The pots distorted and cramped their bodies into weird shapes. They were then sold to the wealthy as jesters and objects of amusement.

In this day and age, notwithstanding the cruel practices of Hitler Germany, there is no country in the world where such practice would not be treated as a crime — a crime against humanity.

The Bantu Education Act does not propose to rear children in pots to distort their bodies. Nothing as crude as that. Nor does it intend that they should be sold as jesters and objects of amusement. It proposes, instead, to rear them in pots which will distort, cramp and limit their mental development, so that they will be docile, uncomplaining servants of the whites. And this, it is claimed, is being done in the sacred cause of preserving "white civilisation" — and on behalf of every white-skinned South African.

The South African Congress of Democrats gives the lie to this claim, in its latest, hard-hitting pamphlet about Bantu Education — "Educating for Ignorance." The pamphlet pulls no punches. It strips Bantu Education bare of all the airy philosophising, and reveals its crude, mediaeval bones by extensive direct quotations from the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd. It explains what the Act is; what it aims to do; what effect it will have on both pupil and parent, teacher and nation. There is a foreword by Father Trevor Huddleston C.R.

It is a pamphlet you must not be without. And one you should pass on to every friend you have who wants to know what is happening in his own land, to his fellow men.

EDUCATING FOR IGNORANCE is obtainable from the S.A. Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg. Price 3d. per copy, post free.

LABOUR SAYS "NO!"

TREMENDOUS opposition has been aroused at the proposal to permit Western Germany to re-arm her military machine and to once again train and equip a huge military organisation. With the memories of World War II still very bitter and very evident in many parts of the world, especially in those countries which suffered from the Nazi onslaught, opposition to German re-armament has reached mass proportions.

The lead in favour of Germany being re-armed is being taken by the United States of America, which has in all facets of its policy, both openly and secretly, encouraged the most evil and most reactionary circles in Germany, and bolstered up with solid injections of dollars the tottering remnants of the Nazi regime. Thus, the decisions of the Potsdam agreement signed by the big powers which lead the coalition that defeated Nazi Germany, and included clauses such as the break-down of German cartels, like the Krupp Armament works, the public ownership of the most important industries formerly controlled by Nazis, the extermination of all vestiges of Nazism from German life, and the eventual unification of Germany on democratic lines, all these good decisions have been jettisoned as a result of American pressure, which in turn has influenced official policy in Great Britain to support this reactionary line as well.

SMOKE SCREEN

Elaborate political steps accompanied these moves to give the world the idea that all these steps were being taken to counter so-called threats from the Soviet Union and from "communism" typically in the same strain that Hitler & Co., carried on their nefarious work which lead to the disasters that preceded World War II and the horrible War itself. Thus we have had such political moves as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the European Defence Community (EDC) all designed to give people the false impression of threats from the East, whilst plans were rapidly being carried to fruition to maintain huge armies and build up huge armament industries including the revival of the Krupp organisation in Germany.

This policy has been carried out in the face of fierce opposition in many parts of Europe, particularly in France and in Italy, as well as in Western Ger-

many itself — opposition which has assumed mass proportions, and which has led even to Governments being compelled to reject the more blatant plans of German re-armament so that public support would not be completely destroyed in their nefarious schemes.

LABOUR'S NO!

How about opposition in Great Britain itself, which also suffered at the hand of the Nazi war machine, though not so severely as the European continent? Many people are puzzled by the fact that the British Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress, the two most influential labour organisations in that country have officially agreed to German re-armament, which is being openly pushed by the Conservative Government

VETERAN TRADE UNIONIST I. WOLFSON REVIEWS TWO BRITISH CONFERENCES

at present in office. On the face of it, it would appear that all sections of the British people, Tory as well as labour, have given their blessing to this reactionary policy of re-arming the greatest threat to world peace the world has ever known — a reactionary anti-democratic Germany. Yet this is not really the case as can be briefly elicited from the following facts.

Widespread opposition to German re-armament has been voiced and demanded by hundreds of Labour Party branches and Trade Union branches and National organisations in Great Britain. Some of the most influential unions in Britain, such as the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and many others, have officially declared their opposition to the rearming of Germany. The Co-operative Congress representing many millions of co-operators in Britain went on record by an overwhelming majority in spite of official opposition from the top executives, against German re-armament.

STAGE MANAGING

In the Labour Party, the left-wing led by Aneurin Bevan has won the support of the rank and file of the Labour Party against rearming the Germans. Yet

at both congresses of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party official votes have been recorded in favour of German re-armament. At both congresses the favourable vote was achieved by bringing into operation the "big guns" that is the official leadership such as Attlee and Morrison in the Labour Party and Deakin and Tewson in the T.U.C. By itself even this manoeuvre would have failed were it not for the fact that owing to the "Card-vote" structure of these Congresses, bloc votes of millions of trade unionists can be exercised by a few individuals, and outvote the views of the rank and file. This is exactly what did take place. For instance Mr. A. Deakin as spokesman of the most powerful British Trade Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union with a million strong membership was able to cast his vote in favour of German re-armament and thus swing the conference along reactionary tracks. What real influence Mr. Deakin can exercise when it comes to a show-down has been exemplified in the recent Dockers' Strike in England when, despite his denunciations and his attacks on the leaders of the strike, the Dockers remained out, without official Trade Union support, and won a great victory. By such means have the leadership been able — for the time being — with narrow majorities to give a public declaration that the Labour Party and the T.U.C. in Britain support German re-armament.

Yet in Britain there is a mass movement in the Labour Party branches and Trade Unions, as well as in the British Peace Movement against German re-armament. Millions of people in Britain know that with the development of nuclear weapons, Britain is no longer an unsinkable and unapproachable island base, but merely one of the first "expendable" targets in the American war plans for letting hell loose when the mad dogs of war get the upper hand, and War once more faces the world. It is with this realisation in their minds, coupled with their experience and knowledge of the Nazi war machine, that millions in Britain will yet make their voices heard more strongly still, so that they will sweep aside all such manoeuvres as *card votes* and call upon the British Government to oppose German re-armament and to unite with all other powers in a world-wide movement for peace and for the eventual abolition of war and all that it entails.

AFRICA SINGS!

Cape Town's Bantu Theatre Company Comes to the Rand

THE recent production of "Africa Sings" by the Bantu Theatre Company of Cape Town at the Witwatersrand University Great Hall has aroused a great deal of interest in the future of African cultural endeavours.

This company arrived in Johannesburg with a considerable file of rave notices from Cape Town critics, which were not emulated here. Audiences enjoyed the show but were disappointed by the lack of novelty. The Great Hall has often been the scene of similar entertainments, and although we always welcome African cultural presentations, there is an increasing need for new direction to be followed. The advance publicity for "Africa Sings" had led us to expect something different; but unfortunately, these hopes were in vain.

For this reason, the dance sequence "From the Country to the Town" lost a lot of its impact. Although the vast shadows of mine headgear and miner's bodies on the cyclorama were, as always, most effective.

Unquestionably Teda de Moor, who produced the show and devised many of the sequences, has a great talent for working with African dancers. I approve whole-heartedly of the way she develops initiative amongst her cast and welcome the appearance of an African director in the company, Mr. George Makanya, who was responsible for two of the numbers staged. Her influence during the years she worked in Johannesburg is perpetuated in the annual production by the Transvaal Association of African Boys' Club, and the production of such groups as the Kilnerton Institute. Perhaps this was why we were over familiar with so much of "Africa Sings".

Personally I am never happy watching urban Africans performing primitive tribal dances. This I found with the

"Zulu sketches". The noise and the movements were there but the vitality was missing. In partial mitigation it must be stated that only the principal characters came up from Cape Town; the chorus was recruited locally.

The contemporary scenes I found much more pleasing. The spirit of the group in "Songs from Shanty Town" and "Hick Nomama" (The Traveller) was pleasantly gay and informal, the humour was excellently handled, and if there were no outstanding voices, the songs were performed with rhythm and gusto. The song, "I went to Pretoria to get a bicycle spanner — they made me stamp and sign for it" made very clever use of an all too common experience in the life of an African. The burlesque of the policeman was also well handled, if a little too realistic to be really funny. These scenes, however, indicate very strongly how the rich source of everyday life can be used to provide inspiration for their future work.

Probably the most interesting work of the evening was "The Hand of the Dead". This is described as an "African Opera" but seemed to me far more Dance Drama. Here the tribal setting and dances were used as the basis for an exciting series of experiments in movement. I found the highly stylised and intricate harvesting and threshing scene brimming with movement and life. Although the rather involved Zulu Legend, on which this was based, never emerged, this work opens a new field of integrating the modern with the traditional in African dance.

If the Bantu Theatre Company will follow the beacon lights, and draw their inspiration from their surroundings, I feel sure that they will become a most significant cultural force in the awakening colossus of Africa.

I.B.



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