



LIBERATION

ONE SHILLING No 7 FEBRUARY, 1954



**SISULU
ON
CHINA**



A JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

CONTENTS

Editorial: Drunk with Power	1
I Saw, New China, by Walter Sisulu	5
Africa, by Betty du Toit	10
The Teacher and the People, by Mokgoanane	11
At the Zoo, by Ruth Miller	16
The Bafabegiya, by David Bopape.....	17
The Bend in the Road (Book Review)	20

LIBERATION

A Journal of Democratic Discussion

No. 7

February 1954

One Shilling

DRUNK WITH POWER

Mr. Swart: "Do you think I like exercising these powers?"

An Opposition Member: "You love it."

(--Assembly debate on the Amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act, February 1954.)

THE Nationalist Party is about to enter its seventh year of office as the Government. Each year that passes sees Dr. Malan and his Ministers becoming more autocratic and intolerant of restraint and opposition, more remote from the ordinary people and their needs and problems.

Nothing illustrates this attitude of mind better than the career of Dr. Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs. Dr. Verwoerd is busy carving himself out an empire within South Africa, a state within a state. A "Bantustan" in which the word of Rajah Verwoerd is law. At the word of the emperor thousands of African families must tumble themselves out of their established homes and begin afresh to build in the desolate wastes of Meadowlands and Diepkloof. Another word from the emperor and thousands of "foreign natives" (was there ever such a contradictory and revealing expression?) must quit their jobs and their way of life in exchange for the serfdom of agricultural labour.

Reading such Verwoerdian documents as the notorious "Mentz Report" on the expulsion of Africans from Johannesburg, one cannot help being struck by its utter cold-bloodedness and inhumanity. So many thousand "natives" must be removed from here and put down over there. There must not be any "natives" South of the railway line, that wouldn't be neat; it would spoil the plan. These are not people, this crazy plan is talking about, real live flesh and blood people, with homes and friends and likes and dislikes and dreams and aspirations. They are abstract figures. We cannot avoid the comparison of a man laying out pieces on a draughts-board; black men this side, white men that side: wooden pawns.

But of course these aren't wooden men at all. They can think and learn; and they mightn't like what the Minister is doing to

them. The Minister has provided for that, too. The new Bantu Education schools will see to it that they don't learn anything to upset them, and that the piccanins will be taught to love and revere the name of the great Baas Verwoerd and his Native Affairs Department who can do no wrong.

Another baas who can do no wrong is Minister Charles Roberts Swart. One of the most highly prized of human rights is that an individual accused of a crime should be brought before an unbiased Court and allowed to defend himself before he is punished. The crime of which he is accused should be explicitly stated; he should be allowed to question the witnesses and bring witnesses of his own refute to them. The proceedings should be held in public, according to established rules of evidence and procedure. There should be a right of appeal. All these rules have been established, after bitter struggles against older tyrannies, to protect the people against arbitrary injustice.

Mr. Swart, the Minister of Justice, does not hold with all this. In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, he has had himself endowed with the power of a judge to punish people without trial. He is scarcely impartial, for he has clearly shown himself to be the victim of an obsessive mania which leads him to believe that "Communists" are busy plotting to poison the water-supplies and burn down buildings and trees. His victims are not made aware of the evidence against them, nor even informed of the nature of the crime they are supposed to have committed. Indeed, the first they hear of whatever secret proceedings may have gone before their conviction is the conviction itself: a letter signed by the Minister informing them of his verdict.

It is not to be wondered at that the Appellate Division judges upheld the appeal of Mr. Ngwevela on the grounds that to condemn a man thus without a hearing was contrary to the principles of natural justice; nor that the Minister whose twisted and tyrannical mentality evolved these procedures should rush to his tame Parliament for additional powers to close the "loophole" thus revealed. He is drunk with power, and like any drunkard, craves ever more and more of the heady liquor which gives him such pleasant illusions of divine omnipotence.

Happily for South Africa, there are formidable obstacles in the way of our would-be dictators, and so far from overcoming or destroying these obstacles, every new Nationalist onslaught serves only to fortify them. The main barrier to the evil designs of the Government consists of the steadily growing organised unity and

resistance of the majority of the people of South Africa. Those who like to compare South Africa under Malan with Germany under Hitler would do well to reflect that, while the Nazis managed by demagoguery and racialism to gain a substantial basis of mass support, nine out of every ten South Africans are bitterly opposed to the Nationalist Government.

The problem before democratic South Africa is how to mobilise, express and make effective this vast majority against fascism.

It is appropriate that the guidance and inspiration for this great patriotic task should have come from the organisation most truly representative of the greatest number of South Africans — the African National Congress. For with the decision at its national conference in December to approach other democratic bodies with the purpose of their jointly convoking a great Congress of the People to frame a charter of freedom for all who live in our country, the A.N.C. has shown the way forward to save our country.

We would emphasise the need for speed and effective measures to implement this historic decision. The work of planning and preparing such a great conference cannot be accomplished overnight. It will take time and hard work on the part of every Congressman and woman, every trade unionist, every conscious democrat. All the more reason why the preliminary work should be accomplished as soon as possible, so that the rank and file can get down to the real task among the people without delay.

There can be no doubt that the call for the Congress of the People will meet with a ready response among the Non-European majority of our population. Africans, Indians, Coloured people, all feel the bitter edge of apartheid and police terror in their daily lives, and are anxiously seeking a democratic way out. But what of the Europeans? No doubt, they too, for the most part are beginning to awaken to the menace of Malanism to the economic future of the country, to the freedom and independence of South Africa. This consciousness, which finds its most clearheaded and encouraging reflection in the emergence of S.A. Congress of Democrats, with its uncompromising policy of racial equality and political co-operation with the African and Indian Congresses, is also beginning to make itself felt elsewhere. Our South African liberals betray the characteristic flabbiness and opportunism on the question of equal human rights for non-whites which seems to be endemic in this country. Yet that they have emerged at all in these conditions of Nationalist intimidation has a serious significance which should not be overlooked. Even more significant is the new turn in policy on the Non-European franchise made by the South African Labour Party at its forty-third annual conference in Durban.

The Labour Party is the oldest political party in the country. Forty years ago it split on the issues of imperialism and war, the majority adopting an opportunist and unprincipled policy which found its practical expression in the Party's desertion of the workers' watchword of internationalism and its toadying to the colour prejudices of the white electorate. The result has been to reduce the Party to the lowest ebb in its history, so far as organisational strength and popular support are concerned.

It would be too much to claim that with its new statement of policy the Labour Party has decisively turned its back on the past, and entered a period where it will seriously embark upon a policy in accordance with its socialist professions. Yet, for the S.A. Labour Party the statement contains many refreshing and hopeful features. It "declares as a matter of principle that it accepts the universal franchise for all adult literate (why literate? — does the Labour Party imagine that the Chartists who fought for the vote in Britain a hundred years ago were all literate?) inhabitants." It "is opposed to the ~~the~~ diminution, curtailment or disqualification" of any existing franchise rights, with particular reference to Cape non-European voters. It realises that it is "futile for one section of the population to legislate for the whole population."

"But," — of course there had to be a "but" — "realising the need for the implementation of the franchise for non-Europeans in stages" the statement proceeds to advocate a series of "franchise reforms" embodying such objectionable features as communal representation and other forms of race discrimination. Like the Liberal Party, the Labour Party falls into the trap of trying to reconcile the irreconcilables: democracy and white supremacy.

The real issue in South Africa today, however, is not whether a voter should have a Labour Party Std. 5 qualification or a Liberal Party Std. 6 one; but whether any sort of democratic rights at all can survive the onslaughts of the power-drunk Nationalists. And this real issue can be resolved in favour of democracy for those who understand that the major bastion of democratic freedom in our land is not the feeble opposition in our minority Parliament, but the masses of oppressed non-white people outside it, as represented by their national Congresses and political and trade union movements.

The acid test for the Labour and Liberal leaders is whether they are sufficiently mature and emancipated to accept this truth, and to accept the hand of partnership extended by the Congresses in the calling of an all-in interracial congress of the people.

For there can be no doubt that the successful convention of so great and representative an Assembly will rally our country against the perils of continued Government by the Nationalist clique, will expose past redemption their pretensions to speak for South Africa. It is the first indispensable step towards a national awakening that must in the end relegate the Verwoerdjies and the Swartlings to the limbo of forgotten would-be dictators.

I SAW CHINA

By WALTER SISULU

MY visit to the new China has been a remarkable and unforgettable experience.

From Manchuria, in the North-East, I travelled to Peking, China's ancient capital. I visited Mukden, Harbin and the beautiful little city of ~~Nanking~~ Nanking, site of the Mausoleum of Sun Yat Sen, and also the site of a hill where more than a hundred thousand patriots and fighters for freedom were murdered under the Chiang Kai-Shek regime. I was in Shanghai, the industrial centre of China and — with a population of six million — its largest city; Shanghai, the cradle of the Chinese revolution, where the famous "Fourth of May" students movement was started in 1919, and where the Communist Party of China was founded in 1921; Shanghai where from 1926 to 1927 the workers revolted and expelled the war-lords.

I went to Yanchow, in the East of China, capital of Chekiang province: a lovely holiday resort of such beauty that the Chinese have a saying: "There is heaven in the skies, but there is Yanchow in China."

I walked through the streets of famous Canton, the largest city of South China with a population of a million and a half, and with a revolutionary tradition second to none in China. Its industrial workers and seamen carried on many a famous battle against local reaction and foreign imperialism; yet it was the last city to be liberated — on October 14, 1949.

And I went to the administrative capital of Central South China, one of the largest cities in the country. I was told there of the famous strike of February 7, 1923, in which the imperialists and warlords killed 32 and wounded 200 people. I met some of those who had taken part and been wounded, and they told me how Len Shen Chen, leader of the strike, was tied to a tree and murdered, as also were the workers' legal advisers, because they refused to call off the strike. These and thousands of other sons and daughters of China who were killed by the former Government are revered by the people of China today as martyrs in the struggle for freedom.

I visited well-stocked, Government-owned shops filled with people buying their needs. I went to cinemas, theatres, libraries and halls crowded with people.

I attended the national celebration on October 1, and stood for

four hours watching more than five hundred thousand enthusiastic and happy Chinese people: intellectuals, factory workers, peasants, religious leaders, sportsmen, students and members of the Chinese People's Army of Liberation, parading past their leader on the platform: Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, army leader Chu Teh, veteran labour leader Lao Sho Shi, Madame Soong Ching Ling, widow of the revered Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Mr. Chou En-Lai, the Prime Minister, and other members of the Government. I heard the people shouting pledges to fulfil the tasks assigned to them by "Chairman Mao" and his Government. I was impressed by the obvious enthusiasm of the Chinese people and their unquestionable devotion to their country and confidence in its Government.

Thus, for more than a month I travelled to the North, the South and the East of China, covering more than twenty of its thirty provinces. Every day I started my programme at eight in the morning, rarely finishing my day before ten at night. Everywhere I spoke to people and listened to what they said about various aspects of their lives, in towns and villages, factories, universities and farms. I conversed with former landlords, who honestly confessed their past misdeeds and told me how they had been converted to the new idea that labour is noble. I spoke to factory owners and peasants, university professors and religious leaders.

From these experiences, it is clear to me that tremendous changes are being brought about in this vast country by the Mao Tse-Tung Government, and that when China's six hundred million speak of their liberation, they mean something very real. Although the Communist Party of China is the leading party in the coalition government, there is real unity in China today, based upon the common opposition of many classes to imperialism, the landlord classes, bureaucratic capitalism and the reactionary Kuomintang clique of Chiang Kai-Shek. Workers and peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie form the People's Democratic State of China. The Government is composed of no less than ten different parties. Besides the Communist Party, there is the Kuomintang Revolutionary Party, the Democratic Party of Workers and Peasants and a number of others.

In order to understand how these different groups work together, it is necessary to understand something about modern Chinese history, beginning with the democratic revolution of 1911. The leader of that revolution was Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuomintang as the national liberation organisation of the Chinese people. He stood for a revolutionary democratic policy, going beyond the confines of narrow nationalism. In 1924, he proposed a programme to the Kuomintang Congress based on these three principles:

1. Friendly relations with the Soviet Union,
2. Alliance between workers and peasants,
3. Co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China.

This programme was adopted. But Dr. Sun Yat Sen died, and his principles were betrayed by the right wing of the Kuomintang, headed by Chiang Kai Shek.

Who is Chiang Kai Shek? He is the man who, in 1927, betrayed the struggle and deliberately turned against the Chinese people to serve his own selfish interests and those of his rich capitalists clique. He and his colleagues supported the warlords and sold the Chinese people to the foreign imperialists. They betrayed the cause of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. They stained the soil of China with the blood of patriots, Chinese workers and peasants, who carried on the struggle for freedom.

Chiang Kai Shek and his Government failed to defend the country against the invasion by Japanese imperialism; they were more concerned with the fight against Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Despite every appeal for unity to defend the country, Chiang held back, and it was the People's Liberation Army which had to bear the brunt of the fight against Japan.

No sooner was the war against Japan concluded than Chiang, with American backing, again plunged the country into civil war. It is no wonder that today his name is spoken of with hatred and contempt throughout China. The American imperialists are making a colossal blunder if they imagine that Chiang Kai Shek could ever make a "come-back" in Chinese politics; his unpopularity is matched only by the great enthusiasm shown by the people for the People's Government, which, indeed has brought them very substantial benefits.

The national economy has been transformed and China, previously dependent and backward, today stands on her own feet and advances rapidly, despite the economic blockade imposed by the United States and her satellites. They have reconstructed their railways, and added greatly to them. They have built gigantic water conservation works, and tamed the Chinese rivers, to the great advantage of the peasants, and with wide implications for the future electrification of the country. Everywhere, new factories have been built and new industries are springing up. China is becoming a great modern industrial power, capable of manufacturing every-

thing her people need. This is a factor of incalculable significance for the future of the world.

Land reform has been carried out throughout the country. The land question is fundamental in the Chinese revolution. Eighty per cent. of the Chinese people live on the land, and nothing has transformed life more than the fact that millions of hungry landless families have at last, after generations of merciless exploitation by greedy landlords, come to share in the land they work on. For instance, preliminary figures from East China show that 21,000,000 mou of land has been requisitioned and redistributed. (A mou = $\frac{1}{3}$ acre or $\frac{1}{16}$ morgen) Ninety per cent. of this land was given to the poor peasants.

The women of China have been liberated from the age-old system of feudal bondage. They now participate in all forms of administration in the country: both in the central government and in local governments and institutions. They hold high positions in factories and in the villages.

Education is another foremost concern in the Chinese People's Republic. A campaign against illiteracy is in full swing, and millions of people are now in part-time schools for adult education. The number of students in all institutions of learning has been doubled since 1949. The "campaign" is a characteristic feature of life in China, and the people delight in completing each campaign before schedule. Successful campaigns of this nature have been carried out against corruption, against crime, to prevent disease, and against subversive activities.

Since 1949, wages in China have increased by amounts ranging from sixty per cent. to 120 per cent. Prices, which were wildly inflated under the corrupt Chiang Kai-Shek administration have been firmly curbed and controlled. The people are better fed, better clothed, better housed than ever before; they are conscious of a perspective of steady and unlimited improvements in the future. To these realities, we must add the fact that China is really a united state for the first time in its history, that its international prestige has enormously advanced, and that the artificial dams which for so long have impeded the progress of this great people have been removed. Adding all these factors together we will gain some understanding of the tremendous enthusiasm and love for the Government which is so outstanding a feature of the Chinese people today. Everywhere, in all walks of life, one finds Chinese people using such phrases as: "Our great Motherland has entered upon a new era," "Construction has begun in our country," "Our main task is to fulfill and overfulfil the tasks assigned to us by Chairman Mao." The broad masses of the people are being mobilised not only for the industrialisation of the country, but in all fields in the building of the new China.

This radical transformation in the life of the nation with the largest population in the world, from semi-colonial slumber and backwardness to the front rank of progress and advancement, is of tremendous significance to the future of humanity, both to the countries of western imperialism and to the people of the colonies in Asia and Africa and elsewhere. In what direction will the giant's power of the new China be exercised, so far as foreign policy is concerned?

In the first place, it is clear that the will and the influence of the Chinese government and people is directed towards world peace. China needs to carry out her great plans for construction and transformation. She ~~wants~~ peace because her people are civilised, cultured and humanitarian. No visitor to China can fail to be struck by the universal desire of the people to abolish warfare as a means of settling disputes between nations, expressed by peace posters, peace slogans, peace meetings and spontaneous expressions of opinion through the length and breadth of the country.

Secondly, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the hopes of the imperialists to disrupt the friendship between China and the Soviet Union are idle and doomed to disappointment. The people of China say often enough that they could never have succeeded in their great construction plans without the unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union. Soviet equipment and technical ~~advise~~ have contributed enormously to Chinese industrialisation and this process continues. Many Soviet technicians are helping in the industrialisation of China. The friendship between the two countries, based on mutual respect for one another's independence, is steadily growing.

Thirdly, the sooner the western world, and particularly the United States of America, realise that the People's Democratic Republic of China has come to stay, that it will not tolerate infringements of its national sovereignty and territory, and that it must be given the place to which it is entitled in the United Nations, in the UN Security Council, and in all discussions of international importance concerning Asia and the world; the nearer the world will be to securing a lasting peace.

Finally, let me say that my talks with the people of China, both the senior Government leaders and the ordinary folk of the farms and factories, have convinced me beyond doubt that they have the warmest sympathy with and regard for the oppressed people of colonial countries; including those of our own African continent. You may imagine what it has meant to a South African in my position, born and brought up under the shadow of racial contempt and discrimination, to visit such a country. I have come away with redoubled determination to play my part in the liberation of our own people, fortified with the sure knowledge that we have hundreds of millions of friends and well-wishers beyond the seas.

AFRICA

By BETTY DU TOIT

Slowly the heavy door
clang behind me.
I shiver as I walk
and hear its echo through
the long cement corridor.
But the echo I hear no more,
for I stand in stupefaction-
A group of naked women
A shrieking crescendo-
Jump bloody Kaffir-Jump,
I witness a marionette show
of naked women.
I shut my eyes and soon-
the crescendo falls on me.
I am stripped and clothed
like all the others
within these frightful walls.
Now I'm naught and they all.
all.
They say: stand and wait
and while I wait, I note a baton
and its lash upon the desk.
Soon I see that lash
descend on black hip -
She failed to answer,
had not heard her name.
I still see the outside world,
through the barred window.
and as I gaze at the warm
bright street,
I see a woman pass-
Can she be real?
Now I am in my cell.
Now I see only red brick walls.
I throw myself upon my bed.
My mind whirls.
I seize my spoon and write
upon the wall.
For sixteen hours in my dark
cell
I contemplate my sin-
of breaking an unjust law.
Monday morning and with the
dawn,

the shrieks of Kaffir-Girls, out,
out,
You Bloody Bastards o-u-t.
I hear the lash swish up,
I see black women lovelier in
form and face than
their jailors-
tream out like cattle from a
a truck.
I start, for I see
that most of these are women
swollen with life,
one a pregnant mother-
A babe upon her back.
Dear God! protect me from
white civilization.
A wardress comes
and her crescendo descends
upon us
I flee as do the rest
of the terrified herd,
and start my work.
Haai! Haai! she shriek,
and the babe on its mother's
back
echoes the cry in glee.
Haai! Haai!
In fear and terror-
lest we fail to please
we wash and scrub
and while we work
a word runs through
my mind-Belsen.
Slowly the days go by.
I watch my black sisters
and soon I know, that as
they step upon the earth
with their bare feet,
they know that they are strong
and full of life-
they laugh at their oppressors
For time is on their side.
Their cry of Afrika
will soon be heard!
Then no whips shall descend on
them.
No children live behind these
walls.

THE TEACHER AND THE PEOPLE

By MOKGOANANE

THE Greek philosopher Plato provided for three classes in his "ideal state": the Class of Workers, the Class of Warriors and the Class of Philosopher-Kings. It was the last-mentioned class that was to rule the land and assume control of all political authority, while the other two were to become mere functionaries, ever at the beck and call of the ruling caste. This was a shameless plan to keep the underdog in perpetual servitude, yet its author concluded: "If the philosophical class should rule; the soldier class protect and defend according to the direction of the first; the artisan class obey and support the other two,—then social justice would be attained."

Readers will not fail to be struck by the remarkable parallel between this grotesque conception of "social justice" under a perpetual caste system, and the outlook of the rulers of "White South Africa" today. This is exactly what the white South African educationist teaches. It is precisely this idea which is behind the ignominious Bantu Education Act. African children are to be taught that "social justice" consists in their obeying and supporting their hereditary-white masters. And the one selected to do this dirty job is the African teacher. Whether the scheme will work or not depends, in the last analysis, whether or not the teacher will become a willing tool for the plans of the Government. Here, as in all its plans, the weakness and fallacy of the Government's vision of a permanent caste society are to be found in its failure to provide for the advancing national consciousness and aspirations of the African people.

What, then, should be the role of the African teacher? The primary aim of the African teacher should be to liberate his pupils from the clutches of mental enslavement. If this is well done, it must count as his main contribution towards the liberatory movement.

How can this be carried out in practice? In South Africa this is very easy: "And the truth shall save you." Therefore the first absolute requirement is: Teach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Let me for a moment assume the role of a pedagogue whose special function it is to instruct and train the new type of African teacher whose aim it is to contribute his own brick towards the liberation of his people. My teacher must be pragmatic. His approach must be the practical one in which he not only seeks to expand on theories of liberation or how others served as

tools of the masters, but how the present day teacher, as a member of a subject people, can play his part towards the liberation of his people. Such a teacher must first and foremost have a vision—the vision of a new Africa, free in every respect. He must have implicit faith in himself; faith in the African people; faith in the mass-struggle; and faith in the leaders of the struggle. He must be loyal to the cause. He must be well acquainted with the efforts of the National Liberation Movement in South Africa and always seek to present these efforts in a salutary manner to his pupils. Where he is critical he must be careful not to criticise the National Liberatory Movement or its methods to the pupils or their parents, for that amounts to sabotage of the struggle. In the eyes of the Liberatory Movement such an action may quite justifiably be regarded as high treason. Rather he must seek to consult secretly and privately with the leaders of the people. More than that he must be prepared to bow down to their decisions even when he totally disagrees with them. Fools will say he is bowing down to dictatorship. Far from it. It is sound leadership and loyalty to the movement. After all the politician is nothing but a practical man in the sense that, not only does he preach certain ideas or cry out certain reforms but he tries to put what he preaches into practice. For instance, not only can he criticise a law openly; he can also defy it. On the other hand, the teacher, by reason of his occupation, cannot always do that. Therefore wherever and whenever a difference of opinion arises between the intellectuals and the politicians, the intellectuals must be ready and prepared to give the politicians the benefit of the doubt—or else come into the open and compete for the leadership of the struggle. In other words, I hate the type of teacher who makes use of his opportunity in class to criticise the leaders of the people when he knows the leaders cannot reply. This applies primarily to the secondary school teacher.

The teacher must be purposive. He must regard himself as a tool of liberation. He must regard his work as a means to an end. And in order to achieve his end he must teach the truth. Now let us get to the classroom to test out my theory. The first subject is scripture. Lesson: "And God made man in His own image." Explain to the children what is MAN: a human being irrespective of colour. Emphasise that all human beings are images of God. And if we are all "images of God," then we must be equal, said the philosophers during the French Revolution: "All men are equal in the sight of God." Brought down to mother-earth all people in South Africa are equal in the sight of God. To deny this inexorable law of nature and agree that Black and White are not equal is to deny the story of creation. To deny the story of creation is to deny the existence of God. To deny the existence of God is to declare oneself an atheist. Yet Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, introducing the Bantu Education Bill to the South African White Parliament, was quoted as saying: "People who believed in equality were not desirable teachers for

Natives." On the basis of our argument Verwoerd is an atheist. If he represents the view of the Nationalist Party, then the whole party consists of atheists. You say, "All men are equal in the sight of God," then all men belong to one community, the community of God. Yet in the same speech Verwoerd is quoted saying: "It would discourage the educated Native from thinking of himself as a member of a 'broader community' and would teach him to think of himself as a member of the Bantu community." When you teach like this you are not teaching politics. You are merely teaching the truth; the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Or to take another example from the New Testament: Christ said: "Those who are not with us are against us." There are some Africans who are ~~not~~ with us in the struggle. They accept the position of inferiority without any qualms. They agree with the government that we should be segregated. They say: we accept the apartheid policy of the government. We realise we were wrong all the time. In future when an election for Native Representatives is held, we shall take care to send an Afrikaner to Parliament. They criticise the stand of our leaders. They, like the government, deplored the Defiance Campaign. Are they with us? If not, they are against us." Again, almost all Whites in South Africa are generally agreed on the principle of apartheid. The United Party calls it segregation. J. H. Hofmeyr was wont to speak of Christian Trusteeship. Now, Hofmeyr was generally regarded as Liberal. Perhaps the members of the present Liberal Party were once his followers. Then they believed in Christian Trusteeship. If ~~they~~ did, they denied that "all men are equal in the sight of God." Today the leaders of the people are unanimous in demanding a universal franchise irrespective of colour or creed. The Liberal Party disagrees. Therefore members of this Party are not with us. If they are not with us, then according to Christ's own words, they are against us."

Arithmetic: Here is a simple problem:

The total area of South Africa is 472,000 sq. miles. According to the last census, there are approximately 2,000,000 Whites and 10,000,000 non-whites living in South Africa. The Land Act of 1913 gave 87% of the land to the Whites. Now calculate :

- (a) What per cent. is occupied by the non-whites?
- (b) What is the density of population per square mile for the Whites and non-Whites respectively?
- (c) All things being equal, which area is likely to suffer from the evil effects of overpopulation, overstocking, soil erosion and unemployment, and why? Can you suggest a solution?

If such a sum is well explained, the teacher need not draw any moral from it. The children will complete the rest. There is such a thing as "correlation of subjects" in teaching. In his next lesson in History the teacher will make full use of this sum in teaching the so-called Kaffir-wars. Some people call them "wars of dispossession." My dear teacher, master the "law of cause and effect." In your next Hygiene lesson, say on "Contagious Diseases," show how such diseases are easily spread among our people. Refer to conditions of overcrowding. If you are in Johannesburg make full use of the notorious slum areas like the Orlando Shelters, Vrededorp, etc. In fact remember the principle of activity, take the class on an inspection tour of the areas discussed. You will not need to revise this section of the syllabus. It will remain indelible in the minds of the pupils concerned. If you do that very well, you will not get into trouble, either with your Principal or the Circuit Inspector. I add this assurance because I often hear teachers say: **We do not like to be dubbed political teachers.** There is no such thing. The Department will dub you a political teacher whenever it suits them to do so. In any case the choice before you remains: "Those who are not with us are against us," so says Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master.

Now let us briefly review the role of the teacher outside the classroom. First, as I have already said, he must identify himself with the masses. Their problems must be his problems. He must share in their common lot. The policy of divide and rule is a known technique of domination. Very often in South Africa the White rulers moderate their attitude towards the educated African. They invite him to their houses. He has tea or lunch with them. He is told he is a different type of "native" quite unlike his illiterate, uncultured and backward brother. He is carefully led to see the folly and stupidity of his own leaders 'who seek freedom for such undeveloped, simple and barbaric folks.' He finds himself nodding his agreement, not so much because he is in full agreement with them as much as he is afraid of "these superior beings." This type of African teacher is an enemy of the people. The new African teacher must be proud of himself and his people. He must not feel inferior to any man just because of his colour. He must remember that many people, both young and old, look towards him for guidance. If he adopts a bellycrawling and submissive attitude to every white man, he is actively helping to enslave the minds of those who believe in him.

Finally, the African teacher must join the struggle of the people. You live in a town location. Rent is arbitrarily increased. Teacher, don't sit down and grouse inwardly. Join the people and fight against the increase of the rent. In the same way join the people in the struggle against the Pass and Liquor raids, Group Areas Act where your loyalty is affected, stock-culling and the government rehabilitation scheme if you live in the rural areas. Assume

the role of adviser to the people. Help them draft letters, statements and resolutions. Where legal defence is necessary, get them into touch with the best legal advisers in the country. Draw attention to your own African lawyers. Popularise their names remembering that their rise or down-fall is the rise and downfall of the African people. This is not politics. It is life itself. Let me give you an example.

Administrator's Notice No. 311 of 19th April, 1950 lays down that any teacher who "becomes a member of any political organisation or takes an active part in political matters" shall be deemed to have been guilty of misconduct and may be dealt with under the Disciplinary Regulations. The question is: When you do what I am asking you to do, are you "guilty of misconduct?" The answer is: it all depends on what the Department means by "political organisation" and by "active part in political matters." It is wellknown that the Institute of Race Relations discusses all these matters; so does the Joint Council and the Advisory Boards. Now all three bodies include teachers. Are these teachers "guilty of misconduct?" Has any one of them been dismissed because he "takes an active part in political matters?" Let us take the Advisory Board as an example. I know of teachers who sit on these bodies as nominees of their respective city councils. The city councils work under the direction of the Union Government. Therefore we may regard these teachers as government nominees. And what are they nominated to do if not to "take an active part in political matters?" Some of these teachers attend meetings of the Union Advisory Boards Congress and are addressed by government officials on some of these subjects. Hitherto nobody has accused them of taking "an active part in political matters." Therefore don't be scared into inactivity because of such circulars. Only remember you are not necessarily serving the cause of liberation when you expose yourself unnecessarily and find yourself in trouble before you have done anything for the people.

The struggle is there. There is no middle of the road solution. "Those who are not with us are against us."

SUBSCRIBE TO "LIBERATION"

You can have "Liberation" sent to you by post. Send ten shillings for one year, or five shillings for six months to:—
"Liberation," P.O. Box 10120, Johannesburg.

AT THE ZOO

By RUTH MILLER

THERE is a large cemented enclosure at the Zoo, the goal of all children. For here one buys tickets at a little cubbyhole, and stands in queues for rides on the Shetland ponies, the donkeys and the elephants. Three ponies, and three donkeys, and two vast elephants go on their little circular tours every few minutes, round the shrubberies in the centre of their dusty road, and back again to hoist the next children in the line, with their little red tickey tickets, and then round again, and again. The little ponies shake their heads and their fat rumps shine in the sunlight. The donkeys shuffle with their heads down, grey and greywhite and brown. The elephants plod, scuffing the dust in their trunks, the children on the seats on either side of their backs swaying. One of the elephants wears a bright red carpet with faded tassels.

There is a long line of benches under the trees where the grownups sit and wait for their children to return from each trip. There is the continual pop and skitter of bottle tops from the kiosk nearby. The sun shines and the trees lift against the sky.

A tall man, with a ~~top~~ dressed in the uniform of the Zoo keepers, stands in the centre of the cement enclosure, with a long stick in his hand. He helps the children get into the queues, and watches as they climb on to the animals. But most of the time he is far too busy to give them much attention. Because it is his job to chase away the little African piccanins who come crowding in all the time. They are thinlegged, most of them, and dressed in khaki shirts and pants. A couple of them in rags, with the black skin showing through the holes, the patches triumphantly sagging away from the stitching. They are all without shoes. And they come to this place of glory as all children in the Zoo grounds come. But they are not allowed. There are little white notices, lettered in black, which say: "For European children only." The playground with its swings and shutes and jungle gyms has these notices too, but they are not so often invaded. It is the animal rides that call and entice forever.

So the little piccanins brave the stick of the tall man in the uniform, and laugh if they can manage to dodge it as he swings it, biting, through the air at their bare black legs. They run away, but as soon as his back is turned, they sneak back again, and creep nearer and nearer to the little queues of white children. And then they stand quite still, or squat on their haunches, geared to an agile flight, but absorbing and tasting with their eyes. They watch the

white children climb on to the ponies, and the donkeys, and up the high steps on to the elephants, and they watch them ride away, and they watch as they come in again for the next batch.

Some of them have as much as a ticky on them, so they could afford to buy a ticket for a ride, if the notices and the keeper were not there. They cannot read the little white notices which say: "European Children Only," so the thoughtful authorities have placed the tall keeper there to read this message to them with his stick.

THE BAFABEGIYA

By DAVID BOPAPE

IN a broad organisation such as the African National Congress one does not expect complete unanimity on every idea and every activity. In fact disagreements discussed in a healthy atmosphere and hammered out on the proper occasions can lead to nothing but good. If this was not so then it could truly be said that dictatorship and despotism by the leadership has replaced the democratic procedure of decision by the majority after a proper airing of conflicting views. Where a genuine desire exists on the part of all Congressmen to iron out disagreements a way can generally be found to let all viewpoints be heard and a democratic decision arrived at.

But in the present-day Congress and in years past minority groups have exploited minor disagreements on policy, have intruded personal rivalries and jealousies, and have even spread slander and made malicious attacks on democratically-elected Congress leaders in an attempt, not to reconcile conflicting points of view and strengthen Congress, but for such purely ulterior motives as capturing the leadership of Congress.

This type of manoeuvre even goes several steps further.

Such dissidents not only fail as individual Congressmen to carry out the organisation's decisions, but they form factions within the organisation to win support for their point of view and to undermine the influence of the Congress.

Such an organisation is the Bafabagiya.

From the outset its promoters tried to lure into its ranks the most courageous and heroic of Congress members. By the adoption of the title (Bafabagiya means "We Die Dancing") by which Chaka's crack regiment had been known the impression was

given that this would be the home of the most self-sacrificing and devoted of Congress members

The Bafabagiya is probably of not more than two years standing. The public at large first heard of its existence when a Johannesburg African National Congress official criticised its activities in a press interview. All along those who have now been revealed as the founders of this group filled important posts in the Congress and used their official positions to get hearings at Congress meetings and among Reef and Johannesburg members. The Bafabagiya is understood to have a constitution but it has never been published and the organisation makes no public appeal for members. It functions as a select and secret club to which access is possible only if a Bafabagiya member makes a direct approach to an individual to join.

The Bafabagiya claims that the leadership of the African National Congress has proved inadequate to its tasks. It names, incidentally, some of those in leadership against which it directs specific slanders. It advocates a more "militant" policy for Congress. It tries to trade on the reputation of the former members of the Communist Party, claiming that the Bafabagiya is an attempt by left-wing Congressmen to carry on that tradition.

Yes it is hard to discover exactly what policy the Bafabagiya is advocating for Congress. Thus far its only consistent activity has been of attempting to replace the elected Congress leadership with its own personnel

It has held no advertised public meetings. Its spokesmen went from one location to another alleging embezzlement of funds by Transvaal Congress officials, and promising that under Bafabagiya leadership a new period of Congress militancy and political action would be entered. Yet these Bafabagiya founders, many of them key organisers in their branches in this province, at the same time as they were urging that Congress embark on more militant campaigns, neglected their Congress duties and permitted their branch organisations to decline in strength and activity.

Like their political bedfellows and rivals in demagoguery, the Unity Movement, these bold men advocate "revolution," large scale offensives against the Government, more militant policies but they are the ones found most wanting during actual Congress struggles, as was shown, for example, by the virtual collapse of the Orlando branch during the Defiance Campaign, despite the fact that its leading official was one of the Bafabagiya inspirers.

The Bafabagiya have conjured up all manner of accusations against Congress to elevate their policy as the only correct one. Many of these grounds for criticism are even conflicting and incongruous. They claim on the one hand to be internationalists,