

DURBAN COUNCIL CONSULTS WITH ANC

Welcome Development in Efforts to Ease Tension

From M. P. NAICKER

NEW AGE, in a special editorial on the Durban unrest last week, called on the Durban City Council to hold discussions with the Congresses and other representative bodies.

As if in answer to the editorial, Mr. S. Bourquin, Durban's Director of Bantu Administration, called at the office of Mr. Moses Mabhida, Deputy President of the Natal African National Congress last week, to arrange for such discussions.

The discussion which took place in the Offices of the Congress, in Lakhani Chambers, Durban, was something quite new to Durban politics.

The head of the Bantu Administration was seated at a desk opposite peoples' leader, Moses Mabhida.

On a hard wooden bench on one side of the office sat four earnest but bewildered youth obviously unable to understand this new development, awaiting enrolment as members of Congress; in one corner a university student was studiously reading the latest copy of "Liberation"; there was the usual flow of traffic by people coming in and out of the Congress offices, and our cameraman was busily clicking his camera.

It just did not seem as though a major new political development was taking place.

Women Demonstrate

At the same time, outside the Durban City Hall, over 250 ANC women were demonstrating against the most recent raids in the Cato Manor area where homes were broken into by the police. A number of women alleged that they had lost their clothes, kitchen-ware and even food during this raid.

And one of their main demands was the very thing then taking (Continued on page 6)



Bourquin meets Mabhida—a new experience

WORLD SUPPORT FOR BOYCOTT SHAKES INDUSTRY

'If Businessmen Are Alarmed—Let Them Fight The Nats.' says ANC

THE extent and speed of the world-wide response to the call by the Congresses for a boycott of apartheid products has not only come as a shock to the Nationalist Government and its supporters, but has even exceeded the expectations of the Congresses themselves.

New Age reporter RUTH FIRST sought and obtained an exclusive interview with Mr. Duma Nokwe, general secretary of the ANC, this week, on the ANC attitude to the boycott.

"The ANC welcomes all demonstrations of solidarity by the people of other countries with the people of South Africa," said Mr. Nokwe.

Asked to comment on Eric Louw's charge that a trade ban is an interference in South Africa's internal affairs, Mr. Nokwe said:

"The phrase interference in South Africa's domestic affairs has been consistently abused by cabinet ministers. The Jamaican people, through their government, surely have a right to determine with whom they will trade. They have now decided not to trade with South Africa because of its racialist policies. How can this decision be an interference with the domestic affairs of South Africa? The Nationalist Government has banned thousands of books printed and imported from certain countries because, apparently they object to the policies of those countries. Is this an interference with the domestic affairs of these countries?"

QUESTION:
Do signs point to the boycott spreading?

ANSWER:
From the reports in the daily press it appears that since Jamaica decided to ban South African goods, the boycott has spread to the following countries: Grenada, Barbados, Dominique, Nigeria, Mauritius, Sierra Leone and reports from various exporters indicate that there is an antagonism from customers to South African goods in various countries.

QUESTION:
Any comment on the call by Mr. C. Marx, President of the Federa-

ted Chamber of Industries for an end to all boycotts and his statement 'boycotts benefit no-one, but they can cause real suffering—most of all to the lowest income group, who will be the first victims which are said misguidedly to be for their benefit'.

ANSWER:
As far as the boycott of Nationalist products is concerned in South Africa, the African National Congress will continue their boycott because it is one of the few ways in which it can express its disgust with Nationalist policies. We are aware that a successful (Continued on back page)

DADOO: Bail £250 — Then Freed

STRONG protests against the arrest and detention last week of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, banned president of the South African Indian Congress, were made by the Natal Indian Congress, the Natal ANC, Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, to the Minister of the Interior.

Dr. Dadoo who was arrested for not having a permit to be in Natal was released the following morning after hasty consultations between the Immigration authorities in Durban and the offices of the Minister of the Interior in Pretoria. Even though bail had been set at £250 on the previous evening, it was waived on the following morning and Dr. Dadoo was informed that he would not be prosecuted.

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Boycott The Festival

THE Congress movement will call on all Non-Europeans to boycott next year's "Festival" to celebrate 50 years of Union.

They will go further: they will organise counter-demonstrations to register their determination to end White domination in their lifetime.

The ANC statement issued last week said the Government and its supporters might have good reason to celebrate half a century of the establishment of Union. The majority of the people of the Union, the Non-European people, right-thinking Europeans and in particular the Africans have no cause to celebrate.



Time For an All-in Congress? A New View

ALL of those who have participated in the discussion on whether or not we should have one single all-in Congress seem to agree that *in principle* it would be a good thing for people of the different national groups to work together in one body. The point of disagreement is simply whether or not we are able *in practice* to mobilise more people into the anti-Nationalist struggle through our present form of organisation than we would through one all-in Congress.

I wonder if we may not posing the question the wrong way.

The Congresses grew up to meet a particular political need. The ANC was formed because the Africans are hit in a particular way by our political system and have felt the need to unite as Africans to further the legitimate interests of Africans. The Indian Congress was formed similarly because Indians felt a need to unite to fight for their own cause.

In the face of their common oppression, and as a result of their advanced political understanding, the African, Indian and other Congresses have, in comparatively recent times, formed themselves into a firm alliance with a common programme—but that is because each of the Congresses realises that *its own* interests are best served by a united fight for the interests of *all*.

The fact that there *is* the Congress alliance must not be allowed to obscure an equally important fact—that each of the Congresses *continues* to serve the particular needs of its own members. The leading role of the Indian Congress in the fight against Group Areas is but one example of many.

We fight racialist theories because they assert falsely that some races are superior to others. We reply that there is no difference between the capabilities of the different South African nationalities, and that all shall have the right to full equality as citizens of a single South African State.

But the fact that we are all South Africans does not mean that we can blind ourselves to the existence of different national groups with distinctive languages and cultures, and subject to distinctive forms of political oppression.

The experience of every other similar country proves that as long as this continues to be, so there will also continue to be separate national organisations to express the special aspirations of each national community.

Merging the Congresses into one all-in body would, therefore, solve nothing. For immediately there would again, inevitably, arise new national bodies to serve the special requirements of each community.

But this does not mean that the arguments in favour of a single political organisation composed of people of all national groups are wrong.

ONE ORGANISATION

There is a very urgent need for a single organisation in which Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans can work together, plan together, study together and organise together on the basis of full equality.

The Congress movement has often stressed that it is not a political party. It is a united front made up of people of the most diverse philosophies, who have come together out of a common desire to fight apartheid.

But there is a need, in addition

to the national organisations, for a single multi-national political party, with a long-term political programme. Such a party, which would naturally be composed of Congress members, and would give unstinted support to the Congress movement, would be an immense asset to our country.

For such a party to succeed it must not scamper nervously behind the Congress movement, as does the Liberal Party, always frightened that the Congresses may do something "rash", always sniffing about for "communist influence", never sure whether it is more scared of getting too close to the Congresses than of getting too far from them.

What we need is a party based firmly on the most militant and advanced section of the population, the Non-European working-class. It is significant that socialism, the international philosophy of working-class parties in all countries, is publically recognised by almost all national liberatory leaders, from Nehru, to Nasser, to Nkrumah, as the only way to bring about a swift and lasting improvement in the living conditions of the people.

Smashing apartheid will lift a very great burden from our shoulders. But it will not mean an end to our problems. Far from it. A new and greater challenge will face us—the building of a nation free from want. Both in the fight against apartheid and the planning of the future, the Congress movement needs a brother-in-struggle—a multi-national socialist party.

CONGRESSMAN

Cape

High Taxes in "City of Saints"

THE present tax increase of £1 15s. to African men has added more burden on us. Here in Grahamstown for instance, the average wage per African is £5 10s. per month, and the rents mount from £1 to £2 15s. a month. People are raided day and night for taxes.

This kind of oppression is coupled with unemployment, and the unemployed are expected to pay these taxes and rents. What surprises one is, some Councils especially here in Grahamstown, are using convict labour. This so-called "City of Saints" is fast imitating Verwoerdian line. It was the first Council to ban meetings of more than ten Africans in the Union.

DONALD B. NQRUR

Grahamstown

Respect the Anthem

WHY do Africans not take their National Anthem seriously as they should. Many times I have tried to attend a National Meeting which would satisfy my feelings as an African singing Nkosi Sikelela I Africa or Morena Boloka Sechaba. In many meetings you will find that there is some disturbance or there is one scratching himself, one cleaning spectacles or blowing his nose and another standing at ease, instead of the simple strict attention. The most silly abuse is that they sing the Anthem in the shebeens which makes the whole thing lose its dignity. What a shame.

C. R. S. KOTI

Newclare, Johannesburg

Schoolboy Labour

SOME of the schoolboys who have failed registered for employment at the Boksburg administration office and have met with hardships.

These boys were conveyed by the municipal sanitation trucks to certain factories to work at cleaning up the stones and hoeing among the factories. Some of them were even working inside the factories as part-time workers.

The location superintendent is sometimes seen assisted by the municipal police carrying piles of brown flat boxes to the old administration office. The contents of the boxes, which contain clothing, are displayed before the boys.

If a boy feels he likes a certain cloth, his name is written down and the money he owes is extracted from his monthly wage.

If a boy feels reluctant to proceed with this under-paid employment a municipal constable is sent to fetch him from his home. This has led to the boys being ridiculed and dubbed "convicts" by those who have not yet registered for employment in the administration office.

McCORMICK P. NKAMBULE

Boksburg

CHIEFS MUST JOIN CONGRESS

I AM of the branch of the Amandlambe of Idutywa, and I was deported to my birthplace in 1957 under Section 10. I was also charged secondly, with "inciting" and "agitating" the people to intensify the bus boycott. I joined the ANC in 1951 and lived harmoniously in West Bank Location, East London, always interesting myself in local and national causes. In 1956 I was elected chairman until I was kicked out by my deportation.

The Government must lift the ban from Chief Lutuli, also from Mr. Tambo, Mr. Duma Nokwe, and others. We Africans won't budge an inch in our fight for our legitimate rights, and I am sure we will carry on to the bitter end. I also want to stress this—the African chiefs must join Congress or resign their positions for they surely hinder the people's progress. The same applies to the clergymen.

CHIEF. Z. MTOKONDALA
Idutywa, Cape.

Plot Against Indians

DR. VERWOERD, speaking in the House of Assembly on June 29, said that he did not regard the Indians living in this country as the responsibility of the Union Government.

This follows the statement of the Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, that Indians were ousting Whites from jobs.

Why have the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour launched this onslaught upon the Indians? What devilish plans are afoot?

One assumes that their irrational attacks are intended primarily to whip up a campaign against a South African community which seems voiceless and defenceless.

The purpose is to find a scapegoat for the rising unemployment amongst Europeans, and to introduce job reservation against the Indian people.

The Prime Minister's remark is very divergent from the continued assertions of our spokesmen at the United Nations that the Indian question in South Africa is a domestic affair.

STEVENS O'DWYER

Johannesburg

EDITORIAL

INDUSTRY AND THE BOYCOTT

THE way some big businessmen are talking, nowadays, one would think that they brought their money here and built their factories only because of their deep love for the Africans and their desire to improve African living conditions.

They tell us about their great "act of faith" in investing their money in South Africa, and cluck sadly about the way the Africans, by supporting an economic boycott, are undoing all the good the kind capitalists have been doing for them.

"The boycott will have the effect of hitting the very people, the Africans and the Coloured people, whom it was their purpose to help," the Chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation, said solemnly last week, and the head of the Chamber of Industries, Mr. Charles Marx, called on Congress in similar vein not to rock the industrial boat.

But surely everyone knows that one of the biggest things attracting these capitalists to South Africa is the criminally low level of South African wages. No secret has been made of this in the past. When the Government goes out to encourage investment in this country it trumpets as one of its biggest selling-points "cheap labour in abundant supply."

Big business has never shown such a concern for the welfare of the Africans before. It has always taken some major upheaval to frighten them into speech—a successful bus boycott, or a Durban revolt. And even then, how remarkable it is that they do so much **talking** and so little **doing**.

They issue statements about the need for wage increases. They even point out the economic truth that the capitalists **themselves** would also benefit from a rise in wages, because it would increase the amount of money available for the purchase of the goods from their own factories.

But all of them want someone **else** to start off with the raising of wages. Very few and far between are the industrialists who themselves voluntarily improve working conditions. Every increase must be fought for against the bitterest odds. And as we showed in a recent series of articles, **in spite of all the talk about the need for higher wages, the real wages of the African workers are not improving but getting worse.**

The big guns in the Chambers of Commerce and Industry may as well drop their hypocritical concern about the harm the boycott will do to the Non-Europeans. **If they really cared about the Non-Europeans, organised Commerce and Industry could have brought the Nationalists to their knees years ago.**

Commerce and Industry are worried about only one thing. The harm that the boycott will do **them**.

The fact is that the low level of African wages and the whole framework of oppression is something of a boomerang. The African worker has been brought pretty close to the level where it is true to say that he has nothing very much to lose—except his chains.

The boycott is aimed at the Nationalist Government. The Congress would certainly prefer to fight the Nationalists through the ballot box. But the polling booths are closed to Africans. In this sense, the boycott has been forced on them. It is a **political** boycott, and the Congresses have gone to great lengths to ensure that only firms which are controlled by enthusiastic supporters of apartheid—a cruel, immoral system of dictatorship—shall be "named." (And as was seen in the case of a certain canning co-operative, it is a great deal easier to have one's name removed from the Congress list of "named Nationalists" than it is to have one's name removed from the **Government's** boycott list of "named Communists.")

Nevertheless, as things have developed overseas, it is clear that the boycott will hit not only the Nationalists, but also all other exporting companies.

These companies would be wise to place the blame not on the Congresses, but on the true culprits, the Nationalists. For the fact is that South Africa is suffering torment at the hands of its rulers, and the Africans are the greatest sufferers. But misery spreads like a cancer. More and more people are hit by the results of Nat misrule, and if it is the turn of industry today, industry has been given the answer by the Congresses:

Your way out is the same way out as our own—the defeat of this Nationalist Government. However little we may seem to have in common, there is one important interest that we share. **We both need to break the Nationalist stranglehold. And remember this. Apartheid can destroy Commerce and Industry. It can never destroy the African people.**

Spy Bungles—So Police Swarm On Little Village

False Report Brings Them Hunting For ANC

A FALSE report by a police informer brought a police raiding party drawn from half a dozen points in the Western Transvaal to take part in a dawn round-up of men and women in the peaceful little African village of Wildebeespan, near Klerksdorp.

During the raid shots were fired, a number of villagers, women among them, were assaulted, and over a hundred people were arrested for beer and pass offences and carted off to the police station at Stilfontein to pay fines.

This little police effort must have brought over £200 into police coffers. Over and above the fines paid on the spot, or at the police station on the evening of the raid, some villagers without money for fines appeared in court the following day.

Police who knocked up one woman resident of the village told her

bluntly: "You are the cause of the trouble. You left Klerksdorp to come here with your communism."

Then they let the cat out of the bag. The police had been tipped off by an informer in the village that there was due to be a conference of the African National Congress Women's League on the Sunday of the raid.

"Where is your agenda for the meeting," they asked the woman they were questioning.

"If I have an agenda it's for the ANC, not for you," was her reply.

"Why don't you put up a flag over your meeting to save the police from going round the village looking for it," was the bright question of one policeman.

The rest of the police were carrying out what was to them a routine raid. Houses were searched for beer and passes demanded from men and women. In a short while over a hundred villagers of both sexes had been crowded into a yard ready to be taken away in police vans.

One African with a wound behind the ear said to have been

caused by a police assegai was later removed to hospital.

UNDER ARREST

Five members of the family of the African who owns the land on which the village stands found themselves under arrest.

One daughter of the family visiting her father's home for the school holidays, was making the fire in the kitchen when she heard a commotion and came out of the door to see her cousin being assaulted as he was pushed into the police van. The dustpan still in her hand she tried to protest at the assault and found herself under arrest for obstructing the police and assaulting them. She was handcuffed to her cousin and put into the van with him.

When she protested to a European police officer that the handcuffs were too tight, she was threatened with a pair on the other hand too. It was nightfall before she was granted bail.

A number of villagers laid charges of assault against the police.

BRITAIN WANTS SUMMIT MEETING

EVEN if the Foreign Ministers fail to agree at Geneva, people in Britain would like to see a Summit meeting.

This emerges from a News Chronicle Gallup Poll taken recently, when people were asked:

"If the Foreign Secretaries fail to reach any sort of agreement in Geneva do you think that the West should or should not agree to a Summit meeting of the heads of Government?"

ALL VOTERS	
Should	68%
Should not	7%
Don't know	25%

POLICE HUNT 70-YEAR-OLD FREEDOM FIGHTER GQAGQA

SIX Special Branch pounced on "Father" Fikile Gqagqa, a 70-year-old Congress veteran, in Port Elizabeth last week, and told him to pack his personal belongings. Bawo (Father), is how the younger people refer to this revered veteran of the movement.

shot dead a few months ago, and where the machinery of the Bantustan administration has collapsed.

According to information obtained from the local police he may be charged with holding an illegal meeting.

Under conditions of strict secrecy the Special Branch locked him up throughout the day on the 9th, and all the police stations denied that they knew his whereabouts. After a day-long search New Age located him and also found out that he was to be put on the East London train, in the evening, under police escort. About thirty minutes before the train left he was escorted to his compartment in handcuffs.

Members of the Special Branch and uniformed police were present. Two detectives from the Transkei escorted him.

Bawo Fikile Gqagqa arrived in P.E. a few weeks back on a visit. He came from Cafutweni Location in the Willowvale district where the Special Branch had raided him a few weeks earlier and taken copies of New Age, an ANC membership card and some letters. The raid took place after a Native Commissioner had lost his temper and abandoned a meeting he had convened at the location.

This happened in the location where the Government has collected over £1,000 in communal fines for the destruction of fences by unknown persons, where a chief was

ANC MEN GO TO SEE U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER



Congress officials Mr. James Hadebe, secretary of the Transvaal ANC, Mr. T. Nkobi, ANC national organiser, and Mr. Alfred Nzo, member of the ANC Working Committee, leaving the building of the British

High Commissioner in Pretoria, after presenting the ANC memorandum for the freeing of political leaders in the Federation and Uganda to the British and Federation government representatives in the Union.

The Spy was more accurate this time

SPECIAL BRANCH WAIT AT U.K. OFFICE FOR ANC BANDA DAY DELEGATION

JOHANNESBURG.

WHO tipped the Special Branch off? Was it the office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner or the Central African Federation representatives in Pretoria?

A delegation of three African National Congress officials who travelled to Pretoria on Banda day to demand the release of political detainees in the Federation was met

at the front doors of the offices of the United Kingdom by three Special Branch members and five uniformed policemen.

Their representations for Nyasaland's freedom completed at the U.K. Commissioner's offices, the Congress deputation set out for the Central African Federation offices, tailed almost bumper to bumper by the police van.

The Congress memorandum presented to both High Commissioners urged the British Govern-

ment to recognise the right of self-determination of Africans in the Federation, to release Dr. Banda and his fellow political prisoners, and to lift the state of emergency in the Federation and Uganda.

The National Consultative Committee of the Congress movement sent a cable to Dr. Banda in the Gwelo Prison in Southern Rhodesia expressing the solidarity of the people of South Africa; and another cable to the Governor of Nyasaland and demanding the release of all political.

RAND NYASAS

Nyasas in Johannesburg marked July 6—Banda Day—by offering prayers in their homes in memory of their people who lost their lives in the struggle against Federation, and those who are in prison under the emergency regulations.

Organised by the Nyasa Mourners' Society the Banda Day Anniversary recalled the day when Dr. Banda first set foot in Nyasaland after his 40-year exile and was handed a broom with which to sweep away Federation, by the widow of Chief Gomani, one of the staunchest anti-Federation fighters. 40,000 Nyasas welcomed him home at Nyasaland's Chileka airport.

Telegrams were sent to Dr. Banda now imprisoned in Nyasaland, and messages demanding his release were forwarded to the Rhodesian Government, the British Colonial Office, the High Commissioner in Pretoria and others.

The message to Dr. Banda from the Nyasa Mourners said:

On eve of anniversary millions of your people remember unshaken and unflinching leadership to self-government and secession from Federation slavery. May the youth hereafter hail Chilembwe and Banda as freedom fighters.



Ubawo Fikile Gqagqa handcuffed is standing at a train window between two detectives. The face behind him is that of a uniformed policeman.

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