

"RUSSIAN" LEADER SAYS POLICE BACKED HIS GANG

Startling Allegations At "Unity" Meeting

JOHANNESBURG.
THE allegation that police were protecting the "Russian" gangsters in the Reef townships was made by one of the "Russian" leaders at a mammoth meeting held by the African National Congress in the "Russian" zone of Newclare last Sunday.

The "Russian" leader, who was the star speaker, revealed that the police had urged them to attack the people in North Newclare.

Speaking in Sesuto, translated into Zulu and English, he told how a certain constable had approached one of his men and expressed misgivings about their presence at a mass area meeting the week before.

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See "Evaton—What Is The Fighting All About?" by Ruth First—page 6.

WOMEN'S MIGHTY PROTEST AGAINST PASSES

THEY SIGNED THE LETTER TO STRIJDOM



Helen Joseph, secretary of the Federation of South African Women (Transvaal), and Elizabeth Motleng, secretary of the African National Congress Women's League, signed the letter asking Strijdom to meet their deputation.

All Eyes On Pretoria Today

JOHANNESBURG.
ONCE again this has been the week of the women of South Africa, as in every city and township the anti-pass protest to Strijdom in Pretoria got under way.

At the time of going to Press, all signs were that this week's protest would be far larger than last time—provided there was no interference from the police, who last year spared no effort to smash the demonstration but were still outwitted by the women.

Twenty-odd spirited local protests to Native Commissioners, the prosecution of the women of Winburg who burnt their pass books (the first ever issued to women), the daily miseries inflicted by the raids and pass searches—all this has stimulated the militancy of the women and they want to show the country and the world in no uncertain fashion that **THEY DO NOT WANT PASSES.**

- Women members of the Liberal Party decided they would go to Pretoria with the protest.
- Mr. L. Lee-Warden, M.P., Labour members of Parliament Father Martin Jarret-Kerr and

Women from Winburg, the first area to have women's pass books inflicted on it, sent their spokesmen to Pretoria.

Mrs. Luthali was expected, with her a group of women from Stanger, where her husband has been exiled for over two years.

The Congress colours of green, gold and black, this week again dazzled the streets of Pretoria, and interspersed between the national dress were the uniforms of the women's Church movements.

LEADERS

The leaders of the deputation, representing all sections of the community were: Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, Mrs. Rahima Moosa, Miss Sophie Williams, Mrs. Helen Joseph.

They were joined by: Mrs. Frances Beard of Port Elizabeth, Mrs. Lily Dieckhofs of Port Elizabeth, Miss Florence Mkieze of Durban, Mrs. Anna Mooketsi of Pretoria, Mrs. M. Jinothakwana of the Free State, Mrs. Katie White and Mrs. Louisa Kellerman from Cape Town.

In Pretoria itself the preparations have been perhaps among the most

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"DROP THE WHOLE INQUIRY," NON-EUROPEANS TELL GROUP AREAS COMMITTEE

(From Naomi Shapiro)

CAPE TOWN.
OUR general position is that we hope to make the Committee realise the whole thing should be dropped and the position left as it is," Mr. A. H. Broeksma, Q.C., told the chairman, Dr. J. F. van Rensburg, last Thursday, at the opening of the Group Areas inquiry into the zoning of the southern suburbs of the Cape Peninsula.

Mr. Broeksma is appearing for the Group Areas Co-ordinating Committee, which represents 24 organisations, two Malay organisations and the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association.

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areas concerned, the value of properties, etc.

FANTASTIC
"We are entitled to have statistical information and then we shall try to show the fantastic inanity of this type of legislation because it is based on purely ideological and theoretical approaches without any relation to our life in the Peninsula."

Giving a ruling on which organisations and individuals the Board will hear, Dr. van Rensburg said no one could demand as a right to be heard. It was left to the discretion of the Board.

"We received many representations (and this applies to your clients, Mr. Broeksma), roneoed, duplicated, in which people say they are in principle against the Group Areas Act. But this committee is not here to defend the Act or attack it. We are here to apply the Act to the best of our ability. Objections of principle are irrelevant."

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Strijdom Backs Down

JOHANNESBURG.
Three days before the women's protest, Prime Minister Strijdom wrote to the Federation that it was "not possible" for him to meet them. Echoing Verwoerd's voice last year, he said it was not correct to state that the pass system had been extended to Bantu women.

The women would nevertheless be at the Union Buildings, replied the Federation.

"Thousands of women were making great personal sacrifices to undertake the journey to Pretoria. The women cannot accept the claim that the pass system has not been extended to them."

(See "The Petition The Women Sent To Strijdom"—page 3.)

other prominent figures had agreed to be present as observers.

● A call went out to the Black Sash women to take part, but they replied in so many words that they are too busy! They added that their constitution does not permit them to join with other bodies.

By Monday of this week the first protesters were arriving in Johannesburg.

INTER-RACIAL
More even than last year, this was an inter-racial protest and contingents of protesters composed of the foremost fighters for women's rights among the African, Indian, Coloured and European communities were to take part.

Garment Leaders Join With Nat. Opposition

JOHANNESBURG.
Last week saw the formation of an all-white garment workers' union in which the plums of office were shared out between the old union's officials and the Nationalist-controlled Germiston branch which for years has tried to capture the union for the Nats.

The new union is to be known as the Garment Trade Union of European Employees (S.A.).

A few months ago the Garment Workers' Union justified the splitting of the union into racial groups on the grounds that if they did not "get in first" to register an all-white union in terms of the new I.C. Act, the Nat. anti-trade union elements would create a split and capture the union.

Now the union has done a deal with these same elements!

Several weeks of closed-door discussions (Continued on page 3)

JO'BURG GROUP AREAS PROCLAIMED

TIC CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS NATS' CRUELLEST BLOW

JOHANNESBURG.

The Group Areas Act axe has fallen on thousands of Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Chinese in this city's western areas. The first major proclamation of group areas gives these communities one year, and in some cases two, to quit their homes and businesses and move into their own group areas. Taken with the removal scheme of the Resettlement Board (and this and the group areas proclamation supplement one another in this so-called "clearing" of Johannesburg's western areas), this is the most gigantic and the cruellest proofof yet ordered by the Nationalists.

Board with the details of their properties. A basic value will then be placed on the properties by a valuator, and if the properties are sold for more than this fixed basic value, the Board is to be paid 50 per cent of the extra amount. So the people's money is to be used to finance the Group Areas Development Board.

T.I.C. CONFERENCE

The proclamation of group areas in Johannesburg has brought a pressing urgency to the allied conference on the Act called for August 25 and 26 by the Transvaal Indian Congress.

There is no future in ghettos, says the TIC's conference call.

The approach of the Transvaal Indian Organisation: "We will accept residential group areas, only do not disturb our trading rights" is a "terrible mistake." Residential segregation is the first step towards complete apartheid, warns the Congress. It will be followed by the loss of trading rights. Isolated, divided and trapped by their collaboration, the Indian people will face ruin.

The conference is open to all, its organisers stress. It will take place in the Gandhi Hall, 50 Fox Street.



Two of the Cape Town women who will be in Pretoria today to see Strijdom. Mrs. Katie White (left) a delegate from the Federation of S.A. Women, and Mrs. Louisa Kellerman, Food and Canning Workers' Union representative.

WOMEN'S MIGHTY PROTEST

(Continued from page 1)

feverish, for the protest is practically on the doorstep and thousands planned to join it.

Lady Selborne, under sentence of death under the Group Areas Act, has thrown open its doors to women from all over the country and offered to accommodate all-comers.

GARMENT LEADERS' MOVE

(Continued from page 1)

ussions between Johanna Cornelius and Charl Meyer, leader of the Germiston group, preceded the final banquet-cum-meeting in the Germiston City Hall last week which sealed the new contract. The top leaders of both groups sat at the main table, and after a lot of self-congratulation on the contribution and the rights of "white" workers in the clothing industry, the new executive posts were handed out on the basis: "One for us—One for You."

OFFICIALS

So the president of the union is Anna Scheepers, the general secretary Johanna Cornelius, the senior vice-president Charl Meyer, the junior vice-president Mike van den Bergh, the treasurer Sophie Joubert, the assistant treasurer M. McNaughton—and the pattern is repeated right through the new executive.

A memorandum adopted during these discussions for the merger says White workers will deliberate and work with Non-White workers in the industry in "exceptional and unavoidable" circumstances, where labour matters have to be dealt with.

To cap it all, Coloured shop stewards were received in conference with a proposal by officials of the Garment Workers' Union (just before merger) that the Coloureds should withdraw their application for the registration of a non-White union and retain a mixed union (with those White workers who would belong to a mixed union). The effect would have been to have a predominantly Coloured union dominated by an all-White executive.

The proposal was thrown out unanimously by the Coloured union.

A few months ago Moses Kotte warned, in an article in New Age, that any compromise with apartheid in the Garment Workers' Union would end with the capture of the all-White union by the Nationalists. The way to this now stands wide open.

Women from the Reef, other provinces, even the coastal towns arranged to reach Lady Selborne by the night before the protest, and so the township was being turned into a vast reception camp.

MEN TAKE OVER AT HOME

As the last days of the protest drew near men took over from the ladies to stir the pots, turned nannies to the children, and pushed their women off to join the protest. For the thousands who planned to invade Pretoria are demanding that Strijdom repeal all pass laws, not only withdraw passes for women. In their own dramatic fashion the women are striking hard blows, that section of the Freedom Charter which demands the freedom of movement and an end of all pass and permit restrictions.

Cape Town

A record crowd of women is expected to demonstrate against passes at the Native Commissioner's office at 265 Victoria Road, Salt River today, Thursday, August 9.

The women will assemble from 12 noon to hand over their petitions of protest.

"The spirit of the women is high," an organiser told New Age. "Everywhere the women are talking about the coming protest—in the buses, on street corners. They are fed up with the way they are continually being hounded under Section 10 and want to register their protest in no uncertain terms."

Millions of pounds invested by Non-Europeans in their homes and businesses in the Western Areas are involved.

Indians are given one year only to move to Lenasia, the first Indian group areas proclaimed. A portion of the farm Rietfontein is also to be Indian.

These are the main group areas declared:

All Non-White occupants of "buffer strips" on either side of Sophiatown must move within a year. The area east of Good Street and west of Best Street is for exclusive White ownership within the 12 months. The rest of Sophiatown is also later to be White. Coloureds and Indians will have to quit Westdene, part of Newlands, Newlands Extension and Greyson. Vrededorp south of 22nd Street is to be a White area within a year. The rest of Vrededorp is also to become White eventually.

Areas proclaimed Coloured are Coronation, New Montello and Newclare.

Albertsville, today almost exclusively Coloured, is to be proclaimed White. No time-limit is given.

The Group Areas Development Act also now comes into operation. All properties in the areas proclaimed are to be listed by the Board and property owners or bond holders are required, within 30 days of the proclamation, to furnish the

Becky Lan Ordered To Resign

Swart Strikes Another Blow At Canning Union

CAPE TOWN—Miss Becky Lan, ex-general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, was last week served with a banning notice under the Suppression of Communism Act ordering her to resign from the union within 30 days.

She is also ordered not to become a member of, or take part in the activities of, any union registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act or any other union.

"This brutal interference in our union's affairs is the latest of a long line of repressive acts carried out by the Nat. Government," declares a statement issued by the union's national executive committee on Monday.

Union leaders already banned are Ray Alexander, founder and first general secretary; Frank Marquard, former president and branch secretary; S. V. Reddy, G. Coe and S. Wentzel. Miss Lan had previously been prohibited from attending gatherings, as had also Mr. O. Mpeha, general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union.

"This vicious attack upon our union is an attempt by the Nationalist Government to destroy our organisation and deprive the thousands of food workers from the protection the union has given them since its inception in 1941," the n.a.c. statement continues.

"Not a single boss' leader has been banned. It is the workers' leaders who are banned and persecuted.

"Our union condemns this vicious attack upon us. We record our full confidence in our banned leaders and pledge that we shall not rest until we have them with us.

"We call upon the trade union movement to demand the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act and all other anti-trade union laws."

THIS IS THE PETITION THAT THE WOMEN TOOK TO STRIJDOM

WE, the women of South Africa have come here today. We represent and we speak on behalf of hundreds of thousands of women who could not be with us. But all over the country, at this moment, women are watching and thinking of us. Their hearts are with us.

We are women from every part of South Africa. We are women of every race, we come from the cities and the towns, from the reserves and the villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the African women from the degradation of passes.

For hundreds of years the African people have suffered under the most bitter law of all—the pass law which has brought untold suffering to every African family. Raids, arrests, loss of pay, long hours at the pass office, weeks in the cells awaiting trial, forced

farm labour—this is what the pass laws have brought to African men. Punishment and misery—not for a crime but for the lack of a pass.

We African women know too well the effect of this law upon our homes, our children.

Your Government proclaims aloud at home and abroad that the pass laws have been abolished but we women know that this is not true to our husbands, our brothers, our sons are still being arrested, thousands every day, under those very pass laws. It is only the name which has changed. The reference book and the pass are one.

We want to tell you what the pass would mean to an African woman and we want you to know that whether you call it a reference book, an identity book, or

by any other disguising name, to us it is a PASS. And it means to us just this—

- That homes will be broken up when women are arrested under pass laws.
- That children will be left uncared for, helpless, and mothers will be torn from their babies for failure to produce a pass.
- That women and young girls will be exposed to humiliation and degradation at the hands of pass searching policemen.
- That women will lose their right to move about freely. In the name of women of South

Africa we say to you, each one of us African—European, Indian, Coloured, that we are opposed to the pass system.

We, voters and voteless, call upon your Government not to issue passes to African women.

We shall not rest until the pass laws and all forms of permits restricting our freedom have been abolished.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights of freedom, justice and security.

Lilian Ngoyi, National President African National Congress Women's League; Helen Joseph, Hon. Secretary Federation of S.A. Women (Transvaal); Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams, Executive Committee Members.

EVATON — WHAT IS THE FIGHTING ALL ABOUT?

By RUTH FIRST

JOHANNESBURG.

EVATON Township, where a bus boycott that raged for just over a year has developed into a bitter struggle between those who stood firm on the boycott and those who scabbed on it, has become the latest flaming battleground of the dreaded "Russian" gangs.

At present there is an uneasy truce between ugly outbursts of violence but there is no knowing when the next attacks will come upon the township. Thousands have left their homes and settled with friends in other townships to escape the attacks. When the eerie whistle-blowing of the attacking gangs is heard, women grab their children in their arms and run for the safety of the veld, where they huddle under the skirts till danger is over.

What started as a bus boycott who became a little war and all who live in Evaton are in the front line.

Like The Huns

The most recent outburst saw four nights of intense fighting as the army of "Russians" raged over the township attacking homes, looting, plundering, and brandishing their weapons.

"Russian" gang on the offensive goes at it like a contingent of invading Huns. I saw the house of boycott chairman Make after the attack on it. Every single solitary pane of glass in the windows was shattered; the furniture (what was left of it) was overturned and wrecked; the cupboards stood empty; blankets and clothes, had been looted; there was blood on the walls and the floor; the family's dead dog lay where it had been shot; an old woman in the house, slow to escape from the attackers, was beaten about the head; a little girl, only eight years old, standing nearby was kidnapped and carried from the house. (She got away later.)

Attempts were made to set other houses alight. On one night alone eight houses were attacked. That was about six weeks ago.

Just under a fortnight ago panic drove the township on to the veld again as battalions of "Russians," heavily armed, crossed by the spruit dividing the township proper from the small farms (where most of the "Russians" are concentrated). Red Cross kitchens moved in to feed the refugees sleeping in dugouts and against the shelter of bushes.

The "Russians" gangs are holding Evaton up to ransom.

What is Behind It?

What is behind the dreaded gangs Evaton needs to know. So does Benoni, where the black-and-white-blanketed, most vicious gangs of all are centred. For years Newclare was torn apart by the battles they kept going. Last week blood was spilled in Alexandra Township in a clash involving "Russians."

They're not a new feature of crime and violence on the Reef but they are becoming ever more dangerous.

Above all the attitude of the police and the authorities to the "Russians" needs a new kind of explaining, as much in Evaton today as during the years of fighting in Southern Newclare.

This week the Bishop Johannesburg called for a judicial inquiry into the unrest in the township, but the people of Evaton are asking if the police do not act against the "Russians?" What is the policy behind the "Russians" tactics towards the "Russians?"



These two "Russians" were photographed at the time of the Newclare clashes in 1952. The "Russians" are still the terror of the townships.

Why have no prosecutions followed the attacks on Evaton homes, the looting and stealing and the assaults? The boycotters claim repeated charges and complaints have been laid at the charge office but there the matter has ended.

The boycotters also allege that on occasions when residents have laid charges of assault, police have asked them if they were boycotters. If they replied that they did support the boycott they were told "Go and report to Make and Molefe" (the boycott chairman and secretary).

Of the prosecutions in a year of boycott the majority have been of boycott supporters.

There has not been a single arrest or prosecution following the attack six weeks ago on the eight houses in Evaton. (This week some charges of extortion and robbery were laid, but they are believed to arise from the "Russians" protection racket.) Long statements were taken but they seem to have disappeared into police archives, the people say.

No Action Taken

Above all, no serious attempt has been made to disarm the "Russians." Even in the day-time they prance about Evaton in full war regalia; brandishing the dreaded "Kwa-kwa" (the typical "Russian" battle-axe), lengths of piping covered with insulation tape; sticks threaded with lead.

On the offensive they're a fearful sight and sound, as weapons are rattled to the heavens and the ominous and very typical whistle-blowing of the "Russians" scatters all within earshot.

Boycotters told New Age that in the last fierce attacks police cars were on the spot throughout, but no attempt was made to turn back the "Russians." Foot patrols of khaki-clad police carrying rifles, stun guns and side arms have been used to line the spruit

at the point where the "Russians" cross over into Evaton but apart from one bout of fire on a Sunday night group of attackers, the police took no other action.

The days of Newclare clashes are recalled. When the Civic Guard movement there challenged armed "Russians" and the residents rose against the protection racket which is another feature of "Russian" gang organisation, open fighting broke out. It raged for months, with the police in the thick of it . . . and yet they took no effective action against it. Calls for the disarming of the gang-warriors were ignored. Plans for the deportation of the "Russian" leaders back to Basutoland were brushed aside.

Egged Them On

In Evaton, a leading boycotter says one police constable egged the boycotters on to fight the "Russians." "Here they are, he is reported to have said. "Why don't you fight?"

At the beginning of last week a special police conference between the "Russian" and boycott leaders was called. Significantly three of the five police officers present were of the Special Branch, among them Major Spengler, head of the Witwatersrand Special Branch.

Not even since the conference has there been any effort to disarm the gangsters who are terrorising the area.

Police policy seems to be to let the trouble run on. Their attitude seems to imply that they believe the boycotters are the "agitators" behind the trouble. Rumours are current in some circles that some

unarmed groups outside Evaton are supplying money for the boycott struggle.

Is the ground being prepared for some new "agitator scare story?" Could that be a reason why the police have their hands in the work in Evaton? Have some prompt action by them could bring an end to the armed attacks?

No Mixed Audiences For Joburg Festival

JOHANNESBURG.

After being invited by the official published programme, to book for a number of Johannesburg Festival performances as part of segregated, but mixed audiences in the University Great Hall could hear Yehudi Menuhin, Pierre Fournier, Andres Segovia, Mimi Coertse, Nan Merriman and Ann Russell; and the following day a statement from the deputy town Clerk said that mixed audiences would be forbidden by the Council.

Once again it was a case of a U.P. Council dancing to a Nat U.P. before it was even called. One of the articles in the programme for the most part expressed their keenness to perform before all sections of South Africans; and the members of the British Asiatics' Union are bound to ensure that they appear before all sections. Any further back-peddalling by the Council could have serious repercussions as far as some of these artists are concerned.

The Council is offering separate performances for Non-Europeans, and special shows like Township Jazz for them, but Non-Europeans are becoming increasingly embittered by the way the Council is handling this city's festival.

"DROP THE WHOLE INQUIRY"

(Continued from page 1)

Dr. van Rensburg said that "in the Transvaal we got similar things from the Indian Congress, and in one or two cases went to court." New legislation was subsequently passed and a "fair policy" had been adopted in the Transvaal, where it was decided to hear representations of individuals in a specific area, and not of organisations as such. The Indian Congress, therefore, was able to state its case by getting only one person living in the area concerned to appear before the Board. This could be done in Cape Town as well.

While the Group Areas Coordinating Committee, on which the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation is also represented, had to make special representations to obtain a hearing before the Committee, the Coloured People's Organisation (head, George Golding), was one of the organisations specially invited by the Board to appear before it.

MASS REMOVALS

The committee began its investigations with areas B 21, 22 and 23—the Observatory, Mowbray and Rosebank areas—(B stands for "black"—white) and Mr. G. Pelmer, appearing for two civic associations, proposed that the whole area be declared a white area. So did the Reverend J. M. Delport of the Dutch Reformed Church. Observatory, who said his church council wanted areas B 21 and 23 declared European group areas. When the Rev. Delport said that this would involve no "mass removal" of the Non-European peo-

ple, he was reminded by Mr. M. C. van Rensburg, who is the other member of the committee of inquiry, that there are 1,000 Coloured people living in the area.

Mr. R. Gous said that in 1933, when he came to live in Observatory, it was a predominantly European area. He estimated that about two-thirds of the Coloured people living there at present came after 1933.

Asked by Mr. Broekmans whether he did not think the Non-Europeans moved into the area because their work was close by and it was an economic necessity, Mr. Gous said: "The Non-Europeans penetrate (dring in) where the whites are."

Mr. Broekmans: "The Non-Europeans live there because it is near their work and it is necessitated by circumstances."

Mr. Gous: "It is necessitated by circumstances for both groups."

Mr. Broekmans: "Where will the Coloureds go when you want disintegration?"

Mr. Gous: "In die Vlakte—in the Flats" (laughter in the hall).

Mr. Broekmans: "Have you been there with the recent winter rains?"

Mr. Gous: "No."

Mr. Broekmans: "If we value each of the houses occupied by the Coloured people at £200, then £100,000 is involved. Who will give the owners compensation, if necessary?"

Mr. Gous: "I don't know."

Dr. van Rensburg (chairman): "About the compensation question, Mr. Gous does not know. Who will give the owners compensation and I have a very vague idea."

In answer to further questions by Mr. Broekmans, Mr. Gous said that the Europeans who lived in those parts of Observatory bordering on Salt River (where the majority of the people are Non-European) would be removed from that area. But he personally had no knowledge of any friction between Europeans and Non-Europeans there.

Mr. P. Brouwer, principal of the Nassau school, said his school was near the "Coloured part." "The Coloured adults have never made any trouble for the school, and as far as the neighbouring Coloured schools are concerned, there is not that kind of enmity which people may imagine."

Nevertheless, he advocated the demolition of some 132 houses, to form a "buffer" between the European and Non-European group areas.

Asked what was to become of the people to be moved, he said it was the "Government's picnic."

The inquiry is continuing.

New C.P. Recruit?

NEW YORK.

The Chief Justice of the United States, Judge Earl Warren, is "following the Communist Party line," U.S. Senators Joe McCarthy and James Eastland declared last week. Angered by U.S. Supreme Court decisions declaring apartheid in the Southern States of America to be illegal, the Senators claim that the Communist Party is "one Communist decision after another."

Two Western Journalists Write On

REACTIONS TO THE KRUSHCHEV REPORT IN U.S.S.R. & PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

THE revelations in Krushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party of what U.S. Communist secretary Eugene Dennis termed, in an article reprinted by Pravda, "the shocking crimes and gross violations of socialist law and ethics" which marked the twenty years before Stalin's death, have been placed fully before the people of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The facts have been bluntly put. Take the words of the Dennis article which appeared in Pravda:

"The crimes and brutalities that sullied the latter period of Stalin's leadership are unforgettable. Nor did they have any historical or political 'necessity.' Nothing can justify the use of tortures and rigged trials; large-scale deportations; provocative and chauvinist actions as in the case of Yugoslavia; the persecutions of Jewish doctors (Ukrainian and Russian doctors were also involved, says Pravda in a footnote) and snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures."

What has been the effect of these disclosures in the socialist countries?

Two independent journalists, Cedric Belfrage and John Freeman have just completed tours of these

countries and here are extracts from their reports.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, after setting out some of the injustices, comments:

"THERE has been endless discussion of how to prevent such horrors recurring; eyes turned at first backward now look ahead, and the predominant emotion is one of intense relief.

The feeling I get here is that the inhibited "Russian soul" reaction to such revelations is much harder to find in Russia than in Western countries.

It is one thing to have mentally accepted, as millions in the West did, that capitalism was prepared to act with total ruthlessness to defeat the socialist revolution; it is another to have been in the receiving end of the indescribable and incalculable savageries perpetrated here by capitalist powers in the past 40 years.

People are bound to think relatively, and to the Russians the revelations of the Stalin-era crimes against the innocent are grievous and horrible but of small dimensions compared with what they saw and experienced in the civil war and World War II years.

"Past Cannot Be Mended"

They see a process of action and reaction in all this bloodshed and

do not much care for being lectured by kindly Westerners, whose countries have been guilty of almost everything but have experienced almost nothing. The past cannot be mended and the question of establishing a regime of justice, peace and abundance for all humanity remains.

If one seeks to pin guilt one can consider the historic lack of civil liberties standards in Russia, or the activities of many "quiet Americans" in Washington; but most of all it must be seen in the context of the cold-war hysteria which has gripped both East and West.

Police power to act independently has already been stopped, and the Lubianka prison is empty, and a drastic overhaul is now being made of the penal system.

Windows Open

With windows now open to the world, the revolutionary Soviet government seems to be seriously studying for the first time what it should and must borrow from the West's basic guarantees against injustice, for which generations of Western progressives have fought.

In a later article Belfrage has to say:

"Khrushchev is popular in many circles but one often hears: 'He talks too much.'"

There are no longer any sacred cows. Few believe Stalin was as bad as he is now painted, and many still revere him—but of course with reservations. The hideous Stalin busts which littered Moscow have almost gone, but pictures of him remain all over town and one observes absolutely no reaction to them whatever.

It seems too early yet for a new outburst of rank-and-file initiative; but my impression from the extent of the new criticism is that it will soon be seen, and will surprise those who have nothing but the "Stalin equals socialism" theory to clinging to.

The situation is very fluid here because people think and talk of their state not as something that has been made, but something they are still making.

"It Means It"

When the Central Committee reminds the nation that "history is made by the people," it says it as if it meant it.

Khrushchev's ire was roused by a collective farmer, who told him he was "living fine" and then displayed the sort of house inhabited by the most wretched of Dixie sharecroppers. He told the farmer sharcroppers he was a disgrace so to kid himself. In asking the people to kick harder and more often, the leaders are, however, taking a calculated risk, as the Central Committee resolution makes clear.

The recent, quickly-squelched "uprising" in Poland where there has been a major purge of the police, was a reminder of Washington's \$100 million kitty for subversion in socialist countries to which another \$25 million were just added. The easing of entry and other restrictions on foreigners, among other drastic reforms already undertaken, makes the "quiet American" provocateurs feel enormously easier.

IN A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT IN THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION (JULY 21), THE BRITISH JOURNALIST JOHN FREEMAN HAS THIS TO SAY ON THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES:

WHEN I set out I was preoccupied with the task of inquiring about the political changes which were expressed by the 20th Congress. What were the nature of the changes? What were the forces behind them? Were they likely to be permanent? Before I had been very long in Poland, the first of the countries I visited, I found that these questions cannot be intelligently asked or intelligently answered without a thorough examination of the nature of a People's Democracy.

The western conception of the base on which recent policy changes have taken place is muddled and inadequate; and it is impossible to assess the changes without much closer examination of what is changing.

First Thing

The first thing to understand, then, is that a social revolution has taken place in the People's Democracies. The institutions of capitalism have been overthrow and no internal centres of power remain to organise a counter-revolution. The present régimes are in varying degrees unpopular and tyrannical; they may—and I hope they will—be compelled by pressure from below to modify their methods and policies.

But, short of war, the workers are going to struggle for freedom and a better life within the framework of their new system.

Nor, despite the cruelties which have been perpetrated, despite the disappointment at low living standards despite the "liberating" of leaders who have too often shown themselves more conscientious as Russian stooges than as Socialists, do I believe in the existence of a general will to change the system back to the capitalism or "capitalist feudalism" which preceded it.

What are the lessons to be learnt, Freeman asks later:

Outmoded—Useless

The first is obvious: it is that western policies and propaganda directed towards "liberating" the People's Democracies are outmoded and useless. Especially does this apply to the activities of the *émigrés*. It may not be generally understood in Britain how much the attitude of the western powers interests in the People's Democracies to be dictated by the special interests of groups of *émigrés* who are largely discredited in their native lands.

Again and again I was asked whether I realised the harm done by some of the *émigré* activities. Nor did these complaints come only from the leaders or from Communist leaders.

The occasion I talked to whom I can truly call an "activist" counter-revolutionary begged me to explain the damage which is done by the anti-Communist efforts to be dictated by the *émigrés* by Radio Free Europe and, to a lesser extent, The Voice of America and even some of the B.B.C. programmes.

Creates Tension

Nor is this the whole of the story. I should not shed many tears because western inexperience is making the job of the active counter-revolutionary more difficult. But the stream of crude, misguided propaganda, coupled with the widespread ignorance in the West German bases of what are claimed to be American-financed and *émigré*-manned cloak-and-dagger groups in the western frontier area of Poland and Czechoslovakia, is doing more than anything else, by the tension it creates, to impair normal relations with the western powers, to slow down the process of internal democratisation and, inside the leadership, to bolster the prestige of the most anti-democratic elements.

Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz cited these operations to me as being the only factor in the Polish situation which could in certain circumstances "become of sufficient importance to reverse the trend" of de-Stalinisation.

Despite the scale of operations, however, I can find no real evidence that this external intervention in Poland and Czechoslovakia appears to be much less serious in Hungary—has support of any but a handful of extremists and adventurous adolescents.

Must Return

The fact is that the *émigrés* in the West are facing a basic challenge to their position. If they still consider themselves Poles, Hungarians and Czechs, with their original patriotism preserved intact, surely they must now return to fight their battles from inside. This may be an uncomfortable choice, but it is the inevitable one. I talked to returned *émigrés*, and discussed with them the way in which they are treated, in both Poland and Czechoslovakia; and I am certain that for the present genuine amnesties are being offered to those who return.

EISENHOWER - NIXON TICKET STILL UNCERTAIN

Medical Reports Derided

NEW YORK.—In spite of the insistence of the U.S. press—almost entirely Republican in sympathy—that it is cut and dried that the Republican candidates for president and vice-president will be Eisenhower and Nixon, this is still far from certain.

The Republican leadership sees the present incumbents as the ideal candidates. They would be happy with Eisenhower in power, for he is popular and does just what they tell him. And they would be even happier if Nixon were to succeed the President; his activities on his death, for Nixon does what they want without even having to be told.

But so unpopular is Nixon among the workers that the Democratic slogan, "A vote for Eisenhower is a vote for Nixon" is already having its effect. Unless the Republicans can convince the voters with their barrage of medical reports that Eisenhower is now as fit as ever, there is expected to be a change away from their presidential ticket.

These medical reports are now fairly universally derided. The President's health is being pointed out far from good that his recent comment at the Panama conference of South American government leaders—"I can keep going on"—simply emphasised the fact that he was a very sick man.

In the circumstances progressives are concentrating their activities on forcing the Democrats to present a true alternative at the elections with a policy of peace, better living conditions and racial equality.

WAR CRIMINALS CONTROL GERMAN ATOM RESEARCH

Warning By Social Democrats

BONN.—Following a sharp warning by the West German Engineering Workers' Union that Krupp and other big monopolies were taking control of nuclear research, West Germany's Social-Democrats called last week for public control of nuclear development.

Erich Ollenhauser, Social-Democratic chairman, warned that the war criminals might use atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes.

He urged that a policy of disarmament be pursued as the only guarantee for international relaxation. Adenauer's policy of strength had not brought the country a single step forward, he declared.

Indeed West Germany's relations with the Soviet Union were worse than any other country. Adenauer's belief that rearmament could force the Soviet to agree to renunciation

on Adenauer's terms had been proved wrong.

The Social-Democratic Party would continue to work for a European collective security system and in the next parliament would do all in its power to abolish the conscription law. (East Germany which has only a volunteer army last week offered asylum to any young German faced with conscription.)

Supporting the call made in the House of Commons by Sir Anthony Eden for improved relations with the Soviet Union, Ollenhauser repeated his party's demand that West Germany withdraw from NATO.

SPOTLIGHT on SPORT

by
Robert Resha



RUGBY — A Realistic Approach Wanted

TODAY almost every non-European national organisation in this country is keen to apply for international recognition. This intention on the part of non-White bodies is the desire of sportsmen the world over to come together and compete in a spirit of peace and friendship. It is also due to the awakening of the non-Whites of this country coupled with the knowledge that the non-Europeans have been deprived of their right to participate fully and equally in sport for the simple reason that they happen not to be White.

There is no doubt of course that the acceptance of the South African Table Tennis Board, a non-White body, by the world table tennis organisation has inspired many organisations. A lot of enthusiasm has been created by the South African Soccer Federation's application for F.I.F.A. membership which is uncomformably suspended for two years over the heads of the South African Football Association.

Even the conservative South African Bantu Rugby Board could not ignore the feeling of its members and fans.

The Bantu Rugby Board took a decision to revive the South African Rugby Federation to which are affiliated the Bantu and the Coloured Rugby Boards. The Federation then will apply for recognition by the International Rugby Board.

It is indeed pleasing to notice that the rugby officials are keen on a realistic approach. It is apparent from their decision that they are aware of the fact that they are a racial organisation and to get world recognition they will have to be a true national body.

But the Rugby Board realise that it is not enough just to reform or strengthen the Federation. What will be a highly commendable step here and abroad, and the only correct approach to sport, is the dissolution of both the Bantu and Coloured Boards and the formation of a multi-racial rugby board which will cater and control all rugby in this country.

There must be mixed play from club level to provincial level. If this is done then we are assured whatever that a Board of that nature will have no difficulty in getting international recognition.

The Federation Competition for the £500 Kajee Trophy is almost over. Only the Indians have to play the Coloureds and the fate of the trophy for this year will be decided.

In the first match of the competition played between Africans and the Coloureds, Coloureds won the game by three goals to one. The best judges of the game are agreed that the Coloureds deserved to win. In the second match was between Indians and Africans won by five goals to nil. This leaves the Coloureds with the trophy.

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oureds and Africans with two points each with the Coloureds still a match to play. I tip the Coloureds to win the Coloured-Indian match in Cape Town on September 1.

Looking at this competition squarely it is just a farce. In both matches the soccer fans have not had the opportunity of watching a true representative African side playing. In other words, they have been made to pay to see a provincial African team giving a stiff practice either to an Indian or Coloured national side.

In Johannesburg the solid Coloured team was made to play a Transvaal African eleven and in Durban the Indians played a Natal team.

This is known to the officials of the Soccer Federation. They have accepted the excuse of the fact that they are unable to field a national team for financial reasons.

ALTERNATIVES

No one will pretend that this reason is not true. There are a thousand and one things which make the Africans the poorest of the non-Europeans groups.

But surely the Federation has no right to allow the Africans to field provincial teams depending on where the match is being played? If the Africans are unable to field a side for good reasons, then things could be done with the greatest ease and undoubtedly with the full co-operation of the Africans. The first is to exclude the Africans from the competition until such time as they are able to field a team to participate fully and on an equal basis. The other is to suspend the competitions.

These, of course, are alternatives to meet the present situation under the present set-up. But there is only one real solution to this problem—the immediate dissolution of racial football associations and the establishment of provincial associations under the control of the Federation to carry on inter-provincial competitions with provinces having the right to select the best players from all groups—that will be football. And from such competitions it will be easy to pick the best-ever Springbok football team and the all-round legend against any country in the world. My guess is that such a team will acquire itself with credit.

Who said that Jason "Black Hammer" Radebe, the national lightweight champion, is scared of putting his title on the line against the former champion and featherweight king, Elijah Mokone?

Talk to that effect has been rampant ever since Radebe won the title from Mokone in March. But last week the Radebe camp pointed out that they never side-stepped Mokone. In fact they are keen to fight him—but they have not received attractive offers.

Radebe is billed to defend his title against Henry "Young" Sebelo, a Transvaal champion, in Johannesburg on August 24. If successful they want to put the title on the line against Mokone—provided the terms offered for such a fight are good.

"NEXT SESSION MIGHT BE OUR LAST"—Senator Ballinger

JOHANNESBURG.

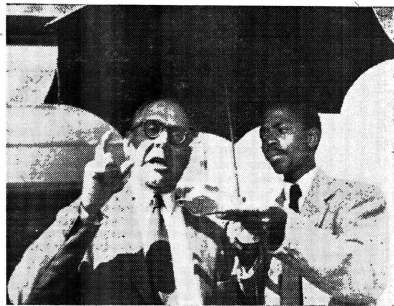
Dr. Verwoerd would abolish the system of Native representation in the House of Assembly, and next session might be his last period in the House, Senator W. G. Ballinger told a large Orlando report-back meeting organised for him.

He told the assembled Johannesburg Advisory Board members and members of the public that he believed in "partnership" and was against the present system of African representation.

Africanists and members of SOYA used question time to attack Senator Ballinger for purporting to represent Africans when in fact his presence in Parliament was ineffective in stopping oppressive laws.

Mr. Ballinger stated his opposition to legislation passed during the last session, including the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill. On Bantu Education Mr. Ballinger said "We cannot accept Bantu Education but we must accept what we have at the moment."

The meeting passed a vote of confidence in the Senator and also pledged to support the Ministers' call for an all-in African conference.



Senator Ballinger, seen here at his meeting last week with his interpreter, said he stood for a policy of "partnership"—the phrase borrowed from the Central African Federation of Lord Malvern.

FREEDOM CHARTER AND APARTHEID DON'T MIX

CAPE TOWN.

THE Cape Town regional committee of the Congress of Democrats has issued the following statement:

We would like to comment briefly on the correspondence between Mr. Nikkilo and Mr. L. B. Lee-Warden M.P. of the Congress of Democrats, which has recently appeared in the Cape Argus. The controversy has been given the following statement made by Mr. Lee-Warden in a letter to the London Times: "I and those for whom I speak have no objection to "partnership" and "development" which Mr. Strijdom describes as the traditional policy of apartheid."

In his letters to the local press, Mr. Lee-Warden has attempted to clarify this statement and has emphasised his opposition to apartheid. Nevertheless he constantly gives the impression that he supports the idea that development and progress for Africans are possible and desirable within the framework of "separate development" as recommended by the Tomlinson Commission.

The Cape Town Congress of Democrats wish to make it clear that the views expressed by Mr. Lee-Warden are his own and do not reflect the policy of this organisation. We believe that the Reserves and the idea of separate development are part and parcel of a policy of apartheid which is rejected totally. The Reserves are overcrowded, eroded and poverty-stricken precisely because of the practice of apartheid. They are regarded as the source of cheap labour for our farms and cities. So long as we have apartheid, so long will they be as they are now.

Our policy on the other hand envisages the development of the whole country for the benefit of all South African people. There are no full human and economic resources should be used to this end. In such a national plan the concept of "Reserves" can play no part.

The constitution of our organisation embodies the Freedom Charter, now the joint national policy of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. It calls for full and equal rights for all regardless of race, colour, sex or belief. We believe that the Freedom Charter is the alternative to the Nationalist policy of apartheid which drives the

rares apart, fosters hatred and must end in complete chaos. Only a policy which ensures full and equal rights for all our people will enable us to build a free and prosperous South Africa.

"Russian" Leader Says Police Backed His Gang

(Continued from page 1)

The "Russians" were promised protection as they had been given in the past and even exemption from permit arrests if they attacked people in Newclare North described as "bad people."

The "Russian" leader then told the people that the very name "Russians" and his own nickname "Seporo" had been given to them by the police at Newclare police station during the days of the trouble at Newclare.

The meeting was a sign that the struggle against the permit system in Newclare has ended the long-standing tension between the people in Northern Newclare and the "Russians" across the railway line in the South and is bringing about unity.

Before the meeting a procession of people from the North was met at the railway bridge by leaders of the South and the joint crowd made an impressive sight as they marched to the meeting place. Within minutes the Square was all the colours of the rainbow with Congress colours and Basuto blankets.

"Seporo" called for peace in Newclare and a united struggle against permits and oppression. He urged that representations be made to the authorities about the permit system still new in Newclare.

All speakers stressed the new unity won in the area.

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