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LIBERATIONouzr'ia.C o, JbEmoczatic ~iscu~iio)LNo. 7 February 1954 (jlu Sililiil!~~DRUNK WITH POWERMr. S,,,,,:
A","," ()q,-ilion A1, iil-- r: "hill lo- il."( A--e,iili!Y d.haty on tuuc An, lulliu nl l-- II till~ Inc--ion of A111. I--ohnl,ir,
19:1.1."1"111E 1'ationalist Party is about to enter its Leventh year of office as the Government. Each year that passes
sees Dr. Milan and I~1 Mi~isteis becoming more autocratic and intolerant of restraint and opposinon; more remote
from the ordinary people and rlicir needs and problems.NIlthing illustrates this...attitude, rf mind battQL than the i;Irccr
of I)r. ~erwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs. Dr. Ver,v-rd is busy c-arving himself out an empire within South Africa, a
-4tate 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 h:gin afresh to build in the desolate
wastes of Meadowlands and 1) Clikloof. Another word from the emperor and thousands of "foreign natives" (was there
ever such a contradictory and revea! my ,,rcssi0n?) must quit their jobs and their wav of life in exchange for the
serfdom of agricultural labour.Reading; such Verwoerdian documents as the notorious "Mcnt= Report" on the
expulsion of Africans from Johannesburg, one cannot help being struck by its utter cold-bloodedness and
Inhumat-ly.thousands "natives" Must he removed from here and put down over there. There nulsr u"t 1,c any
"natives South of the railway line, that wouldn't be neat; it would spoil the plan. These arc not l,cople, this crazy plan is
talking about, real live flesh and bloxod 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
draughtsboard: black men this side, white men that side: wooden 1--awns.But of course these aren't. wooden men at
all. They can think ,Ind learn; and they mightn't like what the Minister is doing t
then. The Minister has provided fur that, too. The new I-antu Education schools will see to it that they don't learn anything to upset them, and that the. picc pins will be taught to love and revere the name of the great Bass Trwoerd and his Native Affairs Department who can du no wrong.Another Ixias who can Lit, no wrong is Minister Charles Robberts 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 publ 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 olden 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 tri l. 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 building atid 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 he 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 -Parliargent 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
resist-South majority of the people OF South Africa. Il~s~ who like to compare South Africa under Malan with Germany Under li~ter would do well to reflect that, while the Nazis managed by demagogy and racialism to gain a substantial basis of mass sul,port, nine out of every ten South Africans arc bitterly opposed n- the Nationalist Governtllent. The problem before democratic South Africa is luow to hse, express and make effective this vat majority against fascism. It is appropriate that the guidance and inspiration for this great patriotic task should have come from the organisation most truly repr-citative Of the greatest number of South Africans - the African National Cort ress. 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 1OUtrV. 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 (ongressinan and woman, every trade unionist, every conscious democrat. All the more reason why the preliminary work shouldbe accomplished as Noon as possible; so that the rank and file can get down to the real task among the people without delay.-I here 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 questionof equal human rights for non-whites which seems to be e ndemic 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 turnin policy on the Non-European franchise made by the South Z African Labour Party at its forty-third annual ntference in Durban.
The Labour Party is the oldest political party in the country. Forty years ago it split on the issues of imperialist, and war, the majority adopting an opportunist and unprincipled policy which found its practical expression in the Party's desertion of its 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 early to say that from an opportunity the Labour Party has decisively turtled its hack to a period where it will seriously embark on 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 to all adult literate inhabitants." It "is opposed to the diminution, curtailment or disqualification" of any existing franchise rights, with particular reference to Cape non-Europeans. 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" excluding 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 whether a voter should have a Labour Party qualification or a Liberal Party qualification; 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 indispensible step towards a national awakening that must in the end relegate the Verwoerdies and the Swartlings to the limbo of forgotten would-be dictators.
SAW CHINA

WALTER SISI JI

Visiting the new China has been a remarkable and unforgettable experience. I travelled to Peking, China's ancient capital. I visited Mukden, Harbin and the beautiful city of Harbin, 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 its largest city; Shanghai, the cradle of the Chinese revolution, where the famous "Fourth of May" students movements 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 warlords. I went to Yichang, 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 hills." I walked through the streets of Canton, the largest city in 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 of the former Government's efforts to call off the strike. These and thousands of other soldiers and workers' legal advisers, because they refused to call off the strike. I visited "ill-stocked, Government-owned ships filled with people buying their goods. I went to cinemas, theatres, libraries and halls crowded with people. I attended the national liberation meeting, I llctolher I, arid toed (or
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 card the people shouting pledges to fulfill 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. Cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. This programme was adopted. When 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 capitalist clique. He and his colleagues supported the warlords and sold the Chinese people to the foreign imperialists. They betrayed the cause of 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 that had to bear the brunt of the fight against Japan. 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 plunder 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 cry substantial benefits.

The national economy has 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 everything.
thing her E~eople need,. This is a factor of incalculable significance `or 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 cen-,. of
the Chinese people live on the land, and nothing has transforined life more than the fact that millions of hungry land,
lcssfamilies have at last, after generations of merciless exploitation by greedy landlords, come to share in the land
they work on. i=or instance, preliminary figures from East China show tilat 1,000,000 inou of land has been
requisitioned and redistributed.(A mou == . acre or ;,., morgen) Ninety pct cent. of this land was 1.1iven to the poor
peasants.The ~7olmen of China have been liberated from the age-old s--stem 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 vilfag.-Education is another foremost concern in the
Chinese People’s Republic.. A campaign against illiteracy is in full swing, -nd milions of people are- _now,in part-time
schools for adult education. The number of students in all institutions of learning has he~r~ 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 ut against corruption, against crime, to prevent
disease, and against subversive,. _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 is history, that its international prestige has enormously
advanced, and that the artificial dams which fe7r o long have impeded the progress of this great people ha-z- been
removed. Adding all these factors together we will <zain s:nne 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.
Fill, radical Iraitsfortnatiot, iii the life off ill, nation with Ill, largest population in the world, front semi-colonial slumber and backwardness to the front rank of progress and advancement, is of tremendous significance to the future of humanity, Ixtth t(), the countries of western imperialism and to the people of the colonies in Asia at"l Africa in[] elsewhere. In what direction will the giant' power of the tnew China he exercised, so far as foreign policy is c0a1-r1e11?1-, the first hl;ice, it i, char that the will and the influence (,I the ('ltinesr g.,vernm,nt an(l people is directed towards world peace. China ~aeelS to carry out her great plans for Construction and transformation. She -its ,,(peace because her people are civilised, cultured and humanitarian. No visitor to China can fail to be struck l,y 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 ti 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 adviao have contributed enormously to Chinese industrialisation and this process continues. Many Soviet technicians are helping in the- ittdor~rralisati(m 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 terrirxory, and that it mint 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 tike senior Government leaders and the ordinar,, folk of the farms and factories, have convinced me beyond doubt that they have the warmest sympathy with and regard for the ol,pressed 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 -tang behind me. I shiver as I Tall:and hear its e:h~1 through the long C e7nelt L orridor. But t11 c -ho I hear no more, for I Stcllli.i i11 still)l'faetoit~1Y)I!h of naked 11101-11 A Å'reeking cresceldohirnh bloody Kaf fir-lump, 1"tness a mart Inctte show ,tf naked women.I shut my eyes and soon 'he crescendo falls on me. I am stripped and clothed like all the others within these frightful wall. - . Now I'm nailaht and they all. all. They say: stand clnd uaitand while I wait, I note a baton and its lash upon the desk. Soon I see that lashd-end 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 passCan she be real? Now 1 chl in my cell. Now I see only red brick walls. I throw myself upon my bed. My mind whirls. I sieze my spoon and write upon the Tail. For sixteen hours in my dark celll contemplate my sin>f breaking an unjust law. Monday morning and with the dawn, the shrieks of Ka/it'- Girls, cmr,Yo.: Bloody Bastards o-tl-t. I hear the lash swish up, 1 see black wonten lovel in f cant and face than their jail or stream of atti, Iln et a truck. I start, I or 1 seethat ill(- !)f dies, are tco"tIN11 swollen with life, one a (pregnant ml)therA babe upon her back. Dear God! protect me from lchite civilization. A wardress comesand her crescendo decenLis upon usl flee as do the rest of the terrified hero, and start n1y work. Haai! Haai! she shriek, and the babe on its mother's back echoes the cry in gle. Haai! Haai! In fear and terror, lest we fail to pleat e we wash and scrub and while we work a word runs through my mind-Bellsen. 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 lifethey laugh at their oppressors For time is on their side. Their cry of Afrika will soon be heard! Then no whips hall decend on them. No children. live behind these walls. 10
THE TEACHER AND THE PEOPLE

By MOKGOANAN'ETI IE Greek philosopher Plato provided for three classes in his "id..." state": the (lass of Workers, the Class of Warriors and the (lass of Philosopher-Kings. It was the 11stmentioned 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 unde-kings 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 "oh 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 the 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 as how others served as
tools of the tlaster, Intt ho” III., present day bier, ;l, ;l;f a subject II~~l~, It, oitn pJy iris fort towards the liberation )f lii
people. Such a teacher must first atld foremost have a vision-tile vision of a new Africa, I'll in every respect. I lie must
(lave implicit faith in I 'nlself; faith in the African people; faith iii the mass' struggle; and faith in t114 leaders of till
struggle. Ill must ire loyal to the cause. He must be well acquainted with the efforts of the National Liberation
Movement in Soudi Africa and always seek to present these efforts in a salutary manner to ibis 1,upils. Where he is

critical lie must be careful not to criticise tile National Liberatory Movement or its methods to the pupils or their
~~are~lts, for that amounts to sabotage of tile struggle. In tile eyes of tilt 1,heratory Movement bull an action nlaay
quite justifiably lii regarded :Is high treason. Rather he nutst seek to consult secretly and privately with tile leaders of
the p-ple. More than that lie must be pre pared 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 cal he criticise a law openly;
lie can also defy it. On the othe? band, 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 catnot 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. Lwson: "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 :In ;atheist. Il he represents the view of the Nationalist Party, then ill(- whol, party consists of atheists. You say, "All men are equal in the sight of (cod," turn all men belong to one community, the community poi Gtul. Yet in the same speech Verwoerd is quoted saying: "it -11.1d discourage the educated Native from thinking of himself as a meml- of a 'broader community' and would teach hllll to think of himself as a niemier of the Bantu community." When you teach like this you are not teaching politics. You are merely te:!Claiing the truth; the whole truth send nothing but Hit, truth.I 1r too take another example from the New Testament: I hr", sail-. ""rtl"sr wiloo ,lre loot with us arc against us." Th- are 111.11C Africans who are Mr with tls in the struggle. They :accept the 1ositiun Of infriority without any qualims. They agree with the "uvernnirnt t lr.t we shOuld he segregated. They say: we accept th, aloartlirri~i policy of the government. We realise we were wrongligall the itne. In future when an election fur Native Re~~rrsentatives is llelL,, we shall take cat: to send an Afrikaner to Parliament. They criticise the Stand of our leaders. They, like the government, deplored the Defiance Campaign. Are then with us? If 'lot, they are against us._ Again, almost all Whites in' South Africa arc ,enerally agreed on the principle of alartlieid. The United Party calls sgrrrtraitl~~ll. I. 11. 1 lofnleyr wa< wont to speak of ChrI~lan Trustship. Now, 1-luf.-yr was generally rggardcd a, Liberal. Perhaps the members of the present Liberal Party were on,, his follow,,,--.Then they believed in Christi~tl Trusteeship. If - rh- did. th& denied that "all men are equal in thv sight of God." Todx: tl! leaders of tile j-euple are unanimous In demanding a uni. versa! franchise irrespective of crluur or-creed. The Liberal Party d;:,agree,. Therefore members of this Party acre not wid1 us. If they are not with uS, then according,n Christ's own words, they are ageitlst us.~rithleti:: Here is a inltle problem:The total area of South Africa is 472,000 sq. miles. According to the last census, there are approximately 2,04000 Whites and 10,000,000 nun-whites living in South Africa. The Land Act of 1913 gave S7', of the land to the Whites. Now calculate(a) What per cent. is_occupied by the lion-whites('l)) What is the density ,f population per square mile for the Whites and non-Whites resj,ecti-<c1%-?(c) All things being equal, which area is likely too suffer tuurn the evil effects of overpopulation, overstocking,' soil erosion and unemployment, and why? Can you -gt:cst a sAuti6n?
If such a sutra 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 lessons 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; he "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, It'. In fact remember the principle of activity, take the class on an inspection tour of the areas discussed. You will not need to recite 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 implied, the teacher must identify himself with the masses. Their problems be his problems. He must share in the 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 homes. 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 those 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 toward him for guidance. If he adopts a hillycrawling and submissive attitude to every white man, lie is actively helping to Mens'slave the minds of these who believe in him. Finally, the African teacher must be in 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. Assunic
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, 1970 lays down that any teacher who "becomes a member of any political organisation or takes any 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 well-known 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 it "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 months to: "Liberation," P. O. 130s 10120, 111 nn 1111 ur,'V.
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white children climb. on to the ponies. and the donkeys. -and up till: high steps on to the elephants, and they watch
them rich aws>>, and they watch as they come in attain for the next batch. Some of them have as much as a tickcy on
them, ¬0 they COuld afford to buy a ticket for a ride, if the notices and the keeper wc, not there. They cannot read the
littlr white notices which sBy "European Children Only," so the thoughtful authorities have plac ed the tall kecl,,r there
to octal this message it, them with his stick.THE BAFABEGIYABY DAVID BOPAPE"iv' 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 to a healthy atm,sphe 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 r%alaced
the democratic procedure of decision by the majority after a proper airingof conflicting views. Where a gertoinc dtsire
exists can die- part of all Congressmen to iron our disagreements a way can generally be found too 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 Con tress 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.$uc1, .u, organisation i, the 1tafa,l,agiy:t. From
the outset its promoters tried to lure into its ranks the most courageou;i and heroic of Congress members. By the -
adoptation of the title ($afabagiya 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, Verifying and devoted of Congress members. Tw 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 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 demagogy, 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,
and oil the other they criticise the participation of the African National Congress leaders in recent international conferences and in the World Youth and Student Festival. They stand, they say, for racial unity and the mighty illiance of the non-Europeans for freedom. Yet they stoop even to racialism by spreading, anti-Indian propaganda to the effect that Indian politicians control the African National Congress and force it to fight the battle of the Indians. Those who formed the Kafabagiya are not WC11-111 calling but confused. They have consciously embarked on a path of disruption. They have unforwgrat$ly won the ear of some honest Congress members who, fed on slander and distortion, have joined the faction in the belief that as a result of the activities of a pressure group within Congress, the organisation will emerge tile stronger. All who work tile Congress are aware of its shortcomings. Enthusiastic but disciplined participation in Congress work and criticism in the proper manner and at the right time will overcome these failings. The Bafabagiya fastened oil to some of these shortcomings, traded on tile willingness of many genuine Congress supporters to recognise failings and criticise themselves, counteracted these failings out of all proportion, and claimed tile sole credit for bringing them into tile light. All enemies of the African National Congress, tile Nationalists not excepted, should be appreciative of what the Bafabagiya is trying to do to split the Congress. Fortunately their disruptive influence has been rejected by all but a tiny discontented fringe in the organisation and their role has been exposed as one of wrecking and splitting. But one lesson must be learnt from tile activity of the Bafabagiya at this time. During periods of relative lull in class political activity, tile doubters, tile self-seekers, the traitors, tile splitters, emerge to do their worst. Direct disciplinary action against factionalists must be taken but this is only part of the solution. The more necessary is today endless active political campaigning in all branches and nationally; tile democratic airing of viewpoints and tile formulation of Congress policies at continental meetings and conferences; a close link between leading bodies of Congress and its rank-and-file; and tile unceasing education and training of the membership so that tile Congress slogans are not only cheered at rallies but are also carried out by all enlightened membership. Iris had a share in their formulation.
Book Review: THE UND IN THE ROAD by Katie Hendriks (Iloward T1n1n11nS, C’.a4~e Town. IOs. (~l.). Wl,er this look is entirely autobiographical or partly fictional, 1 d,- no, know. The cntral furgure in the book hears the writer's own tr.-me. which- indic ateti autobi-~:raphy. Yet she describes events at- which she was not present with a freedom usually reserved for the narrators of fiction. Not that it matters very much. Whether these events really happened or not, they form a true picture of the lives and I1r0bletof the Coloured people. A good deal has alread-v been written about people who l "e on the borderline between coloured and white. Katie Hendriks lives on another borderline - that between Coloured and African. She is the daughter of a Coloured- mother and an African father, and the conflict between these two elements in her ancestry forms the main theme of the book. In her youth, she follows the accepted fashion and tries to escape and repudiate her -African ancestry as far as she can_. Later she abandons this attitude, marries an African of her father’s tribe and goes to live among his tribe in Rhodesia. She associates the African side of her with the simple, clean; but possibly, stultifying life of the Rhodesian countryside and of Coloured side of her with both the evils and the attractions of Cape Town. Thus her conflict is not only one between races, but between entirely opposed way, of life. This city - countryside contrast is rapidly becoming the most -hackneyed theme in South African literature, but Katie Hendriks succeeds in avoiding its worst banalities. She has at least recognised that the reserves are not an idyllic demi-paradise and have their evils and problems no less than the cities. The characters of the book, particularly Katmother and father, are well drawn. The narrative is a little bare, with few attempts at description or the creation of atmosphere. Perhaps the writer will be able to improve these points as she gains experience. The publisher is to be congratulated on his vision in launching this new and promising writer, but unfortunately not on the technical merits of the publication. The book is full of misprints and at the -end one is left wondering whether the authoress spells her surname with or without a "C."
Readers will lie interested w kn,w chit "1711.T; Bl;NI) IN -VIII: ROAD is being; rein as a serial in tile progressive weekly 'Adraner.' 'I'bis is a new de~~arture in Jr09ressivc JOurnlls wbCh will he wclcon-l by :III friends of Somh African liter,,ture.-A. O'DOWD

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