

# FIGHTING TALK

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

Vol. 13, No. 4.

Price 6d.

MAY, 1959



## The Economic Boycott

**THE POWER OF THE POUND**  
by RONALD SEGAL

**A TWO-EDGED SWORD**  
by MICHAEL HARMEL

## Behind Nat. Plans for 'Bantustan' Industries

Science Article:  
**MAN'S ANCESTORS**  
by Dr. E. Roux

**CANCER  
RESEARCH IN  
AFRICA**



### CONGRESS LEADERS AT JOHANNESBURG'S AFRICA DAY RALLY

Left to right: Mr. J. Magome, Mr. Duma Nokwe, Mr. Pieter Beyleveld, Mr. James Hadebe, Mr. Oliver Tambo, Dr. A. Letele.  
(Inset) Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi.

# FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats

Vol. 13.

Number 4.

MAY, 1959

Published by the  
FIGHTING TALK COMMITTEE  
P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg

Price per copy: 6d.  
Annual subscription: 7s.6d.

Registered at the G.P.O.

Editor: RUTH FIRST.

## IN THIS ISSUE

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| <b>SOUTH AFRICA</b>   |      |
| On Economic Boycott:<br>Boycott is a Two-Edged Sword,<br>by Michael Harmel            | 2    |
| The Power of the Pound, by<br>Ronald Segal  | 3    |
| Bantustan Border Industries:<br>Giving Afrikaner Capital a Break,<br>by Simon Jameson | 4    |
| Chaos in the Clothing Factories,<br>by W. Brand                                       | 6    |
| <b>AFRICA</b>   |      |
| Rhodesia's Emergency Laws: Clap-<br>ping on the Handcuffs                             | 6    |
| <b>WORLD EVENTS</b>   |      |
| Foreign Policy Overhauls: Chances<br>of a Break in the Cold War                       | 9    |
| Iraq's Revolution and Land Reform<br>by Tabitha Petran                                | 10   |
| <b>WRITING</b>  |      |
| "Walking Home to Mofolo" —<br>D.A.B.  | 10   |
| Young Pip in Africa by Jenny<br>Joseph  | 11   |
| Review of "Darkness and Light",<br>an African Anthology, by C                         | 12   |
| The Banning of Bertrand Russell,<br>by E.R.   | 13   |
| <b>SCIENCE</b>  |      |
| Man's Ancestors, by Edward Roux   | 14   |
| <b>MEDICINE</b>   |      |
| Cancer Control in Africa, by<br>Pluto   | 15   |
| <b>SPORT</b>  |      |
| Non-Whites in Olympic Colours,<br>by John Player                                      | 16   |

# SCRAPBOOK

## SUPPRESSED

A report that the amount of radioactive strontium 90 in the bones of American children up to four years old doubled during 1957 has been in the hands of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for some time, but they have not published it, says an article in the New York magazine THE NATION. The report, by a group of research scientists, said the 1957 increase was by far the greatest since the measurement of strontium 90 in human bones started in 1953. But the figures were already outdated and there was every indication the situation was even worse today.

## BAD EGGS

"The Union's rapid industrial and economic development resulted in the migration of large numbers of Europeans and Non-Europeans to the cities. The majority came with the intention of building a better future for themselves, but there were many also who had no outlook other than to swell the ranks of the vagrants and criminals. When overcrowding of the prisons followed the increasing number of convictions for petty crimes and tax evasions, it was decided to place Non-European prisoners at the disposal of farmers."

The South African Prison System, a Fact Paper by Dr. Herman Venter, professor of criminology at Pretoria University, published by the State Information Office.

## FROM THE CONGO TO ANGOLA

There was trouble in usually quiet-as-a-graveyard Portuguese Angola in February of this year, believed to be related to events in the Belgian Congo, for it broke in the area bordering the Congo and among members of the Bakonga tribe who live in both the Belgian and Portuguese colonies.

## ANTHEM FOR INDEPENDENCE

Nigeria's National Planning Committee for Independence has launched a competition for a national anthem to mark her independence on October 1, 1960. Entries of a song expressing the spirit of a free and independent Nigeria are invited from Nigerians and Non-Nigerians.

## 'WHAT WAS GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME' . . .

Hollywood Producer Herman Cohen, who is credited with starting the vogue for horror films, protested at the London censor's ban on the admission of children to his films. Cohen, who produced 'I Was A Teenage Werewolf'; 'Horrors of the Black Museum' and 'The Headless Ghost' said: "I am sure that Frankenstein and Dracula would not have any serious effect on children's minds. After all, I saw them myself when I was a kid and they didn't affect me . . ."

## IF BRITAIN ONLY KNEW

"If England today really wishes to render a great service to the Native population she would hand over those Protectorates to the Union because economically, historically, geographically and in every respect they form part of South Africa.

It is only through a political mischance they do not form part of the Union. Greater South Africa included those Protectorates. When we include the Protectorates and can see South Africa as a whole, the natural South Africa, we find that practically half the natural South Africa belongs to the the Native population."

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. Reported in Hansard.



"Bongo, Bongo, Bongo, I don't wanna leave the Congo." Eccles.

'DIE BURGER' IS RIGHT . . . .

# Boycott IS a Two-Edged Sword

by MICHAEL HARMEL

The mass boycott by anti-Nationalist consumers of the products of Nationalist-controlled business concerns is getting under way. It started off in 1957 with the joint announcement by the Congress organisations of a boycott of a number of brands of cigarettes. Protracted legal proceedings followed when the Rembrandt group sought interdicts against the Congresses; an unsuccessful attempt. Now, following a resolution of the African National Congress national conference in December, intensive preparations are under way to spread the boycott throughout the country.

Government supporters are panicking at this prospect. There is talk of new legislation to prevent it; though it is difficult to see how any legislation can effectively limit the consumer's freedom of choice, or force him to buy goods he doesn't want. Typically, the Nationalists are also uttering all sorts of threats against those who don't want to be their customers any more. "Dawie", Die Burger's commentator, warns that "boycott is a two-edged sword." He is right. But that is something the Nats. should have thought about themselves a long time ago.

## The Nats. Built on Boycotts

If ever a political party was built up on boycotts — vicious racial boycotts at that — it is the Nationalist Party, which has misgoverned this country for the

past eleven years. Through their economic offshoots, such as the Reddingsdaadsbond, the Nationalists have systematically inculcated the boycott spirit among their supporters. "Buy National" has been their message. "Invest in Nationalist investment companies, building societies and insurance companies. Boycott English-speaking, Jewish and Indian businesses."

By such means many non-Nationalist businesses were damaged and ruined; vast Nationalist-dominated concerns were built up which enriched the Nationalist leaders and provided the campaign funds which ensured the Party's victory in the 1948, 1953 and 1958 General Elections.

Today these concerns aim far wider than the relatively narrow Nationalist consuming public. SANLAM and Volkskas are campaigning for non-Nationalist customers. Nationalist printing and publishing firms are trying to influence Non-European opinion by peddling publications like "Bona" and "Zonk." The Rembrandt Cigarette octopus is doing its best, through an expensive campaign of newspaper and film advertising, to appear as "British" (Rothmans of "Pall Mall") or "American" (Peter Stuyvesant "founder of New York") as possible. It should be noted, in passing, that the same firm has recently acquired control of a substantial slice of the British cigarette industry, in the shape of Carreras, makers of such well-known lines as "Craven A".

## Not Anti-Afrikaner

The Nationalists fear the economic boycott because they, better than anyone else in South Africa, understand its effectiveness. Unlike their own boycotts, the new boycott movement is non-racial. It is not directed against the ordinary Afrikaner business man, but against the great Nationalist concerns which stand behind the Nationalist Party, and are indissolubly wedded to it.

The anti-Nationalist boycott has a tremendous potential, because it offers the man in the street an immediate and effective way of hitting back against the innumerable injustices and hardships inflicted upon him by the Government. "You attack me and degrade me in a thousand ways," he says in effect, to the Government. "You force my wages down and then increase my taxes. You throw me out of my job and my home. You deny my children education and force my wife to carry a pass. Why should I buy Nationalist cigarettes and jams? Why should I do business with Nationalist firms?"

Why indeed? The onus is not upon the supporters but upon the opponents of the boycott to supply the answer. If you like apartheid, book banning, Bantu Universities, and all the other unlovely products of Verwoerdism, there is no reason why you shouldn't buy Nat. products.

But if, like the Congresses, you hate oppression, then here is a very simple question for you:

"Why help the Nats.?"

**This is the speech on the economic boycott delivered to Cape Town University students by RONALD SEGAL, editor of "Africa South."**

# The Power of the Pound

There must come a moment in the lives of the oppressed when out of their hopelessness they say, 'we can endure no more. You have stripped us of all power to change our condition by persuasion; you ignore our protests and dismiss our petitions with deliberate contempt. And you offer us no escape outside of the pressure that we can by our very suffering produce'. Such a mo-

ment, it seems to me, has finally arrived for the people of the Union.

The African National Congress, with its associated organisations, has decided after long consideration to call a national economic boycott of certain products manufactured, and certain companies controlled, by prominent Nationalists. Scheduled to begin on June 26th, the boycott is aimed at hurting those

who employ their influence and resources to keep the vast majority of the people of South Africa in subjection. It is not arbitrary victimisation; it is the only weapon men and women in this country may still legally wield to protect themselves against oppression. For it is not yet a criminal offence in South Africa — and I cannot see how it can ever become one—for the public to buy

## SOUTH AFRICA

certain brands of manufactured articles and refuse to buy others.

### 'A Common Weapon'

A confidential memorandum prepared for its Federation by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries at the end of last year revealed the concern felt by South African manufacturers at the increasing employment of the boycott as a political weapon. "Instances have been reported in the press and have otherwise come to the notice of this Chamber where the Natives and other Non-European communities have organised boycotts against the products of particular companies, mainly for allegedly political reasons. There is evidence to show that some companies have felt the effect of these boycotts in their sales and general turnover. It is also evident that the Non-European population is learning that its purchasing power can be used as a weapon in its general political struggle. This is a development which this Chamber cannot ignore, or discuss lightly, because with the restricted internal market in which South African industries operate organised exclusion of South African manufactured products from a section of the market is of serious consequence to those industries con-

cerned. More particularly is this so in the case of those industries which produce consumer goods for the use of Non-European communities. There is a distinct danger that any legislation to outlaw such boycotts would be viewed in a poor light in overseas countries and particularly those in which South Africa already has a bad press . . . and might even lead to overseas boycotts against South African exports with consequences more harmful to South Africa's economy than might be achieved by local boycotts . . . In the ultimate it must be conceded that boycotting is a very common weapon used in commercial circles to alter the policy of producers or wholesalers and that there are also historical precedents where the boycott has been used in South Africa by Europeans against Europeans and by Europeans against Non-Europeans."

### The Nats Used It

As a weapon, the economic boycott has already exhibited its efficiency. Indeed, there are Nationalists enough who owe their present economic stature to its employment. It is now to be seen whether or not it is capable of bringing our rulers to their senses. The defence against it is easy and sure. The boy-

cotters require of the boycotted only that they should publicly condemn the insanity of apartheid and use their influence and resources to help create a just, shared society in South Africa.

This is not an African struggle alone. It is a struggle of all in this country who reject the moral erosions of racialism and would live to build a society in which they might govern themselves without fear for the peaceful fulfilment of all. The last ten years are littered with the posters of protest we have carried — and the Government only reacts by intensifying its terror. Let us see if the pressure of our purchasing power will be similarly dismissed.

Those of you who are willing to fight the racial lunacies of the Government are being offered your opportunity. Of those who know there is a fight to be fought but would contract out of it because it is inconvenient or unpleasant, I ask only that they stop pretending to themselves and face their futility once and for all. The Congress decision is to be welcomed and supported. And those of you who regard it with fear or distaste would do well to ask yourselves what effective alternative of struggle you would prefer the oppressed to employ.

**One of the by-products of Nationalist plans for factories bordering on the reserves, this article suggests, is the attempt by the Government to win the African middle class for apartheid and to build a political organisation to counter Congress.**

# Bantustan Border Industries

Reports published in Afrikaans, on the prospects for factories in regions bordering the reserves, have aroused much interest. Some informed observers see in the blue prints a carefully considered scheme to foster an Afrikaner industrial capitalism. They point to the poor progress it has made to date, in spite of the long sustained efforts made by the Reddingsdaad, with which Dr. Diederichs, the Minister for Economic Affairs, was closely associated. Having failed to make much headway in open competition with older, more experienced, and financially stronger firms, Afrikaner business men are to be encouraged to build industries in 'underdeveloped' regions near the reserves.

The purpose of this article is to explore, not so much the possibilities for such a development, as its social and political implications.

Any area can be made habitable and sufficiently productive to support a human population. If the necessary trouble were taken, the reserves could be developed to accommodate five or more times their existing population of about 3 million. But this density cannot be achieved with an agrarian economy. There would have to be a high degree of industrialisation and a corresponding amount of urbanisation.

The primary factors for industrialisation are power, transport, water, raw materials and labour. The first three would have to be brought to the reserves. We do not yet know what the reserves might provide in the way of raw materials but it is likely that much would have to be imported. Labour is the only commodity of which a relative abundance can be said to exist on the spot, and it is in demand elsewhere, in

farming, mining and industrial areas.

The cost of bringing the primary factors to the border regions will be great, and will exceed that of transporting workmen from the reserves to the existing centres of industry. Employers will not bear the initial cost of laying railways, roads, electric cables and water pipes to the reserves. It will have to be borne by the taxpayers. Therefore the Government has to obtain support from the general public for its schemes.

If this preliminary, indispensable and expensive development is undertaken will the capitalists put up factories in the border regions?

### Tempting Capital to the Wilds

Now, capital moves from highly developed regions to underdeveloped ones in response to specific stimuli, such as come from a surplus of capital in the

advanced region. The rate of profit falls, established firms keep new competitors out of the field, and difficulty is experienced in expanding the market or finding buyers for new kinds of goods. Underdeveloped regions, in contrast, promise unexplored potentialities; cheap labour, cheap land, absence of competition, the possibility of finding valuable minerals or other raw materials at low cost.

Capital has shown no tendency to move from the industrialised centres to the reserves. It will have to be tempted to go there with the hope of greater profit than can be realised in the existing areas. One doubts whether the advantages of cheap labour and land would be sufficiently attractive to offset the risks and discomforts of going into the wilds. But capitalists who have the backing of the State might consider the proposition with favour. At any rate, it is said that the government's plan have the approval of Afrikaner industrialists. They see a prospect of meeting the competition of English and Jewish industrialists by opening factories with State support in the border regions.

### State to Share the Risk

Combinations of private and public capital have been widely tried out already in the Union. Iscor, Sasol, and Zwelitsha come to mind. Private factories, partly financed by the Bantu Development Corporation, are another possibility. In either case, the State will share the risk.

The success of the venture would depend on the ability of such newly established industries to undercut the older ones. Existing industrialists will offer resistance, but their objections can be discounted by the Government as coming from political opponents. Opposition from displaced White workers must be more seriously considered. They can be neutralised, however, by the technique of job reservation. This will give them a preferred claim to jobs in the 'White' sector.

### Taxpayers' Burden

The major obstacle is likely to come from taxpayers who will be called upon to bear the cost of the preliminary development and of the State's share of the investment in the enterprises themselves.

Here is admittedly a political objection of some magnitude. The interested parties are confident, however, that goodwill can be built up by appeals for 'positive' apartheid. It is not a new idea. SABRA and the Dutch Reformed

Churches have been urging 'positive' action for a long time. Specific proposals for developing the border regions would satisfy the critics among the intellectuals, and consolidate the Nationalist Party.

In any event, the main burden of the costs will have to be borne by urban taxpayers who are not the Government's main support. The United Party will be inclined to give voice to their protests, both as a means of making political capital, and because of the interests it represents. The United Party would, however, have great difficulty in reconciling its opposition with the claim that it is 'progressive' and sympathetic to African aspirations. If the United Party were to oppose, it would be denounced as the spokesman of vested (English and Jewish) interests.

### Bait to Africans

In the thinking that is going on among Nationalist intellectuals and the more far-seeing members of the government, much attention is being given to the possibility of breaking down hostility among African leaders by promising substantial opportunities in and around the reserves. Africans are to fill all the posts intermediate between the top directorate and the unskilled labourer. They are also to reap benefits from subsidiary enterprises, such as trading stores, eating houses, and the processing of raw materials. These will provide openings for African business men and proprietors.

The encouragement of an African middle and white collar class will serve several ends. It will prevent the emergence of a 'mixed' society of the kind now existing in the towns. It will give an African leadership a vested interest in apartheid, and build an opposition to Congress's policy of striving for equality in a common society. It will reduce

costs, by employing African clerks, supervisors and technicians at relatively low wages. The pattern aimed at is that of the West African or, better still, Belgian territories.

### Breakdown of Tribalism

It is recognised that the growth of the towns and industries in and around the reserves will hasten the breaking up of the tribal society. A system of chiefly rule will be impossible to maintain. A new type of leadership must emerge which will appeal to a body of industrial wage earners, as well as peasantry, in the reserves. All this adds up to more and more pressure being applied for the removal of colour bars and for equal rights.

But, the argument goes, this movement of protest can be canalised and appeased in the separate African 'states.' The risks of it spilling over, and affecting the millions of Africans employed in the 'White' sector, are not denied; but the architects of the scheme believe that it offers some hope of preserving White 'supremacy' in a restricted area. The alternative, they maintain, is for the Whites to lose control everywhere.

So the idea of industrial development in border regions is being backed as the only means of:

- ★ keeping the Nationalist Party in power;
- ★ containing the growing world pressure against South Africa, and averting the danger of it passing over to material sanctions;
- ★ giving Afrikaner capitalism a break;
- ★ winning the African middle class for apartheid, and finding a leadership for the masses that would be more competent than the chiefs and more co-operative than Congress with the Government.

SIMON JAMESON.

## The Narrowing Noose

With Basutoland already in the throes of election campaigning for its first representative government elected by popular vote, there came the announcement this month from the Secretary of State in London that the British government would be prepared to consider proposals for representative government also in the Union's western neighbour, Bechuanaland. The isolation of South Africa from the democratic world is gradually becoming complete, not only in the field of government and franchise, but others.

This month, for the first time, the Central African Federation were hosts to a visiting team of American athletes consisting of both Negroes and Whites.

To the epoch-making sports meeting in Salisbury where the Americans opened their tour there came Empire Games prize-winner Apere Onentia from Kenya to compete on an equal footing, and also outstanding African athletes from the Federation itself, Muleya and Lovemore.

Also for the first time in Southern Africa, a bill is before the Rhodesian Parliament which will make discriminatory treatment on grounds of race alone a crime. Though the provisions of this bill apply only to members of the diplomatic corps, it is a significant breakthrough in an area where, up till now, colour has always been the only test of a man's status.

# Chaos in the Clothing Factories

by W. BRAND

In the nineteenth century in Britain, when the rising factory owners exploited women and child labour, a storm of protest for social improvements shook the country to its foundations. The worst form of exploitation occurred in the coal mines, textile mills and clothing factories, and one of Thomas Hood's immortal poems, entitled "The Song of the Shirt" contained this verse:

"Stitch, Stitch, stitch,  
In poverty hunger and dirt,  
A woman sat in unwomanly rags,  
Singing the Song of the Shirt."

This storm of protest backed by working class organisation and action led to great changes for the better. In South Africa too when the clothing industry began to expand, many militant actions were carried out by the workers to abolish the evils of very low pay, sweating at home for piece work rates, long hours, and for the right to form trade unions.

## Two-Pronged Attack

Yet today the clothing industry is rapidly taking the path of chaos and confusion and the undermining of these hard-won achievements. This can largely be blamed on the policy of the Government in its drive for apartheid and job reservation. The attack is two-pronged. By first enforcing the splitting of the workers' trade unions into racial and colour segments the Government has weakened the bargaining and fighting capacity of the trade unions in the clothing industry, where White, Coloured and African workers were employed in skilled occupations in large numbers.

Second, by encouraging the flight of clothing factories to rural areas — away from wage regulating controls — the government is conniving at the employment of African workers at abominably low rates of pay.

## Factories Flee to Reserves

Up to now there were differential rates of pay at the coastal centres, with lower rates in the Western Province, Eastern Province and Natal, than those paid in the Transvaal, but other working conditions were more or less equal under Industrial Council Agreements and steps were being taken to raise wages to the Transvaal level. All these efforts have now been swept aside by the flight of clothing factories from the controlled industrial council areas to the uncontrolled rural areas where African labour can be super-exploited at low

rates of pay. In some instances these wages range from 15/- to 17/6 per week.

Three objectionable features have made their appearance. Firstly there has been a rapid increase in the unemployment of skilled garment workers, who have been thrown out of work by their factories moving away, and also by the economic "recession" which is being felt in South Africa.

## Two Wage Scales

Secondly employers in the Transvaal and Natal have under duress, compelled the Garment Workers' Union to relax some of its hard-won improved working conditions. The labour force has now two sets of wages specified in the Agreement in the Transvaal:

**Category "A"** workers are those hitherto employed and whose top wages (for a machinist) is £6.14.2 per week.

**Category "B"** consists of the newcomers to the industry and their top wage is £5.3.3. Moreover, Category A learner workers get increases every three months, and the new Category B workers only every 6 months.

Flowing from the low wages paid in the rural areas and the differential wages for skilled workers, many workers classified as Category A workers are finding themselves pushed out of their jobs. One of the victims has been the leader of the so-called "White" faction in Germiston, who for years fought against the policy of the Garment Workers' Union to have the same wages for the same work irrespective of who did the job, Black, White or Coloured worker.

## Job Reservation

The only promise extracted from the Minister of Labour was that he intended to apply "job reservation" to the Garment industry soon. It will be remembered that the Minister's first attempt to do this was slung out by the Supreme Court as being unworkable and the Minister has now closed the "loopholes" and hopes to give protection with the new law. But it can be predicted that job reservation is doomed to failure and will only succeed in making confusion worse confounded by dislocating the clothing industry. For the simple fact is that the White labour force has reached saturation point in the demand for labour and the employers can only satisfy the expanding industrial demand by employing Non-White labour.

## Sweated Labour

Yet another "sore" spot has developed as a result of this insane policy: the revival of "sweating", the bugbear and most hated ill in the clothing trade, by which work is farmed out to women in their homes at piece work rates. All over the world steps have been taken to abolish this "outwork", one of the worst features of the clothing trades in the last century. Because clothing can be made by hand or an individual working his own machine, this is an industry in which it is easy to contract the work out to persons in their homes, where there is no control over working hours, labour conditions, and even ordinary hygiene. The clothing worker sweating at home to get the work out will soon inspan the children and work late into the night to try and live on piece work rates, which are liable to be cut at the whim of the employer. For many years the Garment Workers' Union, to its credit, succeeded in strictly controlling, even virtually abolishing this evil, but now nearly one thousand home-workers are believed to be employed in the Johannesburg area alone—a state of affairs that can undermine the wages of the workers in the same manner as lower wages in rural areas do, and have an even worse effect on working conditions.

Many leading employers are at one with the trade unions that the clothing industry is being crippled by the threat of job reservation, by the existence of factories in rural areas, by the general uncertainty of government policy, which is constantly interfering in industrial affairs in the insane drive to impose the dogmas of apartheid on an industry which at one time was giving a lead on how workers of the different races in South Africa could combine to work together under the same conditions of labour, thus eliminating racial exploitation of White against Black.

The recent strike of African workers in a Natal factory in protest against the low wages being paid to them is a sign, of things to come. The clothing unions salvation, and that of the industry lies in the organisation of all workers in the industry in a united union for their common benefit. Any other policy can only lead to the industry being doomed to become a sweatshop industry similar to those of Thomas Hood's days in England before the workers succeeded in raising themselves out of the misery of the nineteenth century.

# Clapping on the Handcuffs

One of the critics of Prime Minister Welensky's Preventive Detention Bill is reported in the Rhodesian press to have observed: "Even South Africa holds its Treason Trial in the open." Of which fact Welensky was no doubt well aware. And no doubt equally aware that the open Treason Trial method of dealing the coup-de-grace to the Congress movement has thus far turned out to be a costly series of government debacles and fiascos. Welensky, clearly, is not willing to repeat the Nationalist Government's sorry failure. In Rhodesia, clearly, the Congress movement is to be handed its warrants of arrest and incarceration behind locked doors, without reasons stated and without public inquiry or trial by law.

## Little Difference

The present Preventive Detention Bill, now almost at the last stage of Parliamentary rubber-stamping, replaces a former Bill withdrawn unwillingly by Welensky in the face of widespread public outcry. Its provisions are not essentially different from the first, though they have provided sufficient of the trappings of legalism to quiet many critics while providing no safeguards for the accused. The Bill provides — like the first — for the detention in "preventive arrest of persons who are concerned in any activities which" . . . in the opinion of the Governor are potentially dangerous to the public safety or public order to such an extent that their continuance might necessitate the declaration of a state of emergency.

Thus the decision to arrest is taken by the Governor, acting on the sufficiency of his own opinion. Those already under "preventive detention" since the proclamation of the "emergency" in Rhodesia have likewise been arrested by decision of the Governor — that is, as the Bill makes clear beyond a doubt — by the Cabinet.

The Bill speaks throughout of "the Governor". No doubt this is intended to answer the world-wide criticism of the first Bill, in which it was said that the Cabinet was prosecutor, judge and jailer. But in fact the Bill clearly defines the word 'Governor' as ". . . the officer for the time being administering the colony, acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council." In practice therefore, Governor means Cabinet. The 'Governor' who will order further pre-

ventive arrests when he is 'of the opinion', is the same cabinet as that which already ordered hundreds of arrests without trial at the time of the so-called "emergency."

## Star Chamber

A person detained, it is said, may appeal against his detention to a special Tribunal, composed of a judge, a magistrate and a senior Native Commissioner, all appointed by the "Governor." (In the previous Bill now withdrawn, this tribunal was to be composed of five members of Parliament.) The presence of the judiciary on the Tribunal must be regarded as window-dressing. The Tribunal will not be bound by the usual laws of evidence; it shall take cognisance of statements made to it, verbally or in writing, by Cabinet Ministers, Police officials or the Secretary of Native Affairs — without the usual safeguard that such statements are to be made under oath or to be subject to examination and cross examination by the defence. But there is worse. If the Minister so directs — and the Minister is in effect the prosecutor in all cases before the Tribunal — evidence may be given to the Tribunal in the absence of the accused or his lawyer! And if the Minister so directs, such evidence may not even be divulged to the person accused. All the proceedings of the Tribunal will be held in secret, and heavy penalties are laid down for anyone reporting any of the proceedings.

But even with this Star Chamber procedure, Welensky is taking no chances. The findings of the Tribunal are not of any force. The Tribunal is advisory only, and its decisions may be accepted or rejected by the "Governor." Welensky arrests; Welensky directs the Tribunal's procedure; Welensky judges the Tribunal's decision! It is provided in the Bill that, when the "Governor" does not accept the Tribunal's decisions he shall report that fact to Parliament at — naturally — a secret session. There is no provision that Parliament has any authority to debate the matter; and it is clear that Parliament has now power to override the "Governor's" decision. Not surprising therefore that the Salisbury Bar Association can declare by 14 votes to 1 that the Bill . . . "makes possible unwarranted and arbitrary interference with the Rule of Law and personal liberty."

## Clamping on Handcuffs

Sir Edgar Whitehead, in a moment of unusual frankness in the House, made clear that the intention was not judicial trial but political judgement by the governor of the day. "Release" he stated "is not a thing which the courts could decide, for it is a matter of policy. The release of one man at present detained in Southern Rhodesia could cause the creation of a state of emergency within two weeks, even though all the others were kept in jail." This attempt to make the flesh creep is part and parcel of the whole technique by which this Bill has been bulldozed through. There is, in Rhodesia, a state of emergency, with hundreds arrested without trial. There has not yet been any explanation, any concrete facts to explain — let alone justify — the state of emergency. There are now no concrete facts given to justify the new Gestapo Bill. In Rhodesia, it seems, it is enough to breathe the word "Congress" to justify anything. There have been protests, it is true. The Church leaders of almost every Church have protested. So have the Central African party, not at present represented in Parliament. But in the main, White Rhodesia is sitting calmly by, clamping the handcuffs on the Blacks without asking even why or wherefore.

It is said that the Bill will only be of force and effect for five years. Who would be so naive as to imagine that at the end of that time, Welensky or his successors will voluntarily abandon such a powerful gag on the African people, when a mere one-clause Bill would be enough to extend it for another five, or ten or twenty?

Side by side with the Preventive Detention Bill is a Bill to provide for what is termed the care and maintenance of the detainees and their families. In less mealy mouthed circles than the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, this Bill smells of concentration camp. It too is being rushed through in indecent haste. And to make the police state complete, there are a series of amendments to what is known as the Public Order Act. These amendments will increase from one year to seven years imprisonment the penalty for "publishing statements, reports or rumours calculated to cause fear or alarm, knowing

(Continued at foot of page 8)

# Break in the Cold War?

The withdrawal of two of the world's leading statesmen, John Foster Dulles and Dr. Konrad Adenauer, from the front seats of the international diplomatic arena to the distinguished visitors gallery, opens up significant possibilities of a break-through in East-West relations.

New situations in the international arena demand new policies which in turn frequently demand new leaders. Thus the advances in military technology on the one hand, whereby within a matter of hours the leading centres of the whole world could be destroyed, and the growth of a vast "neutral" bloc of humanity demanding an end to East-West hostility on the other, has confronted the Great Powers with a need to produce more flexible foreign policies to be pursued by less rigid statesmen.

## FLEXIBILITY

The Soviet Government realised this some years ago when it embarked on its "New Look" foreign policy, which, although substantially based on the same principles as before, was marked by a greater flexibility. Old-guard Soviet statesmen who opposed the change were pushed out of the way. As a Soviet scientist returning from the Antarctic put it to someone in Cape Town recently when asked why Molotov had been demoted: "He said 'No' too often."

The British Foreign Office, with its years of tradition training it to be sensitive to the needs of diplomacy, has also in the past few years taken tentative steps in the direction of flexibility. One recalls the Eden Plan for a demilitarised zone and disengagement of forces in Europe, which was shelved after West Germany and America had ex-

## Clapping on Handcuffs

(Continued from page 7)

or having reason to believe that the statements are false." Threatening violence is also to have its penalty increased from one year to seven. And for the crime of taking part in a boycott against any person on account of his political views, or to intimidate any person on account of his political views, the penalty will be up to seven years imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The Rhodesian new deal, it is said, is "Partnership." If there was previously any doubt as to its meaning, there can be none now.

pressed their disapproval.

Now British Prime Minister MacMillan has, in personal consultation with leading statesmen of East and West, attempted to pump a bit of flexibility into the diplomacy of the Nato powers.

The immediate issue has been the necessity for a German peace treaty and a new definition of the status of Berlin. All the initiative in paving the way for a successful Foreign Ministers conference on the Berlin question has so far come from the Russians, and the British, the Americans, West Germans and French, far from welcoming MacMillan's initiative, have been trying to slap him down.

They claim, and not without some cause, that MacMillan wants to be regarded as the great Peacemaker by the British electorate, that he fears the growth of a mighty German war machine and that he wants Britain to be regarded as the leading Western power in Europe.

But these arguments do not in any way justify their determination to stick to their old tough policies, and the long-suppressed pressures for an overhaul of their foreign policies are beginning to force their way through.

## ADENAUER KICKED UPSTAIRS

In West Germany, Chancellor Adenauer has been kicked upstairs by the Christian Democratic party leaders who fear a mass swing over to the Social Democrats if Adenauer's no-compromise policy is allowed to continue. Adenauer's obduracy has on many occasions been an embarrassment to the Christian Democrats, but in the past they have never been strong enough to exercise any control over their leader.

Now, although Adenauer will not, by all accounts, stop trying to control West German foreign policy, his power will be greatly reduced, and his successors will be far more responsive to the strong demand that West Germany be not turned into a graveyard in any possible future war.

Similarly John Foster Dulles' resignation on grounds of ill-health as U.S. Secretary of State may well open the way for a more flexible American foreign policy. The key figures in the State Department were all chosen by Dulles and all kept strictly to the rigid Dulles line. Under the slogan of "no appeasement" he actually made a virtue out of inflexibility. Regarding himself virtually as an agent of the Lord, he saw the

mission of U.S. diplomacy to be to wage a crusade against what he called "international atheist Communism" as well as to stamp out heresy in his own camp.

Such an approach invites fruitless arguments at the conference table about theology rather than about problems such as disarmament and relaxation of international tension.

## U.S. DIPLOMACY

Dulles' successor, Christian Herter, a career diplomat out to please as many people as possible, is likely to pay more attention than did Dulles to the influential Americans who have been demanding a New Look in U.S. foreign policy. Recent strong advocates of a "drastic, sweeping revision" of U.S. diplomacy include Senator J. William Fulbright, new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Mike Mansfield, a member of that committee and deputy leader of the Senate Democratic majority, and George M. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow.

Mansfield recently declared that:

- The East German regime must be recognised as a fact;
- Peaceful unification of Germany could only come about by the decision of the Germans themselves, and not through the Big Four;
- The Rapacki (Polish) and Eden plans for a demilitarised zone in Central Europe should be considered;
- The Berlin problem should be solved through the efforts of West and East Berlin authorities.

These proposals come very close to those of the Russians, and, if adopted by the U.S. State Department, could mark the first significant break-through in East-West relations since the Geneva summit meeting in 1955.

President of the Basutoland Congress Party, Mr. Ntsu Mokhele attended the recent emergency meeting of the Steering Committee of the All-African Peoples' Conference at Conakry in Guinea. Delegates from Ghana, Southern Rhodesia, Ethiopia, French Guinea, the French Cameroons, the Belgian Congo and Liberia also attended. The meeting's agenda included the situation in Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo.



# Iraq's Revolution and Land Reform

by  
**TABITHA PETRAN,**  
 the only Western journalist  
 roaming Iraq's interior.

The remote province of Amara lies along the lower reaches of the Tigris, where it divides into many branches which flow into the great marshes of Southern Iraq, while the main body of the river moves on to join the Euphrates at Qurna, one of the many legendary sites of the Garden of Eden.

The 200-mile, eight-hour drive from Baghdad to the provincial capital, the town of Amara, cuts across desert land, much of the way roadless except for tyre tracks and almost impassable ruts.

## Strong Reactions

Our route passed through only one town, a few green fields, and for the rest a wasteland which seemed to be covered with snow — actually salt, sometimes encrusted and inches thick. But we frequently met Bedouins on the move and passed near clusters of black goat-hair Bedouin tents; through villages of oval mud houses and later small settlements of the reed and thatch huts common to southern Iraq.

The further south we went, the stronger the reaction among nomads and villagers to the sight of a European. The majority ignored us, but others shouted imprecation ("We will kick you out of the country!"), shook their fists or spat in contempt. The first incident provoked lengthy discussion among the male passengers and the driver, with all of whom I had established an elementary political understanding. At the second incident we stopped and the driver shouted: "You are all wrong. This is my sister, You don't like Dulles. Well, she doesn't either. She is a democratic American, a true woman of Iraq."

A little discussion often cleared things up. Sometimes questions were asked: "Why don't you throw out Eisenhower like we threw out Nuri Said?" In a small village, a shopkeeper assured me: "Never mind, some day your country will be as democratic as mine." Always our impromptu gatherings ended happily with cheers for Abdul Karim Kassem and peace and friendship between the Iraqi and American peoples.

## Poverty Persists

To the town of Amara, standing at a fork of the Tigris and Butera rivers, rice, barley and wheat grown in the backlands are brought by pitch-lined, high-prowed canoes, sailboats and motor launches for trans-shipment to Basra. Amara boasts ancient crafts and skills,

chiefly rug-making and silverwork, but poverty is still absolute.

All land is owned by the State, but until the Revolution nearly all of it was in the actual possession of four sheik families. What sheik rule was like I learned from the fellahin (peasants) on a number of unforgettable trips by motor boat and canoe up the rivers and creeks and into the marshlands.

In a 40-hut settlement near the Majer River, formerly part of the 6,000-acre domain of Sheik Jabr Hatem, we were welcomed by a score or more fellahin, all of us crowding into the tiny mudhif (guest house). Like other reed houses, the mudhif consists of arches made from 20-foot marsh reeds tied together at the top, the whole covered by reed matting to form a dome-like hut. The flat ends are closed with vertical reeds. The entrance a slit or low opening at one of the flat ends, is the only source of light.

## Their Story

Black-clad women outside (custom still keeps women in a menial status and even in Republican Iraq they would not dream of joining the men inside) produced a kerosene-filled bottle with a rag wick. In its flickering light all the fellahin wanted to talk at once, and did — with gestures so graphic I could almost understand them without an interpreter. This is what they said:

"We could never get our share of the barley crop even though it was only one-fourth. Whatever the sheik wished would be. He and his soldiers—there were 30 of them—took all our food. They left us nothing. For simple faults we were punished severely. The sheik made us pay fines. If we couldn't pay, he beat us and poured hot water over us." (Scars of these and other wounds were exhibited.)

"If a fellah took water to irrigate his land" (the pump was owned by the sheik and water sold only to those he favoured) "the sheik would put him in a box with a cat, nail it up, and have his guards roll it and roll it on the ground, while the cat clawed the man inside. If a fellah went to the police to complain, the sheik sent a man to bribe the policeman. Then the fellah would be driven away and he would never again be given land to cultivate."

## All Changed

Every village we visited in Amara had much the same story to tell. The fraction of the crop theoretically due the fellah was reduced by special levies to cover the sheik's coffee expenses for his guests, to feed the sheik's cows, pay his guards and servants. Sheiks claimed the rivers as their property and took most, if not all, of the fish caught by the fellahin. If the fellahin did not pay in advance for the right to cultivate the land, he was given no land to cultivate. So he sold whatever possessions he might have and tried to make a living weaving marsh reeds into mats.

Sheiks banned radios for the fellahin and resisted government efforts to build schools along the waterway. School teachers were hounded out of the district. Sheiks maintained their own armies, guards, prisons and even African slaves.

All this is changed now. Along the rivers, sheik's palaces—squat one-storey brick or stone buildings, their white paint peeling, faded and streaked, their windows barred—stand empty. Right after the Revolution the sheiks absconded—most of them to Baghdad.

## The Real Story

I met only one sheik in Amara. He was a bewildered-looking young man who showed us around his "estate" politely but with obvious embarrassment. The fellahin, treating him with a friendly contempt, explained that he had "had connections" with their secret societies before the Revolution, so they had let him stay.

The rest of the sheiks "became like cats and went into hiding." More than one fellah said frankly: "We wanted to kill them. We would have hunted them out and killed them but the Union told us not to." A long-time leader of one of the peasant societies explained: "We had to keep the peace and we wanted to make the Revolution like human people. Of course, the sheiks deserve to die. But we are men now and co-operating together. So it isn't necessary."

This new co-operation among men is the real story of Amara. Land reform officials believe that one of its results may be a doubling of agricultural production. For not only are the fellahin working better but all the fellahin will be employed to cultivate all the land in contrast to former years when much of the land and many of the fellahin remained idle.

# WALKING HOME TO MOFOLO

Inevitably, we had stayed too long. After an inept supper — much was forgiven her because she confessed her inefficiency with much frankness — Hazel produced some dry wine and we settled down to talk. Secure in her little backyard room in a classy suburb, tolerated but suspected, we shut out Johannesburg and South Africa and talked, by turns lightly and seriously, of many things. Hazel, who was White, yet had cast off her Whiteness and belonged nowhere in a White society of privilege and dominance she had scorned and which was revenging itself on her: myself, from the crepuscular no-man's-land of what are called Coloured people, and Hutch, who was generally agreed to be African, but whom even officialdom had failed to classify. Husky and shrewdly obtuse, he shouldered his way through all categories, remaining in the last resort, only the elusive and enigmatic man that artists persist in being. He had just come through a shattering mental and physical experience in which I had supported him with a strength I only managed to find because of his compelling need, but now no trace of it showed, except in the languor of his speech. For Hazel, his presence, after his ordeal and her own recent grilling by the police, meant a delight that she tempered with uneven firmness. With blonde hair curled in crisp unruliness and trimly silken legs she moved about the small room, trying to be unfussy and put us at ease. After she had produced the wine from under the bed, the dishes stowed, we settled down at last.

We were at once strangers, and old acquaintances, and intimates. Thinking of it now, it seems to me we were like patterns in figured cloth. Dissimilar each in his own way, yet woven together by so many threads of knowledge and shared pleasures and lively reminiscences that linked us over many years, over hundreds of miles.

And so, after the talk of frustration and danger, of oppression and tension, of how long it would endure or be endurable, of our own breaking down under the system or the breaking up of the system, of Ghana and flights across the border, we came to our

common love, poetry. Always, it was just one more, though it grew later, and at the back of our minds was the peril of the return to Mofolo, in the dark, and in danger of our lives.

There were snatches of Eliot and Spender — Dylan Thomas and MacNiece for me—and for Hutch, a little *démodé*, Browning and Dobson's "Cynara." And then more.

Finally, the brief, brittlely lovely period of parting, and then we were off. Leaving the embattled security of the gracious homes around Zoo Lake, we worked our way towards the station. Beside me walked Hutch, sniffing at the keen night air. Some classically pedigreed bull, expensively bred on a Spanish estancio might be like Hutch, rampaging into the bull-ring with lumbering grace and exquisite sensitivity.

We passed the bright modern facade of Park station and entered the dim rear maze of barriers and fences which was the Non-European entrance. Already they crowded the station, the throng who were waiting for the last train. The bearded watchmen with their great kleries, the roistering toughs with their clubs, the silent men with their heavy sticks, the suede-shoed city slickers with their ominous bulge at hip or armpit. Offence or defence? No-one could tell but many died each week on the train, and few questions were asked. The tired elderly workmen, the anxious women, the servant-girls in their finery huddled in nervous knots. A young spiv dragged a girl along the platform, whimpering. He cuffed her savagely and she cried aloud, but no-one interfered. Wisely, numbly, we looked the other way. African policemen, never far away, moved officiously among the thickening crowd which now blocked the platform. Sensibly, never able to gauge the measure of hostility which existed among the people, they studiously avoided the area of the disturbance.

For me, new and ignorant, it was exciting: it was a fresh experience, with the tang of danger and adventure. But Hutch, speaking in a sombre undertone, did not conceal his fear. He had seen death come too swiftly, too easily and

too often. Sometimes it was for a pay-packet, or for protection, or after an argument. And sometimes for no reason at all. He was afraid. Afraid of the crowd, afraid of the journey, and afraid of the long walk at the end of the journey. He gestured surreptitiously at a tough, identified a gangster with so many killings to his credit, chose some bearded watchmen with heavy staves and edged me into the radius of their possible protection.

An electric train hurtled into the station, and I moved to it but it did not stop. It was going through, going somewhere else into the darkness. Then we gathered ourselves for the scrambling rush for the train as it rumbled in. A brief pause, with a wild clutching at doors and then we jerked off, with dozens racing after and taking flying leaps into the train. We stood pressed against each other—there was no seating room, but not too far near the door—"Not safe" Hutch explained laconically. We crashed into the suburban stops, falling pell-mell against each other. All round were villainous characters, but it did not do to scrutinise them closely. It might give offence.

It was then in that long headlong flight, surrounded by those violent and terrified people that I realised the perils of that long walk from Dube to Mofolo.

"Is there no station at Mofolo?"

Hutch shook his head dumbly.

We thundered into another station. Above the crash and rumble I heard the noise of scuffling further down the long carriage. A sharp cry, smothered or drowned in the stampede of a fresh crowd of passengers boarding.

"Can't we take a taxi?" I asked desperately.

"No," Hutch said morosely. "When we get off, keep with the bunch, it's safer."

Then we were alighting, scurrying along the platform, through fenced barricades up a flight of steps that led off from the station. At the top I paused in the jostling crowd. On the right hand, the lights stretched away. On the left hand, so far off that they formed a single yellow line, another stretch of lights. But ahead, the way we had to go, a great ex-

panse of darkness and grey shapes, its reaches emphasised by an occasional solitary light — a feeble glimmer, as of a sputtering candle.

At the foot of the steps we split into two groups. It seemed to me that what we followed was by far the smaller group. We huddled together. At my shoulder was the gaunt giant with the livid scar that I had noticed eyeing me on the station. Behind me I made out the dim form, and the club he carried half-upraised. I trod on the heel of a city slicker ahead of me. He never looked back and I realised that here identification would be futile. Hutch was an admired Congress leader, I thought. But he had discounted it. Here it counted for nothing. I shrank into the silent crowd.

Suddenly a car swung round in a wide arc, its headlights sweeping the group like a searchlight. "A taxi," I whispered eagerly to Hutch.

"No use," Hutch grunted. "Might be gangsters. They'll strip you naked. You'll be lucky if they leave you alive."

In the silent starless night the cold and fear poured down on us. Fear froze us in silence. Bright metal glinted briefly beside me, a knife perhaps. Helpless, locked in fear like solid ice, we plodded on. Stumbling over the uneven ground, squelching in the slush, we plodded on. I bowed my head, seeking the anonymity of complete darkness, my shoulders hunched. Naked and unprotected. Cold.

Behind me a man's voice gasped, someone slithered in the mud, fell. No-one looked back.

Cold fear piled on us, mounted like a huge iceberg which crushed down on us. My mouth was dry, my thighs aching with fatigue and tension.

And then suddenly we were among the first houses and the tension relaxed. As we reached a solitary streetlight and moved into its pool of wan light, the tension snapped audibly. Speech began, first in muttered undertones, then in pointless but loud conversation. Someone laughed uncertainly, we were there.

Ahead the long indistinguishable streets stretched, and there was a long way to go to our place still, but we had reached Mofolo. We were home. D.A.B.

## FROM SERMONS TO COMICS

# YOUNG PIP IN AFRICA

It is strange that even in places where teachers are not recognised as important enough to be paid good wages, where unmonied learning is scoffed at openly, where far more is spent on make-up than books, education is held in reverence, and the ill-read bully is never quite free of envy of the educated man.

by

JENNY JOSEPH

In South Africa even those who have not troubled to further their own education imply respect for it when they say that "it would be all right if you were just dealing with the educated African." And those who hate and fear educated Africans more than they do others show with even greater force that they consider that education has power.

### The Glamour of Education

The word "glamour" is a corruption of the word "grammar" which once meant "learning." One who had learning at a time when few could read and write came to be regarded as exercising strange powers and "grammartye" sometimes meant witchcraft. "Glamour" has come to mean another sort of power, another sort of bewitchment.

The glamour of education is great among Africans today. It has not the same sort of attraction that it had for the Renaissance seekers after knowledge, but is more comparable to the desire for betterment among the lower classes in England in the 19th century. It arises partly from an awareness of living ill-equipped in a world not of their own ruling, partly from the insistence of others that an illiterate peasant is a piece of mud. There are African counterparts to the youth, David Livingstone, studying on his own while he did a hard day's work at the mill, and more like Pip in "Great Expectations" trying to get an education in order to be better thought of.

But there is an enormous difference between anyone, Black or White, struggling to become educated today and someone in much the same position a hundred years ago — the sort of books that the eager mind, newly equipped with the wonderful tool of reading, feeds on.

### From the Bible to Comics

The Bible and the English Prayer Book, sermons and speeches from people trained in a fairly dignified style of speaking, were the examples in their daily lives even of people who could not read. You often hear among older African women in Johannesburg the simple and vivid use of words, full of real meaning about life, that people unhampered by the cliché of half-education have. The advertisements and playbills of the 19th century were no better, once we escape from the charm of the old-fashioned, than today. But the widespread use of words as meaningless coins in a propaganda game was nothing like what it has become today.

What is the person who begins to read, without guidance, anywhere in the world, stuffing his eyes and ears with today? Advertisements, comics, radio announcers' inanities, newspapers, trailers for next week's films, and T.V. Personalities. All of these have their uses but none can take the place of books. The monosyllabic American heroes hardly encourage anyone to think before they speak about the words they use: the heroines of the "true romances" (with glaring covers too bright to escape attention beneath school desks) have hardly anything of what we should call thought at all. The masters of outer space (or the earth we know) reveal no imagination nor clarify any feeling.

### Making Words Meaningless

The triple superlatives loaded on to impressionable minds have the ultimate result of making them wordless when something important happens. Paradoxically, using a word much too big for an idea makes the word useless, the idea meaningless.

Anyway, who really wants a cereal that is "a great new food," or chocolate that is an "astounding discovery?" Do people really so lack vanity as to think that a pair of stockings will change their life when they themselves cannot? The bad advertisement depends on the fact that people don't think of the words but just listen to the roar, and advertisers want to keep it that way. The power of propaganda is mesmeric.

This sort of thing is going on in every country where the "advertisement mentality" has penetrated and is particularly pernicious in places where the illiteracy percentage has been high. But, of course, South Africa has a special version of the common trend.

REVIEW

AN ANTHOLOGY OF STORY-TELLING

Added to the influences, some of which I have mentioned, that prevent a literate person from becoming educated, there is a concerted attempt to prevent it. One of the things that help this denial is the unavailability of good books.

The Johannesburg City library is a very good one, but usable only by those who are more likely to have books at home, more likely to be able to afford to buy them. In a group of intelligent, lively-minded Indian children only four out of thirty-five were at the time of asking reading anything but newspapers, comics or reading matter that they would not own up to. Some of these children were seventeen, at a time when the mind is most receptive, most easily influenced by books, and most hungry. A few of them would never go near a library if there was one open to them, but it has never been possible for reading to be part of the climate of their homes. When a library was made available to them most were eager to join.

The Fordsburg branch of the Johannesburg Public Library recently opened following a campaign for it by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, for the first time makes books readily available to the people of Fordsburg and Vrededorp. Yet, the librarians report sadly, while the schoolchildren and their younger brothers and sisters make a rush for the shelves and reading tables each afternoon, with that natural eager curiosity small people have for picture books and stories, their parents are rarely seen as borrowers. They have lost, or had knocked out of them, the art of reading.

Rewards of Reading

The pervading attitude that if you have education you can get a better job has encouraged a horrible utilitarianism in reading habits. You read because it is useful to know, not so much because you are fascinated by the book, taken into new worlds, laid under the spell of words. If you want to relax or lose yourself in a book, you read a Whodunit — enjoyment is one thing, improvement another. This means that from both sides literature is pushed out. If a man is interested in jazz or cricket he may read an informative book about it. He will relax by playing cricket or listening to jazz, or reading comics. He takes his mental habits from these and the newspapers. But poetry, say, neither requires no effort, nor is it "useful." It requires the sort of effort difficult to take in a world where acknowledgement in cash or prestige is the first consideration.

The African peoples all over this vast continent have an immensely old tradition of story-telling and poem-making. But, until quite recently, these stories and poems were not written down and put into books. They were handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another.

Even today you cannot buy many books by African writers, although a beginning has been made. At present only those African writers who can adapt themselves completely to the European tradition of story telling, in particular, find it reasonably easy to get books published.

But a start has been made. In West Africa, for instance, there is a remarkable writer called Amos Tutuola, who has had three books published in England, and who has not bothered to adopt completely all the familiar techniques of European story-telling. He writes in English, it is true; not in his own language. But he writes what might be called a very unusual English. All the same, his language is tremendously expressive — and very readable indeed. He uses language in a way that suits him, to tell stories about his people, his country and his peoples' folklore which could simply not be as well told in strictly correct, formal English.

In this anthology, edited by Peggy Rutherford, there are many stories which are written in perfect, conventional English.

"I don't know why she employs you" a woman said to a servant who could neither read nor write but had a most graphic style of description and vivid memorable use of word. "You're not educated."

If among the "benefits of Western education" some appreciation of the proper value of style cannot be included, it should be disregarded along with opium. But the benefits of real Western education are enormous and Africans are not wrong in prizing it — not only for its immediate rather pedestrian uses. The places where the valuable parts of Western education are more available in the Union are the Universities and the libraries. If neither of these places can be relevant to the life of the Non-European it is meaningless to talk of giving them Western education in anything but a cynical sense.

But what is impressive about the stories is that, in most cases, the writers have not allowed the careful and exact use of an acquired language to stifle their originality of feeling, thought and expression.

In her introduction, Peggy Rutherford tells how far she had to travel all over Africa and how hard she had to work to collect this material. Her efforts have been very worthwhile. For here you see how rich the Africans are in the talent for telling stories and writing poems. There are 37 writers, from nearly as many countries, represented. Some of them are already well-known, in the Union as well as overseas. Apart from Amos Tutuola, there are Peter Abrahams and Benedict Wallet Vilikazi, from South Africa; Camara Laye from French Guinea, who writes in excellent French (in this anthology, of course, his story has been translated); and Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta.

Another excellent thing about this anthology — which deserves to be widely read — is that it gives some idea of the long, continuous tradition of African poetry and story-telling. One of the writers for instance, Ishak, lived in Abyssinia in the 13th century; and a number of the other living writers tell stories that have been traditional for a great many years.

But, on the whole, this anthology is an indication of the enormous, unimaginably rich talent that is scattered all over the African continent, and on Madagascar. It is, certainly, only a slight indication — that is all it could possibly be. But it is also an impressive indication of literary achievement that can be reached by African writers.

"Darkness and Light": An Anthology of African Writing: Edited by Peggy Rutherford. (Faith Press, London and Drum Publications, Johannesburg. Price 23s.6d. C.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN is writing his memoirs. He has already finished about 400 pages and has only reached the time when he was 29, he told reporters on his 70th birthday "I reckon I am nearly half-way through. When you reach my age and have any sort of memory, you have something to tell people." He would think about no new films, he said, till he had finished his memoirs.

INDOCTRINATION

**'RACE STUDIES' FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN**

Under the guise of "Race Studies" the Transvaal Education Department is now officially indoctrinating White school children with apartheid and Nationalist race theories.

A so-called "text-book" on the new subject teaches the White children that "the Bantu" are a primitive illiterate people who normally practice ritual murders.

About three years ago Professor Herbert Tingsten, editor of the well-known Swedish daily newspaper "Dagens Nyheter", came to visit South Africa. One of his penetrating remarks in the book he wrote on the Union was: "The really fantastic thing is that these people (Whites) know nothing about the racial groups the characteristics of which they describe with great emphasis and unanimity."

The Transvaal Education Department endorses what the Professor has to say. It has introduced a new course on "Race Studies" for White schoolchildren, and five well-known educationists\* were commissioned to produce a series of text-books for the purpose.

"We are of course all well aware of other population groups around us, yet most of us know very little about the culture or way of life of these groups — and so in our own country we are like strangers to one another," the writers say in their foreword to the Std. VIII textbook. Therefore we should "gain a better understanding of one another's way of living . . . understand one another's problems more clearly."

**Not Much Help**

Truly an admirable aim. Unfortunately the sort of thing which is going to be taught to White children in the "Race Studies" classes is not going to be much help, if this book is an example. Instead of dispelling prejudices, it fortifies them and instils them. Much of it is, directly or indirectly, propaganda for the Nationalist Government's notorious race policies. A good deal of it is actually untrue.

The little book in front of me has 175 pages. Of these 130 are devoted to "the Bantu". They do not describe the real life and way of living of the African people "around us", factory workers, farm

\* Professor Lighton, and Messrs. Hudson, van Tonder, Eloff and de Vaal.

labourers, teachers, nurses and school children with very much the same interests and outlook as the European children who are having these "race studies" inculcated into them. They describe (how accurately I doubt) a tribal system and culture which has been in the main utterly and irrevocably destroyed by White conquest, land alienation and capitalist industrialism. The effect is twofold:

- Firstly, it accentuates the differences between the population groups, instead of their common humanity;
- Secondly, by describing the life of a primitive and illiterate people, it implies a justification for apartheid and race discrimination.

**Magic and Murder**

"Under purely normal tribal conditions the Bantu have no schools." (p. 52). Where do these "purely normal tribal conditions" exist? The authors do not tell us. Instead they tell us that the "ideal of every Bantu man is to have more than one wife." (p. 35). The "Bantu have a firm and unshakable belief in magic." (p. 108). "A person with some outstanding quality is sometimes murdered so that the required part of his body can be used in making medicines". The "Bantu chief's powers" are described in great detail — as if he could really exercise those powers today without the backing of the B.A.D., though a hint of changes comes on p. 139, when the children are taught that "the introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, now accepted by many tribes, has honourably re-established the position of the Chiefs."

The short chapters on the Coloured people ("proud of their people, and . . . strongly opposed to the entry of the Bantu into their field of employment and into their residential areas") (p. 148) and the Indians ("had to a large extent penetrated White residential areas" (p. 158) — "caused much unpleasantness and tension because the Indians were competing with the Whites" (p. 162) are equally tendentious and prejudicial.

Perhaps the gem of the collection is the deadpan statement (p. 84) that "many of the Bantu no longer farm as their forefathers did, for they have learned much from the Whites." The book does not mention that the Whites have grabbed 87 per cent. of the land!

A nasty little textbook.

ALAN DOYLE.

**The Banning of Bertrand Russell**

The ban on Bertrand Russell's pamphlet "Why I Am Not a Christian" has roused some feeling, especially in academic circles. At a meeting held at Witwatersrand University on 29 April, a bishop, a bookseller, a lecturer in English, a member of the National Council of Women and the chairman of the Rationalist Association combined to lodge a protest.

The University lecturer spoke of the "sheer preposterousness" of the ban. He talked of Bertrand Russell, as author, writer and thinker of international repute — one of the generation of surviving Victorians who, together with such men as Shaw, H. G. Wells, E. M. Forster and many others, had helped shape the thinking of the present century — and who was now being treated as a "new, cranky, eccentric writer, by what can only be an illiterate censorship committee." Russell has been writing for over 60 years since his first book in 1872 on German democracy. Other books include "The Philosophy of Life" written in 1900 which is now accepted as a standard classic; "Principles of Mathematics"; "Analysis of Matter", 1927; "Marriage and Morals" 1939; and scores of other books and pamphlets.

What motivates the minds of the Minister of Interior and the body of official "readers", on whose advice he acts when banning the importation of certain books, is often rather difficult to fathom. In some cases it is clear that the books are considered pornographic or have a political slant disapproved of by the Nats. In others one looks in vain for any kind of explanation, for instance, in the banning of Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*.

In the case of "Why I Am Not a Christian" the reason has been given. It is because this book is considered undesirable from a religious point of view. This is the first occasion that religion has been invoked. This is a clear attack on liberty of conscience. Possibly the apostles of Christian National Education are behind it.

Since books printed in South Africa cannot be banned, free-thinkers can stage a very good come-back in this case. All they have to do is translate Russell's pamphlet into Afrikaans and circulate it far and wide. Thus will the obscurantists be hoist with their own petard.

E.R.

# MAN'S ANCESTORS

No. 3 in our  
Science Series.

In Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which appeared in 1859, the suggestion was made that man, being an animal, could not be excluded from the process of evolution which applied to all living things. Darwin did not elaborate this subject further until 1870, when his *Descent of Man* was published. He drew attention in that book to the amazing resemblances between man and the monkey-like animals, and particularly the large tailless apes, the orang, the chimpanzee and the gorilla. This resemblance is much more marked, as anyone who has visited a zoo will have noticed, between the young of the different species. Compare a grown man with a grown chimpanzee or gorilla and you will see many differences. But look at a baby chimpanzee being nursed by its mother and you will be surprised at how very much like a human baby it is.

## Common Ancestors

It was suggested by Darwin, and this view is held by almost all zoologists today, that the higher apes, and probably the chimpanzees and gorillas, are our closest living relatives. This does not mean that we are descended from the existing apes any more than you are descended from your cousin. What is implied is that men and the apes have a common ancestor whose descendants became different from each other. Some remained in the trees and became more specialised for that kind of life. Others descended to the ground and finally learned to walk upright. These ground-apes, by further changes, particularly in the size of their brains eventually became men.

## Finding Missing Links

Such was the theoretical picture. In Darwin's time we had no evidence of any kind of creature with characters in between those of men, on one hand, and apes on the other. It was said that there was a "missing link." Since there are no living links it was clear that the missing ones would have to be sought among fossils, that is to say among the bones or other remains of creatures that lived a long time ago. During the last seventy years scientists have been looking for the fossils of our ancestors, and it is amazing how many have been found and how closely Darwin's views have been confirmed.

The circumstances which might lead to an animal becoming fossilised must be pretty unusual. When an animal dies,

for instance in the game reserve, its body lies on the ground. Hyenas and jackals tear it to pieces, break up its bones and scatter them about. The bones themselves disintegrate until nothing is left. The ideal conditions for fossilisation of the larger animals are found in limestone or dolomite caves. The bones of animals which crawl away to die in such places, or which are brought there and discarded by meat eaters, are readily fossilised by the lime-containing water which drips down from the roof of the cave. There are numerous caves of this type in the Transvaal and they have provided us with most valuable fossils of man's ancestors. These bones, together with others found in Europe, Asia and elsewhere in Africa, have made it possible to reconstruct a very fair picture of the recent evolution of man.

## Primitive Men

All living men belong to the species *Homo sapiens*. This is considered to be a single species not merely because all of its members can interbreed with each other, but because in spite of differences of skin colour, curliness of hair, etc., they are all very similar in their physical characters. Towards the end of the nineteenth century a number of fossils were discovered in Europe proving the existence of another species of man which has died out. This was *Homo neanderthalensis* or Neanderthal Man. He had heavy brows, resembling those of an ape, but quite a large brain. He was definitely a man though of a different species from ourselves. Similar types of skulls have been found in Israel and Rhodesia. It seems that this type of man died out towards the end of the last ice age about 20,000 years ago.

More primitive types of men are represented by bones found in China and in Java. The first of these, Peking Man, is definitely known to have used fire and to have made stone tools. Whether the ape-man of Java did the same is not certain but probable.

All these creatures can almost certainly be considered to be men, since they had the human attributes of tool- and fire-making. We cannot, of course, demonstrate that they had a spoken language, though this seems highly probable. Peking Man probably lived between half a million and a million years ago.

Going still further back into the past brings us to our very interesting South

African fossils, discovered and described by Professor Raymond Dart and the late Dr. Robert Broom.

## Cave Finds

A probable date for these fossils is about one million years. The Taungs skull, described by Dart in 1925, was that of a ground-ape, a creature having the body of a man but possessing a brain only about half the size of ours. Dart called it *Australopithecus Africanus* (the southern ape of Africa). Other fossils of this animal were found by Broom at Sterkfontein, near Krugersdorp, and by Dart at Makapansgat in the Northern Transvaal. It seems that these ground-apes were very varied in type. Others were *Plesianthropus* ("Mrs. Ples") and *Paranthropus*, found at or near Sterkfontein. More ground-ape fossils continue to be unearthed at Sterkfontein by Dr. John Robinson who is carrying on the work begun by Dr. Broom.

An interesting problem in connection with these ancestors of ours is causing considerable controversy. Briefly, the question being asked is "How human were they?" We should like to know what was their mode of life, whether they used tools and could handle fire, and so on. Naturally it is difficult to get evidence for solving such problems. It appears that they lived in caves. Like modern men they were rubbish-collecting animals. The vast quantities of bones of all sorts of animals, but chiefly buck, found in the caves, show that they were meat eaters. Dart believes, and has brought evidence to show, that they used some of these bones as tools and weapons. It was at one time thought that they used fire, but the evidence for this is doubtful. It is thought that they hunted in packs. It is almost certain that they were also scavengers, collecting and eating what lions, for example, may have left behind.

## Apes or Men?

I conclude with a problem (purely theoretical) for moralists. There are no ground-apes alive today. Some of them presumably evolved into man-apes and then into men. The others presumably died out. Suppose some explorers were to find a living race of australopithecines. Would we treat them as animals or men? Would they be able to claim membership of the United Nations? Would it be murder if you killed one of them?

EDWARD ROUX.

# Cancer Control in Africa

by "PLUTO"

Cancer research today is advancing along two main fronts. One is investigation into the cause, or more correctly, the many causes, inducing the disease; the other is the development of curative drugs and other more or less effective methods of treatment. Up to now the major effort has always been directed towards the 'curative' rather than the 'preventive' approach; and rightly so since in most cases there is nothing that can be done to prevent the onset of this disease. It seems that most of the commoner forms of cancer are started by some type of 'mutation' process, that is by a molecular change in the cell occurring spontaneously or induced by such uncontrollable factors as natural or man-made radiations. Obvious public-health measures such as the immediate abolition of atomic-bomb testing and other procedures to regulate over-exposure of human beings to radiation could result in a significant, though small, reduction in cancer incidence. In the present state of our knowledge, however, prevention of most of the so-called 'spontaneous' cancers is entirely beyond our control.

## Cancer-producing Chemicals

There is one important exception to this and that is the group of cancers known to be caused by certain chemical substances or 'carcinogens.' The commonest of these carcinogenic chemicals is a hydrocarbon known as 3:4-benzpyrene, which is readily produced by burning ordinary organic materials. It is, therefore, regularly found in tar, soot, smoke and fumes, including such industrial by-products as cracking oils and the exhaust gases of diesel and petrol engines. Before this was known, skin cancer was very common in certain occupations, such as chimney sweeps and machinists, who were in frequent contact with soot and crude lubricating oils.

Nowadays, of course, many millions of people come into intimate contact with 3:4-benzpyrene in their daily lives through cigarette smoking. In many countries cancer of the lung is reaching epidemic proportions, and the smoking habit is perhaps the most important single cause of preventable cancer in the world today. However, since lung cancer is only one form of the disease, a campaign against smoking, though no doubt helping to save many lives, will not go very far towards solving the problem as a whole.

## Cancer in Africa

The situation in the African continent with regard to preventable cancer is vastly different from that in other parts of the world. It used to be thought that cancer was a disease of civilisation, and was uncommon in primitive communities. This idea has been shown to be wrong, at least as far as the inhabitants of this continent are concerned. Wherever statistics are taken, the total cancer incidence in Africans is found to be about the same as that in Europe or America. There are differences, however, in the relative proportions of the various types of cancer in Africans as compared with other communities. Whereas the European, both in South Africa and abroad, is faced with a high risk of dying from tumours of the skin, lung, stomach and breast, the African is much more likely to contract cancer of the nose and sinuses, the mouth and throat (oesophagus), the liver, and, particularly in women, the genital organs.

At one time it was suggested that these differences were 'racial' characteristics, that is a genetic susceptibility to particular forms of the disease. This 'racial' theory has since been largely refuted. At a recent conference on "Medicine and the Bantu", a report from the Johannesburg Hospital published in the "Leech" of August 1958, reported that whenever one racial group tended to get a particular form of cancer, there was always an 'environmental carcinogen' to account for it.

## Hospital Statistics

The Conference report showed, for example, that cancer of the nose and sinuses is at least ten times as frequent in the rural Transvaal African as in any other community studied. This is apparently due to the fact that the tribesmen affected traditionally use a form of snuff containing tobacco and several charred vegetable additives. Analysis of this material showed it to contain a high concentration of chemical carcinogens. The high incidence of cancer of the mouth and oesophagus may be partly explained by the habit some tribes have of chewing the carcinogenic snuff. Another report from East London incriminates the local alcoholic beverage 'cividiki' containing carbide and asphalt contaminants as the probable cause. The Transvaal brands of 'skokiaan' are hardly less noxious, though there is no information yet available on their cancer-

producing properties.

Cancer of the cervix (lower section of the womb) is a most serious problem accounting for more than half of all tumours in African women. Statistical work overseas showed a correlation between the incidence of this tumour and factors such as early marriage, multiparity and poor hygiene. The incidence was found to be much lower in all communities where circumcision of the male was practised. Ritual circumcision in infancy also provides almost complete immunity to genital cancer in males. This aspect of cancer prevention merits further investigation in South Africa, where it promises a more substantial reduction in cancer mortality than could be obtained by any other means.

The report concludes . . . "The major proportion of cancer in Africans, at least two-thirds of all cases referred . . . appear to be due to known or suspected chemical carcinogens. Provided these agents and their sources can be identified with certainty, it should become possible to initiate a programme leading to the prevention of these diseases. We are forced to the conclusion that the one form of cancer research most urgently required in South Africa is the chemical identification of carcinogens in the many unique substances inhaled, ingested or otherwise applied to susceptible tissues in the African community."

## Cancer Can Be Prevented

The importance of these ideas lies in the fact that a situation exists in Africa unparalleled anywhere else in the world. It appears that about two-thirds of all cancer in Africans can be prevented. Cancer control on this continent is then mainly a problem in preventive medicine or public health.

More lives could be saved by simple preventive measures than by the most elaborate and expensive hospital installations or curative services. The first necessary step would be an improved standard of hygiene and better living conditions. It would be helpful to encourage the routine circumcision of infants.

People would have to be put on their guard against unhealthy snuff-taking and other suspect habits that bring cancer in their train. Africans should be able to drink wholesome liquor instead of the dangerous illicit brews they are today driven to. In all these ways this type of cancer could be driven back.

# Non-Whites in Olympic Colours

by  
JOHN PLAYER

The struggle of Non-White sportsmen for international recognition has grown apace — so much so that the White sports administrators have suffered a mild fit of panic and been forced to make a series of significant concessions. The most notable is the statement by the chairman of the South African Olympic Association, Mr. Reg Honey, that no Non-White will be denied the opportunity to wear South African colours if he proves that he is fit for it.

This is not the declaration of equality it might sound.

Non-Whites, and sportsmen no less, live in a society which discriminates against them in all spheres of life.

Athletes coming from families living below the breadline, growing up in unhealthy slum conditions, eating too little and the wrong type of food, working long hours before they are full grown and with limited training and equipment should be expected to lag behind those privileged to enjoy the best.

The average Non-White in our country makes a sacrifice to buy a pair of football boots or a cricket bat; and it is a testimony to their keenness and love for sport that they sacrifice so much and so many share in sport.

Most Non-White playing fields are not properly enclosed, thus there is no possibility of a "gate", and thus no source of income for the sporting bodies. In Port Elizabeth a Non-White swimming bath was built eleven years after the money for it had been voted. Fields in this town taken away as a result of post-war industrial expansion have never been replaced, despite the growing Non-White population. The two grounds

in the city have no stands, no showers and no changerooms — except two ramshackle trams! Johannesburg has only one municipal ground for its entire Coloured population, and the same goes for Durban. Even on existing grounds improvements cannot be made — there is no security of tenure, long leases cannot be obtained and the shadow of the Group Areas Act lies over all.

Most Non-White sporting organisations are chronically indigent. Because they have no facilities for taking a "gate" this means they have practically no income except that from the pockets of the players. Everywhere sporting bodies have to battle with apathetic or unsympathetic municipal authorities unwilling to help in providing sport facilities — a great deal more is spent beautifying the towns to attract tourists — and with the limited financial resources they have, they are even further handicapped.

In addition most municipal regulations are so framed as to make it difficult for the different groups, Coloureds, Indians and Africans, to play together and fields are let for the exclusive use of one group.

Yet our Non-White sportsmen have triumphed over these disabilities and have established that they deserve consideration when national teams are se-

lected. Some of the finest cricketers in the country are Non-Whites: D'Oliviera, Raziet, Malamba. Non-White soccer players are already tried and trusted in the fierce competition of professional football in Britain and on the Continent: Dhlomo and Mokone in Holland, Gerald Francis in Portugal. A non-White weight-lifter, Ron Eland, unable to find a place in the South African team because of his colour, represented Britain in the Olympic Games and acquitted himself creditably. Jake Tull, a Non-White boxer, has won an Empire title and others might have done equally well given his opportunities. We have cyclists Mazibuko, Monageng, De Vos, who, in the words of an American expert, would qualify as international material given some coaching. Most significant of all, Non-Whites have in fact represented South Africa at the Melbourne Olympics in 1956, but only by concealing their origin. When they were discovered, they were "voluntarily retired." Mr. Honey must be aware of this disgraceful episode, which was prominently featured in one of the biggest Afrikaans newspapers in the country.

It is patently dishonest to say that up to now no Non-White has proved that he deserved consideration for election. They have done better than that, they have been selected, and that in spite of the manifold difficulties they suffer.

**Perfect Writing  
Instruments**

*Burnham*  
PENS  
AND PENCILS

**Your friend  
for life!**

**BARRIS BROS.**  
WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND  
DIRECT IMPORTERS  
120 Victoria Street Germiston  
P.O. Box 146, Phones 51-1281; 51-3589

**Juno Furnishing Co.**  
64 KNOX STREET  
Phone 51-1106 GERMISTON  
For A Square Deal  
Contact Us

**Standard Furnishing**  
(Pty.) Ltd.  
30d, 30e, Voortrekker Street  
and 35a, Prince's Avenue  
BENONI  
For The Best In Furniture

**STEWART'S  
REXALL PHARMACY**  
S. Joffe, M.P.S.  
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST  
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES

280a, Louis Botha Avenue,  
ORANGE GROVE  
Phone 45-6243/4

**FINEST VALUE IN PIPES**

**DR. MACNAB**

**FILTER**

SELECTED  
BRIAR

