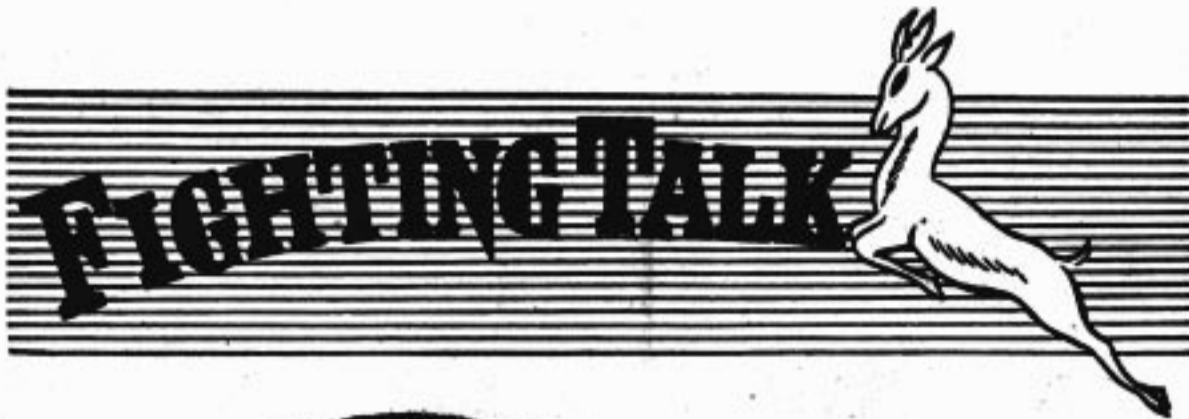


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ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION.

You Can't Leave it to Parliament

THE remarkable demonstrations which have greeted the War Veterans' campaign of opposition to the Coloured Voters' Bill once again led some people to question both the need for and the wisdom of the extra-parliamentary struggle. There are people, some highly-placed, who argue that the Nationalists can and should be opposed only in Parliament — it is, they say, the task of His Majesty's Opposition, as the representatives of those who oppose the Government's acts and intentions.

Others have no objection to the organisation of the people of the country behind campaigns of opposition, but prophesy pessimistically that nothing will be achieved by public action. They say the majority in Parliament cannot be changed nor the Nationalist government frightened by public demonstrations.

We believe both groups to be wrong. The struggle outside Parliament is as important as the struggle within it. There is nothing unconstitutional or undemocratic in the organisation of public opinion. In fact it is the very essence of democracy. Nor is it in any way unrealistic. On the contrary, there is every evidence that governments are shaken — and sometimes crumble — when confronted by evidence of mass disapproval.

The Parliamentary struggle is, after all, a limited one. Generally speaking, the simple arithmetic of the representation of the parties decides every issue in favour of the Government. Certainly that arithmetic will not be upset if a Parliament is left to discuss matters of vital importance in splendid isolation. So that the Opposition, left to themselves, cannot normally expect to overthrow the Government.

The balance of power may, however, be shaken by a solid demonstration of public opposition to the Government. It is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility that public disapproval may lead a number of less secure Nationalists to cross the floor. Many are not altogether comfortable right now.

In any case, Parliament is only in session for five months of the year. In the other seven, there is no telling what tricks the Cabinet will get up to. They have shown their attitude in that direction a score of times. It is then that organised public opinion must make itself heard not only through political parties but through as many organisations as possible.

But an even more cogent reason for the extra-parliamentary struggle is that it is self-educating. A united, convinced opposition is an essential if governments are to totter. Unity is not just an abstract idea — it is something we feel when we fight together and know that our fight is right. Every time we show our united strength in some form of demonstration or another — be it a United Party Rally or a Torchlight Procession — we rouse into active opposition a passive, unthinking fellow-citizen. There is nothing so infectious as unity and conviction — nothing will produce more quickly a solid phalanx of opposition which even the Government cannot withstand.

We must all fight. We cannot leave it to our representatives in Parliament alone. A country may play cricket through eleven representatives but in a mortal political struggle, every man must play his part directly. Thus organisations amongst the people, supporting

His Majesty's Opposition and urging it on, are not only necessary — they are essential.



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Letters to the Editor

The Secretary,
Springbok Legion,

Dear Friend,

I enclose my annual subscription, with regret that it is so long overdue. The date on the postal order gives you an indication of how long ago I had intended dealing with the matter. Pressure of work, unfortunately, interfered with my intention.

In spite of my apparent laxness, I am still as proud as ever to be a member of the Legion and wish it all success in the future.

Yours sincerely,

B.C.

Durban.

BOOK REVIEW

"THE WORLD NEXT DOOR" and "FINISTERE"

"THE WORLD NEXT DOOR", by Fritz Peters, published by Gollancz, is not a new book, having been published in January 1950, but, since it is possibly one of the most important contributions to English fiction since the end of the war, we are reviewing it for readers of "Fighting Talk."

"The World Next Door" is both a discussion and a story. It is concerned with a young ex-serviceman who is committed to a Mental Hospital for insane war veterans. The book has two separate functions, though both are closely linked: the primary object is to discuss what we call "sane" and "insane" in terms of a distorted logic and then in terms of normal logic: the secondary object is to criticise the organisation and administration of an asylum.

Make no mistake, this is no "Snake Pit". It is not concerned with psychiatric theories. The problem is stated in simple terms: Shall society demand set patterns of behaviour, to which all must conform: or is society elastic enough to allow the tangents to exist? After all, what happens to David Mitchell under shock treatment, in the pack room, and his relations with the staff constitutes in itself a relationship between man and man.

What confuses Mitchell is that, once he has recovered from his manic-de-

pressive state, society itself provides no coherent logic with which to discuss and understand the illogical "logic" of his mad-world. Mitchell's constant furious demand is: Why should he be excluded from society because of his abnormal logic, when that very society has nothing to offer in its place?

I would criticise the author's thesis on the grounds that he does not go far enough. Mitchell was trying to solve the problem of the changes that took place in his own mind without referring to the changes that take place in society — the changes that are brought about by the constant economic and, therefore, political evolutionary changes.

The writer's criticism of the administering of treatment and the handling of patients will shock the reader. The patient asks, "Why, because I am 'committed', must I be treated as an object and not as an individual? Why is my sickness not treated with the same care as is afforded a man who has lost his leg?"

Finally Mr. Peters tries to deal with the problems of a generation that has survived World War II. I think his contribution is on the same level as T. S. Eliot's contribution to literature after World War I. But, whereas Eliot and his followers were fraught with despair, Peters holds out hope. Rejecting reli-

gion as practised today, he turns directly to the problems of society, sees the adjustments that have to be made and believes that they will be made.

This is a MUST on your booklist.

* * * *

"FINISTERE" by Fritz Peters, published by Gollancz, is Mr. Peters's second book and, although it maintains the high standard set in "The World Next Door", it is not as brilliant. The theme is the problem of homo-sexuality.

The story centres in a boy called Mathew Cameron, whose parents are divorced. His mother takes him to France, where she is to await the decree: Mathew is sent to school, where he experiences physical and emotional maturation in company with another scholar. Psychological perturbation is later replaced by emotional stability when the boy meets an older man.

The security is subsequently upset by the tangle of family relationships in which his parents and their newly-acquired spouses play a large part.

The book shows, as it leads up to the final tragedy, that the insecurity in the boy's early life precipitated the perversion, in that he sought the missing love and understanding in other emotional spheres. There are few books which deal with this social problem, but this book certainly makes a contribution to a better understanding. M.B.

POLITICAL QUIZ

DO YOU KNOW THE ANSWERS?

1. How many clauses in the South African Constitution are entrenched?
2. What provisions are entrenched?
3. What is the proper title of what we call the "Constitution"?
4. What position does the Rev. Miles Cadman now hold?
5. Name South Africa's wartime 'Lord Haw-Haw'.
6. To what position has he recently been appointed?
7. Name the bill recently introduced into Parliament which abolishes the Native Representative Council.
8. When were European women given the vote in South Africa?
9. Were there 'agitators' in the world before Communists appeared?
10. Which piece of Nationalist legislation strikes most directly against democracy? (That's an easy one!)

(Answers on page 5.)

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DIE KORTPAD NA TIRANNIE

CUID-AFRIKA is op pad na 'n dwingelandy. Ons is besig om op dolle vaart voort te snel op die groot pad van kleur bevooroordeel na ons eie ondergang.

Ons het alreeds die stadium bereik waar die sogenaamde Kleurprobleem ons hele samelewing beheers. Dit is opsetlik ontwikkel tot die oorheersende en beslissende faktor in die politieke arena. Dit hang soos 'n meulsteen om die nek van ons ekonomie. Ek sidder om te dink aan wat ons nageslag oor 'n paar honderd jaar sal dink van ons wetgewing met betrekking tot die kleurvraagstuk.

Stelselmatig en meedoënloos word die volk van Suid-Afrika in twee teenoor-gestelde kampe gedryf. Aan die eenkant die minder as drie miljoen blankes vasgevang in vrees vir oorheersing deur die groter getal nie-blankes, vrees wat van hulle 'n maklike prooi maak vir uitbuiting deur beroepspolitici. Aan die anderkant die meer as tien miljoen nie-blankes, waaronder Bantu Nasionalisme stadig-aan besig is om pos te vat, 'n denkrigting wat maar een uitgangspunt het, en dit is haat vir die wit man.

Dit is nie my doel om hiermee die een of ander kant te verdedig nie, liever wil ek probeer aantoon hoe hierdie mag wat elke individu in Suid-Afrika teen wil en dank meesleur tot stand gekom het, en sodoende wil ek die Apartheidsbeleid van die huidige regering wat seker die magtigste enkele politieke faktor in ons samelewing is as voorbeeld neem.

Die ontstaan van 'n politieke mag soos saamgevat in hierdie beleid word verkry deur die uitbuiting van massa emosies en sentiment; in hierdie geval die vrees kompleks en kleur bevooroordeel van die blanke. Hierdie emosies word dan deur die politikus geko-ordineer tot 'n vae begrip, en aan die massa voorgehou as 'n oplossing. Dit is egter noodsaaklik dat die beleid vanself so vaag as moontlik moet wees, om sodoende die individu in 'n geleentheid te stel om sy eie definities daaraan te heg. Indien dit moontlik sou wees om die begrip self te definieer sou dit alle aantrekkingskrag wat dit vir die massa inhou verloor en die oorgrote meerderheid sou in alle geval nie saamstem daarmee.

Dit is egter aan die anderkant juis in die vaagheid van die regering se apartheidsbeleid, en in 'n minder mate, ook in die segregasiebeleid van die Verenigde Party, dat die grootste gevaar vir Suid-Afrika skuil, presies omdat daarvan soveel uiteenlopende uitleggings gegee kan word.

Laat ons aanneem dat dit die regering erns is met hulle beleid, en dat hulle werklik eerlik poog om 'n oplossing vir Suid-Afrika se rassevraagstuk binne daardie beleid te soek. Laat ons egter nie vergeet dat die regering afhanklik is van die stem van die gewone man en vrou. En wat verstaan die gewone man en vrou by apartheid? Vir hulle beteken dit eenvoudig dat die kaffer op sy plek gesit en gehou moet word. Vra hom of haar egter wat daardie plek presies is, en u hoor die mees uiteenlopende menings, menings so uiteenlopend dat dit noodsaaklik is dat die begrip self so vaag as moontlik moet wees sodat al hierdie menings daarin saamgevat kan word.

Dit is dus hierdie vae begrip wat in homself ander vae begrippe saamvat wat uiteindelik die politieke mag vorm, en wat van apartheid die beslissende faktor in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek gemaak het wat dit is. 'n Blote politieke kreet waarmee verkiesings gewin en verloor kan word.

Laat ons nou probeer om vas te stel wat die politikus se verhouding is tot die mag wat hyself geskep het. In die eerste plek is dit hy wat met die hulp van sy party se propagandamiddele sekere emosies aanwakker. Tweedens voorsien hy 'n vae begrip wat as uitgangspunt kan dien vir hierdie emosies en ander ewe vae menings. Tot op hierdie stadium is die politikus die leier en skepper van die mag. Die Mag ontgroeï egter heel spoedig sy leier en skepper, met die gevolg dat sy posisie verander van leidende gesag tot uitvoerende gesag. Die mag stel nou eise waaraan die politikus verplig is om uitvoering te gee. In die geval van Apartheid eis die mag dat die kaffer op sy plek gesit moet word, d.w.s. dat die baasskap van die wit man beveilig moet word. Die mag ontwikkel nou in 'n draak wat nie maklik bevredig kan word nie, en wat meer en meer eise stel, en

onvermydelik moet lei tot meer en meer onderdrukkingsmaatreëls. Die nie-blanke massas verstaan by apartheid presies wat die blanke massas daarby verstaan, naamlik, dat dit bedoel is om hom op sy plek te hou, en as sulks beveg hy dit. Net soos in die geval van die blanke is hier ook politici wat die toestand uitbuit en op hulle beurt en volgens dieselfde proses 'n politieke mak skep met haat vir die wit man as dryfveer wat lynreg te staan kom teenoor apartheid.

So is ons vinnig besig om die kortpad na tirannie te vind. 'n Haglike toestand waarin die een groep alleen sal kan regeer as hulle die ander groep met geweld onderdruk, en waar die ander groep alleen deur die gebruikmaking van geweld ontslae sal kan raak van die onderdrukker om op sy eie beurt miskien weer die onderdrukker te wees.

As ons op die ingeslane weg voortgaan dan is hierdie prentjie, hoe donker dit ookal mag skyn, die enigste wat vir Suid-Afrika in die vooruitsig gestel kan word, en blaam daarvoor sal maar net op een plek gelê kan word, naamlik, op die sogenaamde beskermers van die blanke beskawing, die Nasionale Party.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Three.
2. Equality of English and Afrikaans: franchise rights of Non-Europeans in the Cape: the entrenching clause itself.
3. The South Africa Act.
4. Chaplain General to the U.D.F.
5. Erich Holm.
6. Parttime job with the University of South Africa.
7. Bantu Authorities Bill.
8. 1930.
9. Sure — anyone at any time who has militantly been opposed to the ruling powers has been dubbed 'agitator' — or worse, e.g. the early Christians, the American Colonists, the Chartists, trade unionists and early members of the British Labour Party.
10. Suppression of Communism Act and its Amendments.

(Questions on page 3.)

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THE ANSWER IS PEACE

THE world today faces many problems of a purely economic nature — problems of production and distribution of the necessities of life. India has a famine, the whole of Asia endures a low standard of living. Europe is struggling to its feet after the last war, and Britain is making efforts to remain solvent.

Britain was doing pretty well, with increased social services, and real improvements in the living standards of its workers. It had for example made great strides in the re-tooling of its backward and collapsing coal industry — to the extent of about 100 million pounds. All this was achieved in the face of dollar deficits, devaluation, and American competition. The peaceful socialisation of England was under way.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan resigned recently as a protest against the cutting of social services to help finance a new arms drive. It can be inferred from his statement that America is not only forcing the pace, but also hogging raw materials. The important fact is, however, that it highlighted the age old dilemma, "Guns or butter". It is clear that the people cannot have both, and the indications are that they prefer butter. This preference for butter is in no way surprising since Britain has lived on short rations for the last eleven or twelve years, and is not prepared to face the privations of a war economy indefinitely. What is true of Britain is true of other countries which suffered during the last war.

It seems that the Governments of Western Europe are demanding sacrifices which their people are not willing to make — possibly in the belief that these programmes can be forced through. At the conference of deputy-Ministers in Paris, where the two blocs are haggling over procedure, there seems to be extreme reluctance to find a basis for peace talks. The fact that the talks have not broken down, indicates that peace talks will eventually take place — with the full and enthusiastic support of the people of all countries. If this happens, and non-aggression pacts are signed, a new vista of progress and prosperity will open up for mankind.

That is the key to a better life for all humanity — eradication of the fear of war, and a turning to peaceful purposes all the resources now being employed for armaments.

The Eastern bloc, including China, could provide markets for consumer goods, which would keep our factories humming for fifty years. The increased wealth could be used to develop Africa and Asia, and in time peoples of these

countries, instead of being a poverty stricken liability, would become producers and buyers of goods.

The alternative is a gloomy one. Living standards are to be reduced, and resources uselessly sunk into armaments. World trade is to be throttled, and ensuing tensions will give rise to repression and Gestapo measures. It is not enough to avert war after rearming — in fact it will be almost impossible, the damage will have been done.

The answer is Peace as soon as possible, and as secure and lasting as the will of people all over the world can make it.

PERSONALIA

HENRY and MACKIE PEREIRA

HENRY and Mackie Pereira are leaving Johannesburg to live in Cape Town. How reluctant we are to let them go! You cannot find throughout our membership two more stalwart and valuable Legionnaires. No matter what the campaign, no matter what the weather, no matter how disappointing the speaker, Henry and Mackie have never



Henry Pereira—Legionnaire.

once sought an excuse to give the job on hand a miss.

I met them first when on my return from up north I joined the Central Group and attended the Group meeting in the Carlton Hotel. They've been intimate friends ever since — friends not only to me but to all the Legionnaires who have worked with them.

In the first World War Henry was with the Oxford Infantry and Mackie from '14 to '18 was a nurse. You will realise, therefore, that they're elderly. They're elderly too in appearance. In fact I wondered at first what two such 'respectable' persons could be doing with the young harum-scarums of the Legion. I've found the answer to that question. They've been in the Legion since 1944 doing their best to bring about a realisation of the Legion's Aims and Objects.

Mackie has served for several years on the Johannesburg Branch Committee and Henry has been Chairman of the Central Group and our expert on all the problems related to Rent Control. Having been Walter Madeley's private secretary, Henry has a profound knowledge of parliamentary history and procedure, which has often been very valuable to us. Both are active members of the Labour Party, where, too, they have made a big contribution.

They have promised themselves a permanent retirement from political activity. When they told me that, I replied, 'Huh! I give you six months!' Of one thing I am certain: wherever there is a job to be done in the cause for which the Legion stands, there you will find our two great friends, Mackie and Henry Pereira.

All of us in Johannesburg wish them good health and great happiness in the Mother City. C.G.W.



Oom Dolf de la Rey with some of the Commando types.

HELICOPTERED home from office on Wednesday afternoon May 23rd, grabbed a suitcase, rammed some clothes and shaving gear into it and then toggled myself up in a motley assortment of old army clobber. God knows where and why I had kept my khaki beret, a damned great old sweater and a scruffy battledress top. But there it was and I laughed at myself as I saw what a picture I presented. However, off I rushed back to the Pieterdalm Garage with a sandwich in one hand and my case in the other.

At the garage I met the other members of the Commando from Johannesburg. Joe Nathan, O.C. Transport Maintenance, a chirpy highly-efficient bloke, Joe Openshaw with the dark-syruped voice, the youthful looks and the good humour, Ray de Beer who turned out to be a torchbearer as well as a torchbearer, Cyril Carna, a type from Durban who was supposed to be on holiday in Johannesburg, but who budgeted the Committee until they selected him for the team and Piet Beylweid with the serious mind and the ready laugh.

We collected the vehicles for the Johannesburg people and off we went to the send-off from the City Hall Steps. Funny how surprised I was that the

people in Johannesburg should have given us such a hearty send-off. They cheered us from the City Hall Steps, down Commissioner Street and on the road to Boesmans. Even out at Uncle Charlie's a number of cars were waiting for us to give us a salute on their motor horns. Later on I became accustomed to the increasingly enthusiastic reception we got from men and women, ex-service types and 'civilians', in town and deep alike.

OPERATION ORDERS

The convoy disembarked about 11 o'clock at a wayside hotel, where over some coffee and sandwiches we received our orders from Cecil Williams, the Adjutant and Harry Sokoros, the Q.M.: no drinking till the end of the day, punctuality essential, courtesy to 'civilians', dress to be tidy even if unusual, shoes to be cleaned every night and hands to be shaved every morning — at which Oom Dolf vigorously protested as he pointed to his white, neat goatee. Guard duties were arranged for the night and I had my first taste of the old job standing guard, when Joe and I showed a leg at 2 a.m.!

ON THE ROAD

By this time the Johannesburg convoy had been joined by the former convoys

from Pretoria — Tom Cross and Jimmy Mason — and from the Lowveld — ex-Navy Pat Price and detestable Ray Toverner.

We were met outside Paaps by Capt. and Mrs. Street who had arranged coffee and rolls for us in the good old SAWAS way. Here we were joined by feeder convoys from Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom, the vehicles splendidly

By "TORCHBEARER."

decked with slogans and torches. The Patch contingent decided to go on with us as far as Bloemfontein. To jump ahead, I must tell you that Mr. and Mrs. Owles and Mr. and Mrs. Ford at Bloemfontein that night phoned back to Potch, in an attempt to fix up their domestic affairs, so that they could go all the way to Cape Town. They failed and reluctantly returned next morning to their homes.

Imagine our surprise and delight when on Sunday morning at Beaufort West we came down to breakfast and found the Fords and Owles there waiting for us. They had farmed out their children, found replacements for office duties and ruthlessly closed up one business altogether 'for the duration'. Then they drove all through Saturday night to catch up with the Commando. A marvellous gesture and very nice people! Mrs. Owles and Mrs. Ford, ex-Signals girls, were fine company and stood up to the rigours of the trip like old campaigners.

IN THE HEART OF "NAT"-LAND

The first afternoon we rendezvoused outside Winburg with the Natal contingent and we were damned excited when we saw the be-flagged cars roving down the road towards us. We joined with Gilly Ford, Oom Landman, Mrs. White, wearing her late brother's Victoria Cross, Roberts, Hawkins, Ureysey, Alexander, Mrs. Barnes and Mrs. Green.

In the meantime Oom Dolf had been welcomed by a crowd of Oud-Stryders, who had come out from Winburg, twenty car-loads.

In Winburg we had our first experience of the enthusiasm of 'our' people, who for three years have been

THE TORCH COMMANDO

submerged by the rising tide of Dr. Malan's brand of Nationalism. They seized the opportunity presented by the Torch Commando to let the rest of the population know that even in the smallest dorp there is still a loyal number of anti-Nat men and women, who have not been intimidated into accepting the rancorous politics of the Nats.

This experience was repeated again and again on the run to Cape Town. I remember the midday meeting at Bransfontein, the crowded Town Hall at Victoria West and the uninvited supporters who pushed in to an impromptu meeting in the hotel lounge at Beaufort West. At Paarl we stopped at a garage for petrol. The crowd awaiting us trailed on an un-scheduled meeting. On the road we were stopped time and time again by small groups of people, who insisted on our having tea and cakes.

Everywhere we found this tremendous high level of eager welcome and almost desperate support and encouragement.

MASS MEETINGS

At Bloemfontein we had a Torch Meeting such as had not been seen in

that town for years and years. The Calow University students had been threatening all day to break up the meeting. They attended all right but were too bloody 'boag' to do anything more than emit an occasional boo or ironic cheer. Kimberley was wildly exciting. So many torches, so many cheering people that even 'Pat' Beylweid's voice was trembling with nerves when he delivered greetings from the Commando.

At Beaufort West no meeting had been arranged — more's the pity, but somehow the people knew when we were due to arrive that night and they were standing in the streets waiting for us. So we processed right through the main street, giving the V-sign with our up-stretched hands and sounding the dish-dish on our hooters. It was funny to see the reaction of the Nats. They didn't know what to do, which way to look. They were mostly embarrassed by this manifestation of opposition to their party and its politics. Sometimes they were so exasperated that they childishly pulled faces at us, upon which we turned our hands around and jerked our fingers upwards, signifying the old army slogan, "Stick it!"



The Pretoria Car in the Commando came second in the line. Picture taken on the road after they left the City Hall.

CAPE TOWN

I must jump on to Cape Town. What a night! What an experience!

None of us will ever forget that wild thrill of driving from Somerset West through Bellville, Parow, Maitland, Goodwood into Cape Town. By this time we had joined up with the main Cape Eastern convoy with fine types on board like Micky Pollock, Brian King, Seymour, David Murray, and a number of others. No fancy-pants about these boys — they had travelled hundreds of miles on serious business. With us, too, were the types from South-West, Dixon, Armstrong, Carsten and the others.

For mile after mile we drove between crowds of people on either side of that main road, cheering, hootaying and waving flags. The V-sign sounded incessantly and our arms were tired from giving the upstretched V-sign. We thought to ourselves that there wouldn't be many people at the actual meeting in Cape Town, since there were these tens of thousands on the roadside. Oh but what a mistake we made! What a mistake everybody made! The most optimistic members of the Cape Town Committee never for one moment anticipated the turn-out there was. The Grand Parade was cramped to bursting point. In fact the crowd flooded over the adjacent streets and were blocking up the streets in all directions.

Headed by 15,000 Torchbearers the Commando drove through the streets of Cape Town and were cheered to the echo. Hands reached in to the vehicles to slap us on the back, to shake hands, while some of the more attractive and daring of the girls kissed us soundly! The newspaper people said it was like driving into a liberated town in Italy or Belgium. It was, exactly.

NO NEED FOR RACIALISM

We were so hemmed in by untamable masses of people that we could not get out of our vehicles to go on to the platform, so we sat in our cars as the speakers told the crowd — stretching beyond vision point — why the ex-soldiers were on the march. It was a wonderful meeting — attentive, orderly and serious.

[Continued on page 12.]

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The Fuse is Burning Merrily

DURING this session of Parliament no fewer than six bills have been introduced dealing with the Non-European peoples. They are:—

1. Native Building Workers' Bill.
2. Native Trust and Land Amendment Bill.
3. Native Laws Amendment Bill.
4. Bantu Authorities Bill.
5. Prevention of Illegal Squatting Bill.
6. Cape Coloured Franchise Bill.

Generally speaking all these Bills are retrogressive, all a denial of fundamental Human Rights, all will finally lead to more friction between Europeans and Non-Europeans. The fuse is burning merrily.

The whole purpose of these Bills, of course, is to bring the Nationalist policy of Apartheid into operation and no shrewder man to organise this manoeuvre could have been selected than Dr. Verwoerd. You will remember that one of the first duties Dr. Verwoerd undertook was to inspect all the most important Non-European areas, both the Reserves and the urban settlements. It might have been expected that he would have realised from this inspection that the proposed demarcation or division of the country, which Apartheid basically demands, was above all a practical impossibility.

As is evident from the Bills listed above no such revelation came to Dr. Verwoerd. Instead there emerges a more pernicious system of control and consequent hardship.

Two Bills have already been dealt with in this magazine, viz.: The Native Building Workers' Bill and the Coloured Franchise Bill. Of the first it must be said that the Minister of Labour was more amenable to amendments than most Nat. ministers. He was given a difficult time by Messrs. Stuart, Kahn and Lovell, so that, while the act remains a piece of 'bad' legislation, a certain number of useful safeguards have been incorporated.

Because the remaining Bills require lengthy memoranda to expose their repressive and reactionary nature, only two will be dealt with in this article and then only in their broader aspects.

MOVEMENT CONTROL

The purpose of the Native Laws Amendment Bill is to still further control the influx into an efflux out of urban areas. Primarily it deletes the clause in the original act which permitted an African, who has appealed against an order of removal from an urban area, to

remain in the area for the duration of the appeal. An African so affected must now leave the urban area the moment he is deemed 'undesirable'.

This provision violently denies the U.N. 'freedom of movement', but in addition it ties up with the government's policy of reducing the citizen's right of appeal to the courts.

Furthermore, although the Minister has made numerous statements to the effect that he accepts the permanency of Native urban inhabitants, yet this Bill can, by the Minister's grace, eject a man who has been living in an area for a period of up to FIFTEEN YEARS. It can refuse to allow his family to join him in his place of exile and can through the Native Affairs Department refuse to allow the decision of the court to be implemented, except at the Minister's discretion.

UPROOTED

In other words an African no longer has any security of residence. He will be afraid to look for better employment, since — should he fail to get a job and therefore be out of work for more than SEVEN DAYS — he is immediately liable to be ejected. Then what?

Have you ever wondered what happens to these human beings who are removed from an urban area? At this stage he is sent away to his supposed birthplace. But he has probably for years had no contact with this place, has no friends there and no possible means of earning a livelihood commensurate with his previous earnings in the town. How can he support his family in the meantime? Stop and think for a moment of this impasse in terms of human unhappiness, anxiety and frustration.

THE AFRICANS JUST DON'T COUNT

The Bantu Authorities Bill seeks to change the whole basis of the African Advisory Boards system, by nullifying the Native Legislation of 1936 — only in the Reserves at this stage, but the Minister has announced his intention of

dealing with the urban boards next session. With seeming innocence the Bill incidentally abolishes the Native Representative Council, which you will recall was set up by Hertzog, as token compensation for the removal of the direct franchise, which the Cape Africans had previously enjoyed.

Although the Native Representative Council has never functioned adequately, it was always felt that a time would come when it would be given greater powers. General Smuts was aware of the frustration felt by the Council and, had his party been returned to power, it was expected that Smuts would have increased the N.R.C.'s responsibilities.

THREAT OF EXTINCTION

In 1950 the Council adjourned when the Minister forbade them to discuss Apartheid. Since then the Minister has been threatening the Council with extinction. Hence this Bill, which re-allocates the advisory function of the N.R.C. to the Tribal Authority. The Bill proposes to set up Tribal Authorities, Regional Authorities and Territorial Authorities, the members of which, it seems, will be nominated by the Native Affairs Department.

What a travesty of democracy.

There are two sinister, underlying purposes. In the first place the Nats. want to break the hold of the Advisory Boards, which invariably elect to the Senate non-Nationalist candidates: and in the second place they want to be sure gullible tribal chiefs will be 'safe', i.e. that as members of the various Bantu Authorities, they will accept and disseminate the Nationalists' reactionary propaganda.

DIM-WITTED—AND HOW!

The idea that we can return to the tribal system for conducting African affairs is one which has great appeal for the dim-witted or the vicious. After the Europeans have been forced to destroy the tribal system in the interests of the economic development of the country, the Nats. now claim that it is the best system after all — but you can rest assured that they no more have the intention or the machinery to bring about such a backward change than I have the intention or the machinery to fly to the moon. They will attempt to distort some of the features of the tribal system to

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(Continued from page 11.)

suit their own ideological ends, but they will never tamper with the economic realities of the Africans' contribution to urban industrial development . . . not them!

It is a fact that today great proportions of the African people have been 'civilised'. Consequently, as they have adopted new patterns of behaviour which bear no relation to the tribal patterns, they have rejected the authority of the tribal chief. In the Witzieshoek Reserve, for instance, 90% of the population follow the so-called 'agitators' and the Chief has authority over only 10% of his people. We can note, too, that developments in South Africa's neighbouring territories have resulted in a rejection of the tribal authority.

OSTRICHES—OR WORSE

It is obvious the members of the Nationalist Government are behaving like ostriches — very, very stupid birds in times of danger. The Nats.'s plans are not only economically wasteful and obstructive, but they are based on the erroneous concept that by dividing Europeans from Non-Europeans they are going to preserve European standards of living. Far from it! this policy will demolish the only workable system in South Africa — namely, one of co-operation among all groups, upon which alone can we hope to make progress. What is equally important is that this policy can only end in an unholy, murderous explosion of pent-up racial hostilities.

The human aspect of these Bills almost cannot bear thinking about. The Nats. with un-Christian hardness of heart break up families with as little compunction as a ranger breaks up an ant-heap. Broken families, broken homes and broken hearts they care nothing about. Apart-hate is all!

GREEN-EYED MONSTERS

The 'scientific' basis of apartheid is ludicrous. It is comparable to removing all green-eyed people in the Union to an area in the Kalahari and establishing there for these green-eyed monsters a system of organisation that existed several hundred years ago! Madness, of course, but that is what the Nats. say they want to do to the African people, who happen to be black and to have had the patterns of our civilisation introduced to them only recently. Do you send your children to the coalhouse, because they cannot engage in polite social

chatter or because they cannot understand your adult language or because they cannot repair a wireless set?

The world at large is accepting the idea that all people, black or white, are HUMAN BEINGS. More and more of us in South Africa are accepting the idea that all people, black and white, are South Africans . . . but not the ignorant, blind, power-lustful herrenvolk in the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties.

The herrenvolk sees the fuse burning merrily and rub their grasping hands in maniacal glee.

(Continued from page 9)

No finer display of political awareness could be found anywhere. Gerald Gordon revived our war-time ideals. Uys Krige spoke feelingly of the interdependence of the races of South Africa. Anton Hathorn from Natal reminded us that during the war there was no need for racialism.

Oom Dolf gave the fighting speech that never failed to rouse the crowd and Sailor Malan with tremendous sincerity warned the people of the disappearance of our civil liberties and the fascist tendencies in the Nationalist Government. What a magnificent meeting!

AFTERTHOUGHTS

There are no doubts in my mind that the Torch Commando provided a much-needed rallying point for anti-Nationalist feelings in South Africa. I am convinced that the War Veterans have given A BOOST TO MORALE that will last for a long time. At the same time the demonstration has shaken the Nats. to the core. They realise that the "will of the people" is not quite what they have been making it out to be.

The militancy of the War Veterans and their pledge to fight for an immediate general election have appealed to the hearts of the people with 100 per cent. success. The hope was expressed on all sides that the Veterans would carry the fight on NOW and so rid the country of a government whose policies spell disaster.

"FIGHTING IDEALISM"

Finally I must pay tribute on behalf of the Commando men and women to their leaders, Oom Dolf and Sailor Malan. Oom Dolf, untiring, courageous, humorous and inspiring, represented for us the finest example of the true South African Nationalism—without rancour for

(Continued on page 14.)

SYDNEY ERICH HOLM

The Johannesburg "Star" reports on June 13th that Erich Holm is now employed in a part-time capacity by the Division of External Studies of the University of South Africa.

ERICH HOLM, it will be recalled, broadcast over a period from Zeesen during the war, providing his 'dear' friends and listeners in South Africa with Nazi propaganda, calculated to win away sympathies from the prosecution of the war against the totalitarian doctrines and evil practices of Nazism. Holm was the South African 'Lord Haw-Haw.'

After the war Holm was found in Germany, brought back to South Africa to be tried as a war criminal. In June 1947 a Special Court, sitting in Pretoria, found him guilty under a charge of High Treason and sentenced him to 10 years' imprisonment with hard labour. The traitor, Joyce (Lord Haw-Haw) was found guilty and was hanged in Britain.

In December 1947 Holm's appeal against the sentence was rejected by the Appeal Section of the High Court and the 10 years hard labour sentence was confirmed.

On Christmas Eve 1948 — seven months after the Nationalists were put in power — an amnesty was granted to Holm and he was released.

GOVERNMENT POLICY.

When questioned on the immigration screening policy, the Government replied that their screen was designed to keep out of South Africa both Communists and Nazis. One would expect the same principle to apply in appointments to the government service or to institutions, such as the University of South Africa, where a government department has certain powers in the matter of appointments.

It would be interesting to know:

- was Holm's appointment referred to the Union Education Department for confirmation?
- if so, was Holm's name at the head of the short-list of 3?
- did the Education Department reject Holm's name and demand fresh recommendations?
- what undesirable qualities had the recommended applicant for the post of Technical College principal in Port Elizabeth, which prompted Mr. Viljoen, Minister of Education, not to accept the Council's nominee? Was he, perhaps, an anti-Nazi or just a plain democrat?

ATTACK NOW!

AS demonstration of widespread opposition to the Nationalist Government and its fascist policies, the Torch Commando was a real achievement. Newspaper reports estimate that more than 250,000 people took part in the meetings of the Commando en route. Descriptions of these meetings, and particularly that of Cape Town, indicate that this was the biggest political demonstration of its kind that has ever taken place in South Africa.

If Operation Torch Commando had been organised under the banner of the democratic political parties, if it had taken them three months to organise and if all their resources in terms of finance and organisational machinery had been directed to the effort, it would still have been a magnificent achievement.

WHY WAS IT SUCCESSFUL?

The fact that it was organised by Ad-hoc committees of Ex-servicemen in a matter of two weeks with only the tacit and passive support of the political parties and with no reserves of funds makes it not only a magnificent demonstration but gives it a weighty significance for the United Party and the Labour Party.

To understand the Commando's phenomenal success and the opportunity that now presents itself it is necessary to be clear as to why the Torch Commando was possible and why it received such widespread support.

It was clear that it was anti-Nationalist in character. It was not substantially pro-United Party. This is borne out by the fact that after months of work, the expenditure of considerable energy and money, the U.P. Rally at the Zoo Lake on Union Day was attended by only 5,000 people, many of whom came from outside Johannesburg.

MILITANT THEME.

It cannot be attributed only to the prestige of Ex-servicemen in the community: nor to the fact that the War Veterans' Action Committees were merely giving expression to the people's opposition to the Nationalist Party and its policies. Many organisations including the political parties are doing that and have been doing so for years. No, it is clear that the real basis for this widespread support was the militant theme of a demand for an immediate General Election! This suggests unmistakably that the electorate is tired of hearing

about the wickedness of the Nats. They want to know how to get them out! Not tomorrow — not in 1953 — but NOW!

Any organisation or group that fails to realise this point is doomed to receive the same lukewarm, "apathetic" support that is given to any anti-nationalist group simply because it is "anti-nat." On the other hand, an organisation that comes out with a militant demand — such as that put forward by the W.V.A.C. and which shows clearly that it means to get the Nats. out as quickly as possible — will get the overwhelming support such as that given to the Operation Torch Commando.

THE U.P. LOSING TOUCH.

The lesson for the U.P. and the Labour Party is that they are out of touch with the feeling of the electorate. They run a serious risk of losing the people's support and confidence. People will start casting around for a new party. There is a limit to what the electorate will stand. The futility of a struggle confined to the Houses of Parliament has been demonstrated to the majority of people in the last few years. The elector-

ate is tired of gestures that get nowhere. It wants relief and it wants it now!

The democratic political parties must not make the mistake of judging the temper of the electorate by the lukewarm support for their present ineffective and inadequate policies that they get from their own party members.

THE MAIN ATTACK

For the War Veterans' Action Committees, Operation Torch Commando should be looked upon as a pilot operation for the main attack. That attack must follow as quickly as possible and must take the form of mass meetings in every Town and City on a demand for an immediate General Election.

Such a demonstration would have the support of all sections and would be a clear and unmistakable indication of the electorate's wishes. Woe betide the political party that chose to ignore them!

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ITEMS

THE main topic of conversation in Legion circles is still the "Torch Commando", and this is as true in Cape Town and Durban as in Johannesburg. The send-off in Johannesburg was not, of course, as big as the mass meeting, but it provided a wonderful fillip to everyone present. By the way, I understand that Vance Brown's efforts on the microphone have brought him offers of contracts from Springbok Radio — Bing Crosby, move over!

The Johannesburg Branch raises a nice amount of money every month by means of a Jumble Sale. Other Branches please note! There is no simpler way of raising a regular £30 or so. It isn't too easy getting enough garments to sell so everyone should help by sending in everything they can possibly spare.

INTER-GROUP QUIZ.

There was a most enjoyable party to wish Henry and Mackie Pereira cheerio, despite the deep regret at losing them to Capetown. Jack Hodgson made a moving little speech of farewell and in reply Henry made the point that the Legion was the one organisation he knew where disagreement at a meeting was immediately followed by the utmost friendliness.

The inter-Group Quiz between Yeoville and Central Groups was a lot of fun. Henry and Mackie Pereira and Max Schlachter were the stars of their teams. Of course, the Central Group team won — though only by a couple of points.

THREE-IN-ONE.

Ex-Senator H. Basner was the speaker at the June Three-in-One. His analysis of the Report of the Witzieshoek Inquiry Commission was most revealing. The pathetic attempts of the Board to provide practical solutions to the difficulties was to be expected, but we were startled to hear that the Commissioners, including Dr. Ross, had in effect advocated the immediate rejection of Apartheid. Mr. Basner pointed to the possibility of a split developing amongst the Nationalists on the practicability of this policy.

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THE TORCH COMMANDO

(Continued from page 12.)

the past and with a steadfast opposition to anything that savours of the hated Nazism. "Sailor" Malan symbolised the fighting idealism of the younger war veterans. "Sailor" is a South African indignant and ashamed of what the Nationalists are doing to his country. He hates anything fascistic, anything that takes away the rightful freedoms of the people. He is fighting for the same aims as he fought for in the war. These were our leaders. We are confident that they are going to lead us towards the realisation of all ex-volunteers' ideal — a democratic South Africa.



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FILM REVIEW*Intruder in the Dust*

OUR film reviewer this month was profoundly impressed by the film showing at the "Victory" bioscope in Johannesburg, "Intruder in the Dust". In fact he so passionately wants you to see this film that he has not trusted to his own ability to persuade you, but offers you below the excellent critique given by an overseas reviewer in the film magazine, "Sequence". We make our acknowledgements to the critic and the magazine.

THE LYNCHING THEME

Hollywood's approach to the negro problem has been characterised by a well meaning liberalism which has obscured the tendency of the films to play false in treatment of character and plot. *Intruder in the Dust* (Clarence Brown for M.-G.-M.) is the exception; a film in which the colour question provides the background, rather than the *raison d'être*.

It is a story of character rather than of dramatised symbols, and its appeal is rather for understanding of a society than for indiscriminate toleration. This quality is not surprising, since the film is an unusually faithful adaptation of William Faulkner's novel: much of the dialogue is identical, while the director, Clarence Brown, has caught the peculiar atmosphere of a Faulkner novel — exciting, poetic,

straining for effect. Parts of the film were shot in Faulkner's home town — Oxford, Missouri — which explains the sense of place and atmosphere.

The scene is a small town awaiting a lynching. An elderly negro, hated by black and white alike for his pride, his stubborn refusal to "behave like a nigger", has been found standing gun in hand over a white man's body. It is Sunday; he is safe in jail until midnight, and meanwhile the crowd gathers, cheerful, ice cream sucking, as if for a football match. The negro (played magnificently by Juano Hernandez) is too proud to help himself, but a reluctant, frightened boy, a terrified young negro, and an indomitable old woman set out to clear him. They act not for his sake, but to absolve their own consciences.

This is the point made explicitly by Faulkner, and only implicitly in the film: that this is a problem for the conscience of the South, which must find its own way to toleration — there is no negro problem only a white one.

The detective story plot is exciting rather than moving, and the film is directed with a deliberation, a care for the individual shot, for the grouping of figures within the screen, which gives it a somewhat remote quality. The full horror of the lynching crowd, for instance, is hardly caught by the camera's impressive progress.

But this is a dignified, restrained, very impressive film which gains strength from its fidelity to the novel; when it deserts the original (as in some appeals for tolerance by the lawyer, woodenly played by David Brian) it sinks momentarily to the level of the ordinary "problem picture." A.P.H.

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