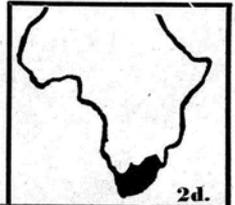


# BOYCOTT NEWS

BROAD-SHEET ON SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS

No. 2



BRITAIN VOTED AGAINST A UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION CONDEMNING SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICY.



"WE'RE ALL RIGHT, JACK!"

—by courtesy of the Evening Standard and Vicky  
Mr. Macmillan's Cape Town speech gave us new hope—but no promise—that Britain will not again disgrace herself at the U.N. by supporting the Union Government. It is now our business to see that the Prime Minister's expressed principles are carried into practice. We want deeds as well as words.

## In support of the boycott . . .

### HUGH GAITSKELL writes

WE should support the boycott, because we are asked to do so by the African Leaders themselves, because it is a moral gesture to underline our strong antipathy and opposition to apartheid and all policies of racial discrimination, because we thereby show our solidarity with the Africans who are struggling for their rights in the Union.

I hope, therefore, that all Labour members and supporters will respond to this appeal for a personal protest against apartheid during March and so bring encouragement and hope to those who are carrying on the struggle in South Africa itself.

### JO GRIMOND writes

I THINK the most useful thing I can do is to try to answer some of the legitimate and sincerely held objections to the proposed boycott.

1. Boycotts in general are a bad weapon, either ineffective or indiscriminate in their effect and quite contrary to democratic ways of thought.

But the coloured races in South Africa have no democratic means of making their point of view known. Unsatisfactory as a boycott may be, it is one of the few methods open to civilised opinion in this particular situation of making its views known.

2. If a boycott on South African goods, why not on Russian goods, etc.?

Because a boycott on South African goods may have some effect. It will show how much apartheid is detested and might ultimately help to break it down. If there was any chance of such results arising from a boycott on Russian goods, the proposition might be worth considering.

3. Nevertheless, is it not illogical to pick on South Africa when worse oppressions exist in other parts of the world?

It is true that in Communist States worse things than apartheid have been practised. We have, however, some particular responsibility and interest in South Africa as a member of the

[CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE]

### Chief Luthuli says:

In our fight against the evils of Apartheid, we in the Congress movement have resorted to forms of struggle based on non-violence. It is in keeping with this policy that we are ourselves conducting a campaign of boycotting Nationalist products in South Africa. The purpose of our campaign is to demonstrate to the South African Nationalists our total opposition to Apartheid.

We are very heartened by the decision of the British Labour Party, the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Movement, and by various other groups in Britain and other parts of the world to boycott South African goods. It is a demonstration to us that the forces of democracy outside South Africa are no longer content merely with the passing of resolutions condemning the South African Government. It is a tangible example of the bringing to bear of international pressure which even the South African government dare not ignore.

# YOU CAN FIGHT APARTHEID WITH YOUR SHOPPING BAG

Are you picking up your shopping bag to fight apartheid? That is what you are being asked to do by the South African Boycott Committee for one month from March 1st.

They are asking you not to buy South African canned fruit, grapes, oranges, jam, wine, so that the Nationalist Government of South Africa will realise how much we detest their racial policy.

A policy which demands that not only African men but now women also must carry passes wherever they go. If an African woman steps out of her home without her pass, even if only ten minutes from her own front door, she is liable to arrest.

And at present an African can get up to two months in gaol for pass offences, or else is given the option of working for six months as forced labour on farms.

By paying the government nine-pence a day.

An African cannot leave his job without a permit; or buy a railway ticket to another town without a permit; or go away from his "township" to visit relatives, or take a holiday without a permit.

Not many of them can afford holidays. In Johannesburg, the richest centre in South Africa, the average income for a family of five is £17 10s. a month. The official "breadline income" for such a family is estimated at £27 a month. This means that something like 70 per cent of the people live below the bread line.

Besides the pass laws, there are the "whites-only" regulations. If an African tries to board a "whites only" bus, he is committing an offence. If he sits on a "whites-only" bench, he is committing an offence. Then there are "whites-only" lavatories, "whites-only" cinemas and theatres. If he ignores these things as an act of protest against the colour laws, he can be gaol for up to three years and given ten strokes of the whip, or fined £300 and whipped.

By SARAH JENKINS\*

### FLOGGING—FOR ATTENDING WRONG CHURCH

All of these rules add up to a policy which has been described by the Archbishop of Cape-town, the Right Rev. Joost de Blank, as a "policy of pin-pricking" which "is goading the non-whites to the point of explosion".

There is even a Church Clause in the segregation laws under which authorities can limit services to members of any designated race. "Under this limiting regulation," the Archbishop points out, "anyone from another race group attending a service lays himself open to grave penalties, including flogging."

Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, has said: "There is no room for the native in European society above the level of certain forms of labour." Under the job reservation law, jobs which were formerly done by coloured people are being limited to whites.

Africans are also being forcibly removed from their shanty towns in the cities to native townships eight or ten miles away.

On the face of it, they should perhaps be grateful for the better accommodation provided. But these new estates are fenced in and superintended by a white official. The inhabitants are subject to constant checks and regulations. To stay out later than 10 o'clock in Johannesburg, for instance, a coloured couple must have a permit.

It is no wonder, therefore, that some of them prefer a chaotic slum life where they are a little freer.

### FAMILIES BROKEN UP

But perhaps the greatest tragedy comes when women, whose marriages do not conform with recognised European or tribal law, are sent back to their home villages. Often this means they have no hope of being reunited with their husbands or of earning a living.

The African people in South Africa have no peaceful means of protesting against such measures by the boycott. They cannot strike, because strikes are illegal. The women have organised peaceful demonstrations and presented petitions. But the petitions have been ignored and the demonstrations broken up with tear-gas and police baton charges.

There is only the boycott, which they ask us to support. It is true that the Africans themselves may suffer from our boycott, but their reply is that they know that they will never gain their freedom without suffering.

By supporting the boycott, we have no need to make it only a moral gesture. We can also make it a practical gesture by saving the money we do not spend on South African goods and sending it to the organisations helping to fight these injustices.

IN THIS WAY YOU CAN FIGHT APARTHEID WITH YOUR SHOPPING BASKET.

\*Sarah Jenkins is the popular women's columnist of the News Chronicle.



A squatter — she has no right to live in or near an urban area, and now even her temporary shelter is to be torn down, and she, perhaps, is to be sent back to the reserves.

# HOW SUPPORT BOYCOTT HAS

SINCE the movement to boycott South African goods during March was launched at a national conference in London on January 17, at which 168 organisations were represented, it has spread like wildfire. People from all political parties and from all walks of life have come forward to help make this a really significant protest against apartheid and all its evil associations.

Except for the proposed rail strike, it has been the number one subject for discussion during the past few weeks—as an analysis of the editorial and correspondence columns of the national and provincial press has shown (the Irish horse trade, anti-Semitism and refugees follow in that order.)

More important still, the boycott has been debated by local authorities, trades councils, Co-operative Societies, political parties, university unions and even by the debating society at Eton (where a motion in support was defeated by a surprisingly small majority). There was an equally surprising result when Exeter University Guild voted in support of the boycott by over 300 votes to 2, with 50 or so abstentions.

Of course, it has come in for sharp criticism, too—particularly from some of the provincial press. It is fascinating to read identical editorial comments from papers in different parts of the country, obviously written by one journalist in his Fleet Street office. For some reason, he is greatly impressed by the statement opposing the boycott from the leader of the South African United Party, which represents a minority of the Europeans in the Union and has a racial policy hardly more liberal than the Nationalists. He, and those who follow his line, are quite unmoved by the statements of support from the leaders of the African National Congress, representing the vast majority of the population, and Alan Paton, the President of the South African Liberal Party.

More important than the debate in Britain has been the debate in Africa. In the Union, concern among

Altrincham, who spoke at the national conference, launched the campaign, is chairman of Campaign Committee; Mrs. Mary Stocks the boycott in Kensington; Lady Pakenham the lead in Chelsea; the Bishop of Woolwich chairman of his local committee; and Bonham Carter has been helping to raise a campaign.

THEY ARE A FEW OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE NOW INVOLVED IN THE JOB OF ORGANISING IT LOCALLY. AS MANY AS 110 BOYCOTT COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN SET UP IN LESS THAN FOUR WEEKS AND IN OTHER PLACES THE LOCAL LABOUR PARTY, THE CO-OPERATIVE GUILD AND OTHER BODIES ARE ORGANISING MEMBERS IN SUPPORT.

The demand for material from the Boycott Movement has been extremely encouraging. By the mid-February, 357,000 leaflets, 7,000 posters and 100,000 copies of "Boycott News" had been distributed. In fact, it is the first issue which has encouraged us to bring out a second issue. In addition to the material supplied by the Boycott Movement itself, the T.U.C. has produced its own leaflet, which has been distributed among the unions and several local committees. The Labour Party has printed their own leaflets. The Labour Party has

## South African Goods—in Disguise!

15th February

BOYCOTT workers have in the past few weeks been making approaches to wholesalers and retailers for support for the boycott. Reports have come in from shoppers in various parts of the country on reactions from grocers and chain-stores. A few grocers are already displaying our posters and stickers reading "Don't Stock South African Goods" and one chain-store well known throughout the country has decided to set all South African goods aside, clearly marked as such. This is a very important step in the campaign.

But all reactions are by no means friendly, and one importer returned our letter with a rude word scrawled across it!

The more sympathetic ones, though not actually boycotting, may take the trouble to see that their goods are properly labelled if they are South African; others go to endless trouble to disguise the fact. South African fruit is labelled "imported" or "Empire"—and the shopper must keep his eyes wide open. Tinned fruit is stocked on shelves marked "Commonwealth", or "Empire"—and the shopper must scrutinise every tin.

Macmillan had to assure them it was not a Government-sponsored boycott. In Tunis at the all-African People's Congress during the last week in January, Tennyson Makiwane, representing the South African National Congress, brought rounds of applause when he spoke of the enthusiasm for the boycott here in Britain. This was reported in newspapers throughout Africa in terms very different from those used by the leader writer in Fleet Street.

The editorial in the "Birmingham Mail" really went too far when it said that the Labour Party's decision to sponsor the boycott "was dangerous in the extreme and must be secretly deplored by Mr. Gaitskell". That secret was promptly exploded when Mr. Gaitskell agreed to speak at the Boycott Movement's rally in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, February 28. [See also his message on our front page.]

Mr. Gaitskell is not the only big name to come out in support of the boycott. Mr. Jo Grimond has sent a special message to this number of Boycott News; Lord

reserved for white occupation, and the African, whose society is traditionally an agricultural one, must be content with a mere 13% of overworked, poor land, which can barely support the old and the women and children who live there. All the young men and the fit must go to the cities to work.

Imagine yourself an African working in a town. You must carry a "pass", stamped by the police, before you may even enter the town. Then you must have a permit to look for work, and a permit to work. And if you change your job a fresh permit must be granted. You must have a permit to be out after curfew and a permit to live in a particular area.

almost certainly your work. If you go on packet of cig your pack your pass arrested for be and either im

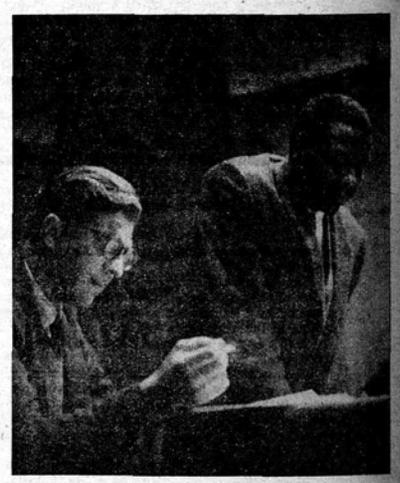
## Wouldn't YOU

IF you were an African in South Africa (it is almost impossible to help you people in Britain, with your long traditions of civil liberties, to visualise and realise for yourselves the lives of the black inhabitants of South Africa), if you were an African in South Africa, you would be one of the majority race. There are nine million Africans, less than three million whites, and one and a half million coloured and Indian people in the country.

work on a farm house you in a he will pay you perhaps he will leave that you wages in the ment the meag you. Or per leave at all. Imagine yo mother: passes tended to wor your fear that band, may be in the street l leaving your ch and perhaps n has happened have to send y are among the children who e a Bantu Educ they will be English and A stand orders," then Minister explained why bill in 1957, w Mission school teach this deba tion. Father Hud the time "Ed ance". A sig curriculum con school clean garden—if ther with the expre ing the Africa place in socie level of certai

MAK who w article is the r ative in of the Nat Con

work on a farm house you in a he will pay you perhaps he will leave that you wages in the ment the meag you. Or per leave at all. Imagine yo mother: passes tended to wor your fear that band, may be in the street l leaving your ch and perhaps n has happened have to send y are among the children who e a Bantu Educ they will be English and A stand orders," then Minister explained why bill in 1957, w Mission school teach this deba tion. Father Hud the time "Ed ance". A sig curriculum con school clean garden—if ther with the expre ing the Africa place in socie level of certai



Tennyson Makiwane (African National Congress) and Patrick van Rensburg (South African Liberal Party) at a Boycott Movement Press conference in London in January.

This broadsheet may be ordered at **£4 PER THOUSAND** From the Boycott Movement 293 New Kings Road, London S.W.6.

ALSO AVAILABLE:  
Leaflet listing goods for mass distribution—16s. per thousand.  
Display Posters, crown size—9d. each

We can also supply a variety of pamphlets giving the details about Apartheid. (Prices range from 6d. to 4/-). List available on request.

**ORDER FORM**

PLEASE SEND TO —

Name .....  
Address .....  
Leaflet ..... Copies  
Boycott News ..... Copies  
Posters .....

I enclose payment of £.....

### Why not a Film Show?

FILMS AVAILABLE from the Boycott Movement on the day-to-day realities of life under the oppression of apartheid and racialism.

**AFRICAN CONFLICT.**  
A study of Apartheid. Sequences with Fr. Huddleston, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Xuma. (ANC).  
Cost £2 10s. per day. 45 minutes

**CIVILISATION ON TRIAL.**  
Rev. Michael Scott's film on South Africa.  
Cost 17s. 6d. per day. 20 minutes

**COLOUR OF MAN**  
Explanation of the origin of skin colouring  
Cost 25s. per day. 10 minutes

**BROTHERHOOD OF MAN**  
Colour Cartoon Plea to stamp out race differences.  
Cost 10s. 10 minutes

All films 16 m.m. sound.  
All prices exclude postage.

For bookings or further details write to:  
Organising Secretary, 293 New Kings Road, London, S.W.6

## WHAT NOT TO BUY

South African wines, sherries, liqueurs and brandy.  
South African canned fruit, jams, fish, meat, sweetcorn, peas and other vegetables.  
"Outspan" oranges, grapefruit and lemons.  
"Cape" apples, grapefruit, grapes, lemons, pineapples, peaches, plums, pears, avocado pears and apricots.  
South African onions.

IF YOU ARE SAVING BY DENYING YOURSELF South African goods

WHY NOT MAKE A CONTRIBUTION to the

DEFENCE AND AID FUND?

The Defence and Aid fund has already helped defend the accused in the Treason trial; made it possible for their families to live while bread-winners are on trial; and provided legal and financial help for countless other victims of apartheid.

And even if you are not joining the boycott, there is still something you can do for the people of South Africa, by sending your donation to

THE DEFENCE AND AID FUND,  
2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4

Do not miss the February 26th

SPECIAL BOYCOTT NUMBER OF

## Peace News

including pictures of the Banished People of South Africa from "Drum" Editor Tom Hopkinson and an important theoretic evaluation of the Boycott by Gene Sharpe, M.A., of Oslo University Institute of Social Research.

PRICE SIXPENCE—FROM NEWSAGENT

New readers: Eight weeks' post-free trial for 2s. 6d. only (Specimen copy free on request)

Says Patrick Duncan in Contact

"Peace News... has played a leading part in getting the Boycott moving in England."

PEACE NEWS  
5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1

—Acknowledgments to "Red Tape"

# REPORT FOR THE HAS GROWN

... who spoke at the national conference which ... the campaign, is chairman of the London ... Committee; Mrs. Mary Stocks is organising ... in Kensington; Lady Pakenham has taken ... in Chelsea; the Bishop of Woolwich has become ... of his local committee; and Lady Violet ... Carter has been helping to raise funds for the ...

... ARE A FEW OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE ... INVOLVED IN THE JOB OF ORGANISING THE CAMPAIGN ... AS MANY AS 110 BOYCOTT COMMITTEES HAVE ... UP IN LESS THAN FOUR WEEKS AND IN HUNDREDS ... PLACES THE LOCAL LABOUR PARTY, THE TRADES ... THE LIBERAL PARTY, THE CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S ... AND OTHER BODIES ARE ORGANISING THEIR OWN ... IN SUPPORT.

... demand for material from the Boycott Movement's head- ... has been extremely encouraging. By the middle of February ... 7,000 posters and 100,000 copies of the first issue ... News" had been distributed. In fact, it is the popularity ... issue which has encouraged us to bring out a second ... dition to the material supplied by the Boycott Movement ... U.C., has produced its own leaflet which is being widely ... among the unions and several local committees have ... their own leaflets. The Labour Party has printed its own ...

posters (including a massive 16-sheet), and the London Committee has distributed 25,000 leaflets and several hundred posters advertising the Trafalgar Square rally. At the request of the Boycott Movement, Christian Action is publishing a pamphlet by Ronald Segal, Editor of "Africa South," on what apartheid really means to the ordinary South African family.



All over Britain men and women—particularly young people—are hard at work to ensure the success of the boycott. To an extent it has already succeeded. It has forced the question of apartheid into the open here in Britain—as the demand for speakers and factual material has shown. It has shown to the Africans, the Indians, coloured people, and that small body of truly liberal Europeans in the Union that we are prepared to follow up Mr. Macmillan's words with deeds. It is beginning to have its effect upon the Nationalists, too, if this comment from the "Observer's" Cape-town correspondent is to be accepted:

"There is, however, considerable apprehension among Nationalist businessmen about the effects of estrangement between Britain and South Africa. Non-Nationalist industrialists, whose influence must be taken into account, will also be using Dr. Verwoerd to attempt a rapprochement — perhaps by some concessions to world opinion."

DAVID ENNALS

## Wouldn't YOU Boycott if YOU Were an African?

... an African in South ... is almost impossible ... people in Britain, with ... traditions of civil ... and realise for ... lives of the black ... (South Africa), if ... African in South ... could be one of the ... There are nine ... less than three ... and one and a half ... and Indian people ...

almost certainly several miles from your work.

If you go over the road to buy a packet of cigarettes, you must carry your pass on you in case you are stopped by a policeman, arrested for being without a pass, and either imprisoned or sent to ...

... white occupation, and ... those society is tradi- ... tional one, must ... with a mere 13% of ... for land, which can ... the old and the ... young men and the ... the cities to work ...

... yourself an African ... town. You must ... stamped by the ... you may even enter ... on you must have a ... k for work, and a ... And if you change ... sh permit must be ... must have a permit ... curfew and a per- ... in a particular area ...

... work on a farm. The farmer may house you in a farm gaol, perhaps he will pay you (9d. a day) or perhaps he will tell you when you leave that you have spent all your wages in the farm shop, to supplement the meagre worker's diet fed you. Or perhaps you will never leave at all.

Imagine yourself an African mother; passes are now being extended to women too. Imagine your fear that you, like your husband, may be picked up at night in the street for a pass offence, leaving your children without care, and perhaps never knowing what has happened to you. You will have to send your children, if they are among the one-third of African children who ever reach school, to a Bantu Education school, where they will be taught just enough English and Afrikaans to "Understand orders," as Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, explained when introducing the bill in 1957, which closed down all Mission schools which refused to teach this debased form of education.

Father Huddleston called it at the time "Education for Ignorance". A significant part of the curriculum consists of keeping the school clean and tending the garden—if there is one—in keeping with the expressed policy of training the African for an inferior place in society "not above the level of certain forms of labour"

(Dr. Verwoerd again). One African women's leader said that Bantu education turned the African woman into a hen who lays eggs for the government to take from her.

African wages are about one-tenth of those paid to Europeans, and in Johannesburg, the richest centre, 78% of African families live below the official breadline.

What can Africans do to improve their condition, you ask? Can they not fight for their rights, as workers in this country did through trade unions? But the answer is that their trade unions are not recognised by the government, Africans are not even defined as employees under the Industrial Conciliation Acts, it is illegal for them to strike and they have no right of collective bargaining. When they do strike, the police are brought in and violence follows. The penalty for striking, for an African, is 3 years' imprisonment.

But what about Parliament? Isn't South Africa a democracy? But only whites can vote. The tiny representation of four European Members for Africans has now been totally abolished, and there is no way at all in which Africans can have their voice heard. Their petitions and demonstrations are ignored or met with ...

## Prospects of an INTERNATIONAL Boycott

THE All African People's Conference in Tunis in January reiterated their strong support for the boycott scheme, and it is expected that detailed plans for its implementation in Africa will be discussed at the meeting of the Steering Committee in March. Very warm support for the South African Delegates' appeal to African states to work for a continent-wide boycott was given especially by the East African delegates—TANU, Tanganyika, has already started a boycott campaign which has been supported by the Asian Chamber of Commerce in Dar-es-Salaam—and by trade unionists from West Africa.

It now seems possible that a move towards a world-wide boycott of South African goods may be called after March. The grounds for such a plan are already there—the I.C.F.T.U. membership throughout the Western world is now considering plans for implementation of the December resolution; moves are well under way for boycott in Holland and in the Scandinavian countries; trade unions in Cyprus, and as far away as Australia, have responded to the boycott call; and in the United States the American Committee on Africa has done some preliminary investigation of the possibilities of a boycott campaign. French and German students are already active.

The British Labour Party has circulated all members of the Socialist International with information on the boycott. The International Union of Socialist Youth have also supported the boycott and have written to their affiliates throughout the world. The Liberal Party is doing the same with the Liberal International.

## The Scandal the Mines Hushed Up? The Shocking Truth Behind Clydesdale Colliery Disaster?

THE mining disaster at Clydesdale Colliery last month was one of the worst known in the history of mining; it was a tragedy whose intensity perhaps only mining communities will find possible to appreciate. But allegations made in a statement by the South African Congress of Trade Unions on January 28th, indicate that it may also have been one of the worst scandals in mining history.

The main allegations are that (1) No accurate records appear to have been kept at the colliery of the full names of the African mineworkers employed there. Records gave simply the first names of the men, and their clock number, e.g. Jim, clock number 3, Jack, clock number 53, etc. Relatives had to wait four days before the full names were released; within minutes of the disaster, the names of the six European miners were available to the press.

It was also four days before even the number of trapped African miners was released, and these also were later found to be inaccurate.

(2) Although the first cave-in occurred at 4.20 p.m. on January 21st, the shaft was not abandoned, and the final collapse occurred at 7.30 p.m. (The Prime Minister confirmed this in a statement in Parliament on Jan. 25th).

It was further alleged to a Johannesburg newspaper and to SACTU by Clydesdale mine-workers that (a) three weeks prior to the disaster, rumblings were heard continuously at the colliery, (b) at 4.30 p.m. on 21st miners on the day shift smelt gas and ran immediately to the pithead. They were ordered to return to work. (c) A group of 20 miners on the late shift smelt gas when they went underground and refused to go to the coalface. They were returned to the surface and were given the ...

alternative of returning to work or being arrested and placed in the mine detention block. Two workers, interviewed by officials of SACTU, were arrested for refusing to return underground. They were released when the full extent of the disaster was known, and the other 18 returned to the doomed mine.

It also appears that on the undamaged shaft doubled production has been demanded by the mining company. The South African Congress of Trade Unions points out that this shaft is adjacent to the collapsed one, and that the time of extreme danger in mining is when production is being pushed to the utmost.

(3) As compensation, African dependents get only £180 in a lump sum; European dependents get a sum of £115, plus a pension of £13 11s. 4d. per month, with extra sums for each child, and a sum for the widow on remarriage. Over and above this, the family gets the product of a contributory provident scheme.

This discrimination, of course, reflects similar discrimination in wage rates: African miners are paid 3s. per shift, excluding board and lodging, compared with an average of £3 per shift for white mineworkers.

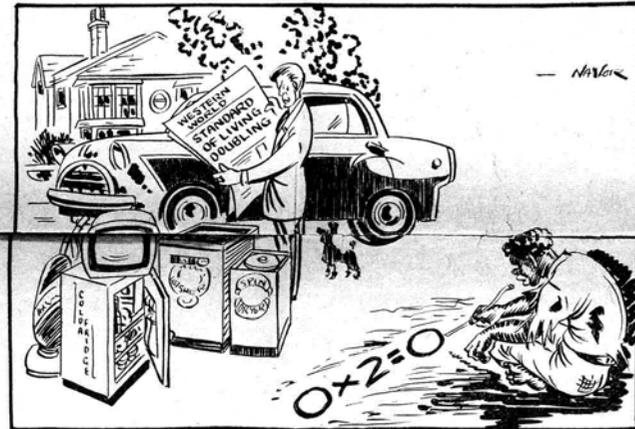


SACTU demanded an inquiry into the disaster, which has since been promised by the government. It also demands adequate compensation for the families of those who died.

wages, an improvement in safety standards and the keeping of records, and trade union rights for African miners. The Congress statement ends as follows:

"The SACTU points out that in the desperate fight for the lives of the white and African miners, there has been no question of colour. White and black proto teams went down the mine together and fought side by side to rescue their comrades. The rescue teams worked in constant danger of death, and when they were finally recalled following the further falls of rock and a deterioration in conditions owing to heavy rains, the men were at the point of complete exhaustion.

"This is the co-operation which we firmly believe need not only exist at moments of national catastrophe, but at all times, and it is for this that the SACTU strives."



Acknowledgments to "Liberal News"

## U.S. WORKERS BACK THE CAMPAIGN

UNDER the heading, "U.S. Market Is Wide Open For Britain-Boycotted Fruit," a New York correspondent of the "Star," Johannesburg, recently reported:

"America can take large shipments of South African deciduous fruit at present destined for the British market if a boycott there should prove effective. This encouraging news was given to me yesterday by the chairman of the panel of four firms which markets the Union's deciduous fruit in the United States."



Soon afterwards came the dramatic news that the executive council of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations has urged its 13,500,000 members to boycott all South African raw materials and manufactured goods.

The "practicability" of a Government boycott of South African gold and other materials also would be explored the council said.



'Bossy-boy' — a farm overseer, armed with a whip, is put in charge of labourers to see that they work as hard and as long as the farmer demands.

# ALAN PATON ANSWERS THE CRITICS

Extracts from a S.A. Liberal Party statement answering attacks on the boycott by the South African High Commissioner in London, Dr. van Rhyen.

WHAT attention has ever been paid by this Government to the deputations, petitions, and protests of non-white people against the injustices of the Apartheid laws? In what way did any of the Group Areas protest meetings affect the attitude of the Government? Or the African Women's protests against the Pass Laws? In what way were the Native Representatives in Parliament, the others, listened to by the Government? Their fate was to be abolished. By the banishment of leaders, by making strikes illegal, and by setting up Bantu Authorities, the Government tried to stifle all protest.

The fact is that the Government has made impossible any kind of democratic action by non-white people. It has even crippled white democratic opposition. Non-white South Africans, whose leaders denounced violence, turned to passive resistance and boycott. What other

weapons had they left? And who would not rather see the use of this kind of pressure, instead of violence.

White South Africans should realise clearly that unless pressures of this kind are used, the only way to break Apartheid will be by revolution. The S.A. Liberal Party cannot be accused of not having tried ordinary Parliamentary weapons. It will continue to use them, but it believes that by themselves they are useless. White supremacy will never yield to mere verbal persuasion. The use of a boycott against one's own country is not pleasant, but the continuance of that inhuman boycott (of men's lives and energies) called Apartheid is intolerable. Willingness to use the boycott depends primarily on how deeply one rejects Apartheid.

Is boycott unethical? We were advised by one of South Africa's eminent divines that a good man may not use pressure against another unless the injustice is real and grave, and that he must ensure that the severity of the pressure and the gravity of the injustice are commensurate.

The late Joseph Bougard, Coloured house-owner of Cape Town, wrote these words, "Group Areas is the cause of my doing away with my life. My property will be taken from me, I have struggled to get it paid off, and I know I will never get my money back that I paid for it."

Such injustices occur every day. There is nothing unethical in the use by our non-white citizens, and those who stand by them, of the only weapons that are left to them.

Dr. van Rhyen says that non-white people are the ones who will suffer. One of our African members, pleading for the Party to support the boycott said, "Of course we will suffer, but who can win freedom without suffering?" Mr. Jordan Nqubane wrote in OPINION, "We should be lucky merely to starve in order to break Apartheid's back." Other African members pointed out that they felt no duty to protect an economy that paid 80 per cent of its non-white workers less than the minimum living wage as calculated by a number of authorities.



Workers in the Boycott Movement's London Campaign office, at 200 Gower Street, N.W.1—where volunteers are urgently needed.

## CO-OP AND THE BOYCOTT

By JOHN STONEHOUSE, MP

THE boycott has put the Co-ops in a dilemma. Co-operators generally share the feeling of abomination towards the racist policies of the Union of South Africa. But some—particularly those on Management Committees—are extremely cautious about Co-operative participation in the boycott campaign because they fear that this would undermine their trade.

These people were much encouraged by a circular issued by the Co-operative Union in Manchester on the 31st December, 1959. Coming as it did soon after the statements from the Labour Party and the T.U.C. supporting the boycott campaign, the Co-op Union circular was a "gaffe" of the first order. It advised societies to have nothing to do with the campaign, and, indeed, poured scorn on the technique of boycott itself. It inaccurately gave the impression that Africans had an equal share in the production and wholesaling of South African commodities.

Since then, following a meeting of the National Council of Labour (the Labour Party, the T.U.C. and the Co-operative Movement), the Co-operative Union and the Co-operative Party have issued circulars emphasising the individual nature of the boycott. Many retail societies have taken their line from this. They have interpreted it as absolving them from having any part in the boycott as societies.

It is, indeed, very curious that on this great moral issue of our time these Co-operative Societies should be unable to make a collective decision on behalf of their members. There would have been no Co-operative movement, and certainly no Co-operative Party, if this pusillanimous attitude had been adopted in the past. It takes my hat off to those active among the minority, who have been trying to change the attitude of their Management Committees.

It is perfectly proper for Co-operative Societies to take collective decisions to boycott South African goods—some very important societies are now swinging round to this point of view. They include the big St. Cuthberts Society in Edinburgh, the South Suburban Society in South London, the Ten Acres and Stirling Society in the Birmingham area, Doncaster, Cowlairs, and Eton and Slough Societies. A special general meeting of members at Bristol asked the Management Committee to participate, and it has been agreed that South African goods should be removed from the shelves.

In the London Society, members have called for a special general meeting to discuss the issue, so the conflict of opinion is still to be resolved. These special general meetings will be held over the Society's area, no doubt within the last fortnight in February. The L.C.C. will next week make the decision to boycott South African goods. If the L.C.C. can make such a collective decision, why should the Co-op be left behind?

## Tories should be supporting us

says LORD ALTRINCHAM

MANY people wonder why there are not more Tories openly associated with the Boycott Movement. I wonder, too—but I don't make the mistake of thinking that the great mass of Tories in the country are against the Boycott. Appearances can be very deceptive, and they are certainly so in this case.

It is easier for the Labour and Liberal Parties to give their backing to the Boycott Movement, because they are in opposition. I do not mean to disparage their support, which is much appreciated, but I just want to suggest that the Tory Party is in rather a different position, because it is in office; and inasmuch as the Boycott is strictly British many Tories may feel they cannot commit themselves to it without seeming to commit the Government.

To be frank, I find this attitude rather ridiculous, because private citizens, even though they may belong to the party in power, need not behave as though they were members of the Government; nor need the Government feel in any way bound or committed by what they may do or say.

The fact that many thousands of Tories will be joining in the Boycott is not enough; they should also declare their support for it.

They should not be put off by Mr. Macmillan. His speech in Cape Town was a noble, if belated, condemnation of Apartheid. But words, even from a Prime Minister, will not put an end to that wicked policy. For years now words have been pouring from every part of the Christian and civilized world—world of righteous indignation—while in South Africa racial discrimination has merely been intensified.

The only hope of a peaceful solution lies in driving a wedge between the racial fanatics, who are now ruling the country, and the rest of the European population which is allowing them to do so. The majority of the Europeans may be racially inclined, but I believe they are not fanatical; and they know that their country depends upon its trade with the outside world.

If the Boycott Movement builds up internationally, these people will begin to feel very uncomfortable and they will begin to wonder if they are not perhaps backing the wrong horse. In other words, they will begin to entertain the idea of liberal reforms and a non-racial policy.

This is the only hope, and it is up to us to take part in a movement throughout the free world which will make that hope a reality.

## What South Africans say

A HOT debate on the boycott is still making headlines in the South African press.

The main fury of the government is directed at those supporters of the boycott in the Union, who include all the non-white political organisations, as well as the multi-racial Liberal Party.

Mr. Patrick van Rensburg, the South African Liberal who helped to organise the boycott in Britain, was the victim of several attacks from Nationalist newspapers. "It is almost unthinkable," wrote Die Vaderland, "that any civilised country would permit one of its citizens, like the arch-liberalist Patrick van Rensburg, to associate himself actively with the boycott movement and then calmly and with impunity return to his fatherland which he tried so flagrantly to stab in the back."

The paper also questioned whether "this person" should not be refused employment as a teacher in South Africa; and an interview with a prominent Nationalist in the same paper suggested that the advocacy of boycott be made a treasonable offence.

However, there is already good evidence that the boycotters hope that an economic campaign would serve to show South African voters that

Apartheid does not pay, is being realised. One correspondent in the Cape Times suggests that the boycott would never have happened were it not for the "excesses" of the Nationalist government; another writes "The rational South African would not consider those who participated in the boycott as traitors. . . . he would have seen to it that they had decent rights." He points out that South Africa's dependence on overseas trade is relatively the highest in the world, and that to suggest an anti-boycott move is foolish.

Spokesmen of two Trade Unions with mixed white and non-white membership expressed

their support for the movement to the Cape Times. One from the 1,500-strong Cape Furniture Workers' Union said "I feel the boycott is about the best thing that could happen." If the boycott did not help, he said, something far more drastic might happen.

Mrs. L. Abrahams, General Secretary of the 12,000 strong Food and Canning Workers' Union (whose workers will be most directly affected by an overseas boycott) said that personally she welcomed the overseas boycott of South African goods as a sign of the widespread international support for the struggle for democratic rights in South Africa.

## Jo Grimond's message

(Continued from page 1)

Commonwealth and we feel particularly implicated in its affairs as many of the people are our own kin and all are supposed to have been brought up according to Christian and humanitarian values.

4. The boycott is an appeal to force rather than reason.

I would repeat that it is one of the few methods of protest open. Nevertheless, I would not be in favour of an official boycott by any Government. I agree that it is an instrument which needs to be used very sparingly. It should be an expression of individual conscience and people should not be dragged into taking part in it.

5. It will do no harm to those who practise the boycott but may do considerable harm to the very people it is supposed to help.

But we have been asked by the Liberal Party and others in South Africa to initiate this boycott and they are the people who know what its effect will be locally. Further, I do suggest that it should be coupled with a positive drive to provide aid for those suffering from apartheid.

If you want to know of a concrete case, study the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Beecher who adopted an abandoned baby. The baby, who had an olive skin, was stated by the Race Classification Department to be coloured and could not therefore live with a white family. Mr. and Mrs. Beecher were forced to leave the country.

## Tom Mboya writes

From a recorded boycott message by the Kenya leader.

SO long as South Africa remains with a government and a society as it has today, we must all consider ourselves jointly and collectively responsible in seeking ways and means of bringing about changes and introducing more liberal policies, and especially the respect for human rights and human dignity. . . .

Possible action falls into three categories: one is economic sanctions by various governments against the Union of South Africa. Such action has already been taken by Jamaica and India. The second is boycott of South African goods by consumers. This is probably the easiest for the ordinary man in the street wherever he may be, who cherishes democracy and freedom. . . . And the third is industrial boycott. . . .

As far as Kenya is concerned, we are committed to take part effectively in organising economic sanctions against South Africa. It is our hope to organise not only a consumer boycott which we have already started in East Africa, but also industrial boycotts which we are now planning. . . .

Perhaps the action we contemplate will bring inconvenience, even hardships, but nothing that is worth living for can be attained without some inconvenience or some hardship.

Let me say this: we support the South African struggle, not just because these people are Africans or coloured people who suffer under the white government, but essentially because we believe in human rights, in democracy in Christianity, in freedom and in human dignity.

More and more people are reading it!  
More and more papers are quoting it!

## The Liberal News

is a broadsheet published every Friday by the Liberal Party. It tells you what is going on in the Party, what its members—leaders and rank-and-file—are thinking and saying. And it gives you plenty of stimulating and controversial material you would never expect to find in a Party paper.

It has devoted a bigger proportion of its space to propagating the boycott than any other newspaper.

The Liberal News may be ordered through your newsagent (price 4d.) or from the Liberal Publication Department, 58 Victoria Street S.W.1 (6s. 6d. a quarter, 12s. six months, 23s. a year).

**KIBUNE**  
 PRIL 24, 1959 SIXPENCE

"It is evident that the non-European population is learning that the purchasing power can be used as a weapon in its general political struggle."  
 —TRANSVAAL CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES

**BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS!**

Work from April 26 the African National Congress  
 Bank Africa and other organisations. London that first  
 and important message to date. They are calling  
 economic boycott of all Nationalist Government  
 of South Africa.

by  
**MYRNA BLUMBERG**

MYRNA BLUMBERG  
 Editor of the Liberator  
 10, New Street, London, E.C.4

**TRIBUNE leads the way**  
 read it every Friday  
 PRICE 6d. FROM ALL NEWSAGENTS  
 or from 222 The Strand, London, W.C.2