

EUROPE



THE BERLIN CRISIS



Only 10 per cent. of refugees are 'political',

Says *New Statesman* Correspondent

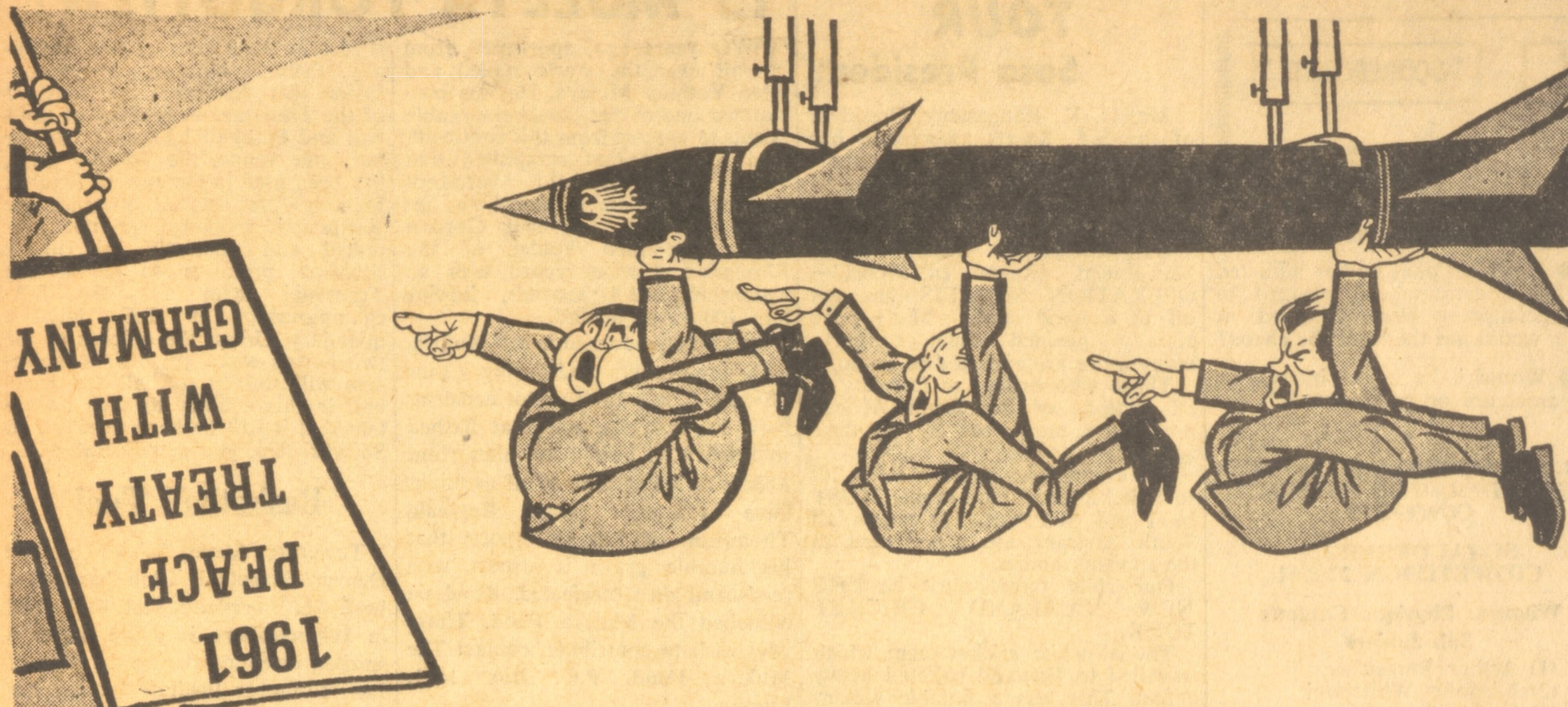
● The population flow from East Germany to West Germany has been going on for a century and even if East Germany had not had a communist government as many people would have left the East for the West as have done since the war.

● Only about 10% of the people who have left East Germany for West Germany should be classified as "political refugees."

These are two of the points made by John Mander in the London *New Statesman* recently. In this and other articles Mander has made it clear that he is by no means sympathetic to the East German regime. On the contrary, in many respects he is extremely hostile.

"For a century the population of Eastern Germany (except Berlin) has been declining," he writes, "and that of West Germany has been on the increase. It has been calculated that the transfer of population from East to West, if no Communist regime had existed, would have approximated to the refugee average (bearing in mind that although the East has industrialised since the war, the West has industrialised much faster) . . .

"For about 80%, then, of the cheerful, rain-coated crowds at Marienfelde (the reception centre for the Berlin refugees) was no more than a Labour Exchange. But for some 20% it was always more than that . . . Motives were oddly mixed. There were the psychological cases, the girl-runaway-from-home, the pathological grouser, the boy-from-Leipzig-who-got-his-girl-into-trouble, the square peg, the misfit. Perhaps 10% were 'political' refugees; and here the interviewers had their own categories."



(Cartoon by Leo Haus) Brandt, Adenauer, Strauss: "How does it look to us? Like a declaration of war?"

Not all the Western newspapers have fallen for the Adenauer-Kennedy ballyhoo and hysteria on Berlin.

VOICES OF REASON

An increasing number of responsible newspapers and magazines have spoken up recently for reason in the treatment of the German problem, and in particular the question of West Berlin. Here are extracts from some of these voices of reason: *New Age* does not identify itself with all the opinions expressed:

'The Observer,' London

"First, it may be worth while recalling that the principle of negotiation over Berlin is not in dispute. Secondly, a closer examination of the proposals already made may show that, at this stage at least, what is required from the West is not so much greater courage as clearer political thinking . . .

"Both sides obviously have little expectation of a complete all-German settlement. Any negotiation would be likely to narrow down to the status of Berlin. But there are two aspects of an all-German settlement which could provide an element in negotiations. They might be used to produce, so to speak, an interim peace treaty for Germany within which the present status of West Berlin might be strengthened. These two elements are Germany's frontiers and her military status.

"But in what way could West Berlin's present status be improved? If Mr. Khrushchov's purpose is to weaken the Western position in Berlin, why should he make an agreement, which would strengthen it?

"There is, however, less incompatibility of purpose here if one assumes that Mr. Khrushchov's aim is primarily to stabilise his own position in Eastern Germany. The expulsion of the West from Berlin is not the **only** way to achieve this, though it would undoubtedly help him. There is not an **inevitable** clash between some improvement of the Western position in Berlin and some strengthening of Eastern Germany's position—unless it is assumed that the Western aim in West Berlin is not merely to protect the freedom of its citizens but also to weaken the position of the East German regime.

"Let us then assume that the essential Western aim in West Berlin is to preserve the freedom and independence of its people . . .

"This analysis suggests that a possible bargain for the West might, for example, combine the following points:—

"1) An interim peace settlement for the whole of Germany, defining her frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse line, and placing a ceiling on her armaments. This agreement would, if necessary, be made separately with Western and Eastern Germany. German internal relations would be preserved and the Western Powers would not formally recognise Eastern Germany. Each German state would remain in its respective military alliance but a Central European zone of limited arms under control and inspection would be established.

"2) An interim settlement for Berlin pending the conclusion of a full German peace treaty. Allied occupation rights would be incorporated in a new international agreement, to which Eastern Germany and the Soviet Union would adhere, guaranteeing access rights for both civilian and military traffic to and from West Berlin . . .

'Today,' London

"(The West Berliners) cannot blame us for the dilemma in which they find themselves. After all, the Germans started the war which caused all the trouble . . .

"It is possible that our leaders hold a trump card in their hand, although they show no signs of understanding how to play it . . .

"Our trump card is East Germany. Ever since the German Democratic Republic was established in October, 1949, the Western Powers have made an earnest but rather stupid pretence that it does not exist. They have done this because the West German Government, in return for providing NATO with fourteen German divisions . . . have forced the Western Allies to agree in theory to the reunification of Germany . . . It is dishonest for Western politi-

cians to appease Dr. Adenauer by prattling about free elections which can never take place. But if the Western Powers were to offer to recognise the German Democratic Republic, which has now existed, whether we like it or not, for twelve years, they might in return get equally large concessions from Russia . . .

"It is on this basis that the West should show a readiness to negotiate with every likelihood that Khrushchov would be ready to give a quid pro quo."

(From an article entitled "Would YOU Die for West Berlin?" by Ewan Butler in "Today", Britain's largest illustrated, on July 29th)

'New York Times'

The western allies should be ready to negotiate on the Berlin question, C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the influential "New York Times" suggested on June 21. In a study of the German problem he stated:

Thanks to faulty planning, the West allowed itself to be put in an isolated position at Berlin and also allowed itself to develop this isolated position into a symbol of determination everywhere. There is little point complaining about this now; we are stuck with it.

"And because we are stuck with it we are pushed to defending a status quo which has no sensible status. The fact of the matter is that we don't want a partitioned Berlin any more than we want a partitioned Germany. But Russia blatantly opposes German reunification and both France and England are privately acquiescent.

"Thus we have staked everything on a German unification which some of our partners don't really want and which we can't have anyway until it suits Russia's book. And we have made numerous contingency plans except for the obvious contingency that when Khrushchov moves he will move with painstaking care, insuring that

no valid *casus belli* is presented.

"We should therefore do two things swiftly. The first is to draw up a negotiating position covering not only Berlin but all aspects of Germany and obtain agreement on this from our partners. The second is then to take the initiative in starting negotiations at a time of our own choosing . . .

"And we must shed the idea that no negotiation is possible, and that the status quo must be kept exactly as it is. There is never such a thing as a permanently desirable status quo and it is impossible to maintain one indefinitely in Europe when none of the rest of the world is static."

Walter Lippmann

Walter Lippmann, respected American publicist, had this to say about the West Berlin problem in the "New York Herald Tribune" of June 29th:

"It would be a wiser policy, it seems to me, to recognise the fact that for the indefinite future the two Germanys will not reunite, and to insist as a matter of positive Western policy, not as a shamefaced concession to the Soviets, our new guarantees to meet this new situation, guarantees under which West Berlin can live confidently and in freedom until the day, now so remote, when it will again be the capital of Germany.

"I am convinced that the failure by the President to take such a line will mean that he has surrendered the initiative in German affairs to Khrushchov. If there is nothing he wants to do in Germany except to do nothing, the President will have lost the power to direct and control the struggle . . ."

'The Nation,' New York

"The prestige of the West, it is often said, is at stake, and there is truth in the contention. But the West will not gain prestige by clinging blindly to outworn dogmas, such as non-recognition of the East German Government."

(Geoffrey Barracolough in "The Nation", July 15th)

SOMETHING TO REMEMBER

On March 10, 1952, the USSR formally proposed to the Big Three Western powers the establishment of an all-German government to be chosen in elections supervised by the Four Powers.

The State Department dismissed the note as containing "nothing new." As a matter of fact, it was something new and the reason for dismissing it was not its lack of novelty.

The real reason was suggested by Russell Hill, New York Times correspondent, in a dispatch from Berlin (March 23, 1952):

"The United States does not want free elections in Germany now because that would upset the apple cart. The apples are the Schuman plan and the European army, including 12 German divisions . . ."



Wall Street Journal "This should make our present ultimate weapon obsolete."

MORE SOCCER TUSSLES

THE important soccer conference in July went a long way towards solving some of our soccer problems, especially in the relations between amateur and pro. soccerites, but many more remain. The important thing, as we said before, is NOT TO ALLOW ANY FRICTION TO BE SET UP AT THIS STAGE.

The most important decision in July was to end racialism in the soccer set-up, with May 1962 as the deadline for ending ALL bodies with racial tags—even if they already practise full integration.

It is therefore incorrect to say the Soccer Federation is allowing racialism to continue until May 1962.

The Durban INDIAN Football Association has just refused to join the Natal body because of the foregoing argument. But perhaps DIFA should remove its own racial tag?

SAM CHINA TOURNAMENT

Another squabble is about the Sam China Tournament due in Johannesburg next month. It is alleged that this will be racial and should be scrapped.

Readers are invited to comment; perhaps they would like to answer these questions:

● Since the teams taking part will be drawn from all racial groups (this is an instruction from SAFA), is it true that this must be regarded as an all-Indian Tournament?

● If this tournament is removed, what incentive will there be for amateur players at this stage which the administrators must provide?

SCOREBOARD

by RECORDER

● If all national bodies affiliated to the Federation—all pledged to non-racialism—were scrapped at once, would not the result be chaos?

● Would it be in the interest of the amateurs or professionals?

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- (3) Martin Sampies

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- (1) Joyce Saptoo
- (2) Elizabeth Botha
- (3) Sandra Kramer
- (4) Rita Jones

BOYCOTT NEW ZEALAND TOUR

Sasa President

Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, President of the S.A. Sports association has called on the public not to support the forthcoming New Zealand cricket tour of South Africa. He said:

Our campaign "Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport"—OPERATION SONREIS—has got off to a good start. Many have already pledged their support; many more are expected to do so.

Those who believe in fairplay, in all sections of the South African population, must show this by their actions.

All events with touring sides, all so-called international events MUST NOT BE SUPPORTED unless all South Africans are represented in the sporting bodies.

Our chief target must be THE NEW ZEALAND CRICKET TOUR.

The all-white cricket team which travelled to England suffered heavy defeat. This was a notable victory for SASA. We made the British people aware there was no fairplay in the selection of the team. So they stayed away in their thousands.

Now we must expose the unfairness of the New Zealand tour. The people of New Zealand have partly learnt their lesson through the all-white All Blacks. Now they must fully learn the lesson that the majority of South Africans believe in fairplay for all.

All the matches of this tour must not be supported. Counter-attractions must be organised. Our cricket bodies have an important part to play. We expect them, and all other sportsmen to give full support to OPERATION SONREIS.

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Sports Comment

IS MULEYA FORGOTTEN?

TWO years ago, sportsmen from all over the world hailed and feted Yotham Muleya. He was proclaimed one of the most remarkable talents to emerge from this continent. And the feat that catapulted that dapper 18 year-old bare-foot Rhodesian athlete to fame was indeed a record. He beat Gordon Perry, the then holder of the Rhodesian 3 mile record with an astonishing 11.4 seconds, leaving him 100 yards behind.

Sportsmen mourned when Muleya, with three others died during a tour of the U.S. in a fatal motor accident. Now Muleya, the star that flashed so brightly is buried 80 miles from Mdukaka Village. Many of us might have forgotten him. Reginald Thompson of Lusaka reports that his humble grave is strewn with reeds and dust, neglected. Rhodesia launched the Muleya Fund. Those who wish to contribute, contact The Muleya Fund, P.O. Box 1421, Lusaka.

Whilst Boxing, soccer, cricket and other sport have been making great

strides in the Transvaal and nationally, there is still an absurd confusion that dominates the activity? of the Transvaal Federation of Softball and Baseball Union . . . So far only one venue, the Western Oval, has been used in the current fixtures. Meetings are delayed, matches are postponed, trophies are not presented and generally this messy situation promises to throw the Transvaal team for the S.A. championships in P.E. into a quandary. Unless the officials of the two bodies wake up, their sluggishness will stultify softball and baseball in this country to such an extent that it will be hard to revive it. So wake Up, you administrators.

Basketball Too!

Towering Steve Sejake of the Denver Basketball Club has got a beef. He complains that Basketball in Johannesburg is dying. After a spirited reception during the days of Jan Hofmeyer Institute interest has been fading. And why? The same answer, atrocious organisation, lax officials and no control!

HOW SWALLOWS TROUNCED ATHLETIC

DURBAN.

Moroka-Swallows, the "kings" of South African soccer returned home to Johannesburg, retaining their crown comfortably after they had trounced Durban's Avalon Athletic to the tune of 7-1 in the second round of the R2,000 professional League Cup competition at Currie's Fountain Stadium last week.

From the first to the last whistle, Athletic were unable to cope with the fast Swallows, who continuously had the losing side's 'keeper Denzil Easthorpe busy.

Athletic were let down once again by their forwards.

Swallows opened the score in the fifth minute with a well-timed drive from their left-wing, W. Ngobese.

The next twenty minutes saw Athletic put up a fight—and that was the only time they did make

some very impressive raids. Their centre-forward 'Remember' Bophela missed many opportunities, and Swallows defence in 'Arrah' Gumede (right-back) and S. Radabe held the fort.

In the thirtieth minute, Swallows centre-forward Penwell Mabaso increased the lead to 2-0.

Hereafter it was Swallows match all the way. Their inner-left, Difference Mbanya, netted the third goal (3-0), and this was further increased through two more goals coming from Penwell and S. Ngwenya. (5-0).

Half-time: M. Swallows 5, A. Athletic 0.

The second half saw Swallows make 'rings' around the Athletic defence. But, Athletic defenders helped by some forwards built an iron wall around 'keeper Denzil Easthorpe and Swallows failed to break through.

COULD NOT HOLD

Athletic could not hold for long, for midway through this half, Difference coolly dribbled past three defenders to register the sixth goal (6-0).

Playing the best game for his side, Kenneth Gama (Athletic inner-left), scored his side's solitary reply from a melle (6-1).

Ten minutes before the final whistle, Penwell scored the last goal for the winning side. (7-1).

OTHER MATCHES

In a local amateur league cup competition, Aces beat their closest rivals, Warwickshire 4-1.

Blackpool of Johannesburg will meet Durban's Aces United in the second round for the League competition at Currie's Fountain Stadium this Sunday.

Aces have beaten Blackpool twice—will it be third time lucky for Blackpool?

Unless otherwise stated, F. Carneson of 6 Barrack St., Cape Town, is responsible for all political matter in this issue. Johannesburg news by R. First and J. Gqabi, 7 Mercantile House, 155 President St. Durban news by M. P. Naicker, 602 Lodson House, 118 Grey St. Port Elizabeth news by Govan Mbeki, 20 Court Chambers, 129 Adderley St. Cape Town news by A. la Guma, 6 Barrack St.

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United Tobacco Company R2,000 League Competition—2nd Round

BLACKPOOL vs ACES UNITED



CURRIES FOUNTAIN

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