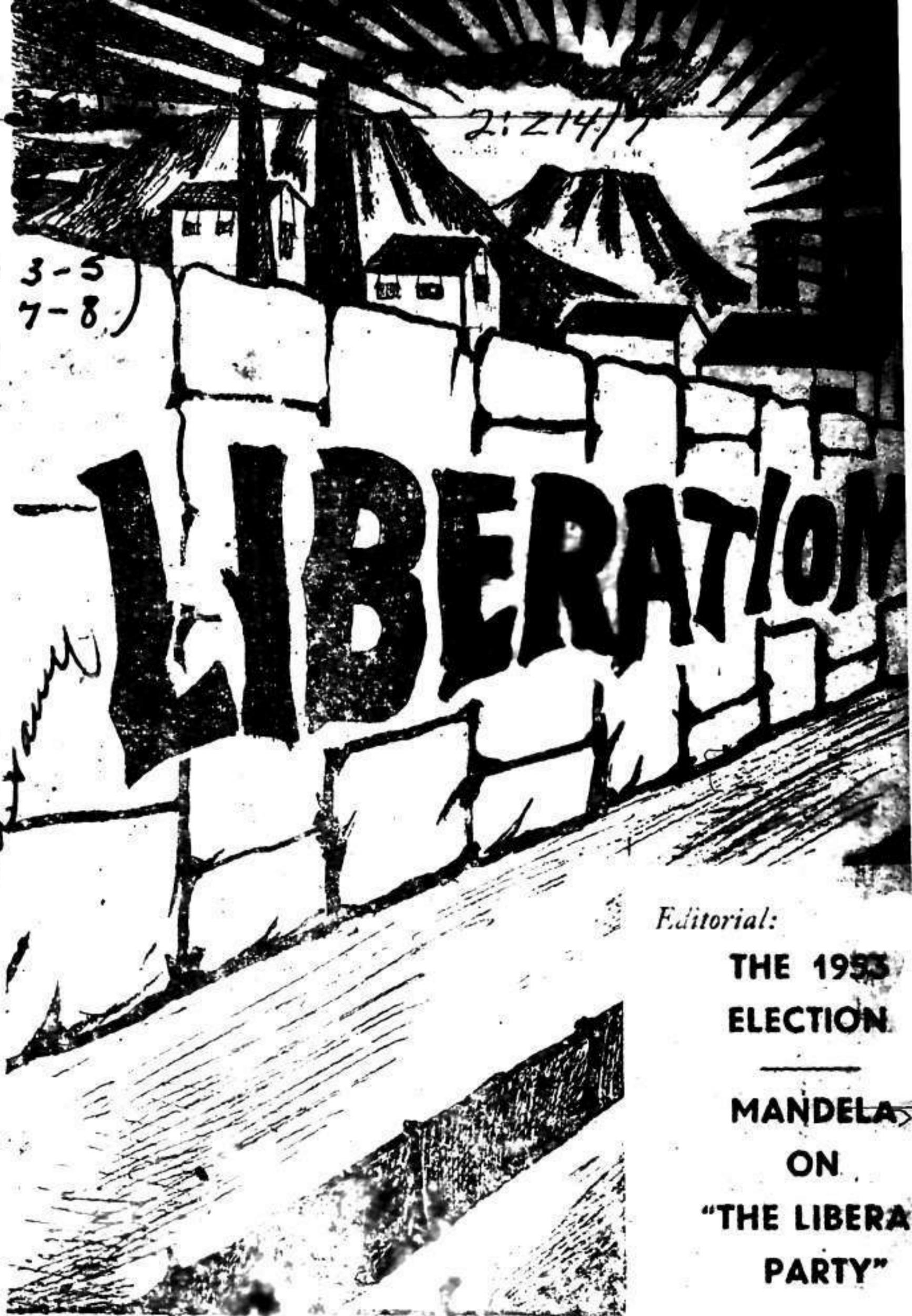


Lat.A.

Each
(Pages 3-5
7-8.)

2:214/1

Stewart



Editorial:

**THE 1953
ELECTION
—
MANDELA
ON
"THE LIBERA
PARTY"**

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION



'LIBERATION'

will appear 10 times annually
price 1/- per copy.
post free

Articles and letters are invited
on all matters related to democratic
progress.

Printed and Published by
D. Hoome, who is also responsible
for all political matters not
otherwise acknowledged 16
Myles Road, Fife Street,
Johannesburg

LIBERATION

A Journal of Democratic Discussion.

No 3

June 1953

One Shilling

AFTER THE ELECTION - WHAT NEXT?

Fortified with a bigger Parliamentary majority the Nationalist Government will no doubt proceed with increased zeal in their efforts to reshape South Africa nearer to their heart's desire: something like Hitler's Reich and Kruger's Republic rolled into one. Every subject race and tribe to be apartheited away into its remote ghetto (from which the adult population will be checked out at dawn to go to work for the baas). All "liberalists," Communists, Congressmen, trade unionists, Darwinists, kafferboeties, cheeky non-whites and other unnational elements to be Betsened or kraaled in the Kalahari. No critical newspapers, no disobedient judges.

Already the Liquidator and the book-banners, the Group Areas land tenure boards, the issuers of pass books and identity cards, the skietcommandos, and the secret police are clearing the decks for action.

For that great majority of South Africans who are against the Nationalists (rather over ninety per cent.) it is a grim prospect. Yet it is not a prospect which should cause any democrat to despair. Courage and determination can defeat the Government's plans for the Nazification of South Africa; and courage and determination are born of clear thinking and political consciousness. There are many signs that in this post-election period, the people are thinking and pondering as never before about the future of South Africa. It is this process of re-evaluation and analysis, which is bound to be carried further and deeper as time goes on, that is one of the most hopeful-factors of the post-election picture.

What is the real significance of the 1953 election? What is the alternative to the Nationalists? How can they be stopped? These are vital questions which are being discussed on every level, among every section of the population.

"The Phoney Election."

The 1953 election deserves to go down in history as "the phoney election." Never has it been so obvious that a real policy issue divided the major Parties. In his big speech over the wireless, Malan jeered at the U.P. for stealing the Nationalist policy; they had no reply. In his speech, Strauss reproved the Government for not dealing firmly enough with the tsotsis (read, non-whites in general) and the Communists. The main opposition slogan was: "Vote for the U.P.'s white policy." (Their own, disgraceful, emphasis.)

It is instructive to compare this show boxing with what on in 1948. Then Smuts was warning the country that apartheid meant crude, blatant and dangerous oppression of the non-Europeans; U.P. speakers and newspapers were bluntly labelling the Nats as Nazis, and proving it by their speeches made during the war. Then the Malanites were warning the country that Smuts and Hertzog wanted universal intermarriage, and making it clear that their opponents were British-imperialist-Jewish-Communist agents of the Devil.

The contrast is obvious—so much so that even some of the Torch Commando leaders (probably the most naive and inept group of politicians ever to lead a major movement in this country) saw through the mock battle and accused the U.P. of "me-tooism" and toenadering. Why? Is it because there never were any real differences between the two Parties, or that these differences have now disappeared? That would not be a correct conclusion to draw. There were and there still remain important differences between the U.P. and the Nationalists, or rather between the rival groups of capitalists whom they represent.

But those differences were suppressed in the 1953 phoney election. The Nationalists could not stop their hooligan supporters from smashing up U.P. meetings; the U.P., despite Strauss's abject sell-out over Swart's Nazi Bills in February, tried to keep up a pretence of standing by democracy. These, however, were mere surface appearances of an election contest.

Since 1948, a powerful new factor had entered the field of South African politics, overshadowing the issues which had seemed so important in 1948. Fundamentally, the Nationalist and the United Parties agreed upon a common policy in the 1953 elections, and joined forces in a coalition against a third Party, whose name was never mentioned, and which did not enter a single candidate at the polls. That Party had the slogan "Afrika!" the symbol of the upraised thumb, the policy of democracy, of people's government.

In the face of the upsurge of vigour, unity and purposeful direction of the non-European liberation movements, the major capitalist groups have joined forces in a common policy of ruthless repression and reaction.

Fundamental Objective.

There is no love lost between the Afrikaner capitalists and kulaks who run the Nationalist Party, and the mining, financial and industrial imperialists whose instrument is the United Party; neither group would miss a safe chance to knife the other in the back. But both groups are dependent upon cheap African, Indian, and Coloured labour.

Hence, as their fundamental objective, both the Nationalist and United Parties are determined to maintain the subject colonial status of the non-European people. This ensures a supply of cheap labour for mines, farms, industries, transport, etc. It also provides a fund of super-profits out of which the ruling class can provide sops to purchase a basis of mass support from among the white middle and working classes. These sops take the form, not only of relatively higher wage and salary levels, but also of a practical monopoly of commercial opportunities, of professions and skilled trades. White people in South Africa are made to feel that their light skin-colour guarantees them the privilege of freedom from unskilled manual labour and domestic drudgery.

All the well-known characteristics of "white domination" in South Africa flow from this cardinal policy of non-European subjection, which is analagous in all its main features to the relationship of a modern imperialist Government to its colonies.

Hence the exclusion of non-whites from political rights, property and land-ownership, economic and cultural opportunities, collective bargaining and other features of citizenship. Hence the Pass Laws, the Reserves, the compounds and locations. Hence the permanent need for the brutal machinery of repression and intimidation, to keep the people "in their places" (police raids, curfews, pick-up vans, humiliations and indignities) to silence their leaders (the Riotous Assemblies, Native Administration, Suppression of Communism, Public Safety, Criminal Laws Amendment and other Acts).

The United Party and the Nationalist Party agree on all these matters. Compared with this coincidence of interest, their points of difference are of lesser significance, and capable of compromise.

The new-rich Afrikaner farmers who accumulated capital during and since the war, and expanded rapidly into banking, industry and commerce, no doubt cast envious eyes on those positions of power and security which the Rand Club gentry and their Anglo-American backers long ago grabbed themselves a monopoly in—gold mining, heavy engineering, etc. It is these differences which have their reflection in the rivalry between U.P. and Nat., but in the face of the rising threat of the non-white liberation movements to upset the whole imperialist system in South Africa, and send all the parasites flying, the U.P.-Nat. differences have little more significance than those between British Liberals and Tories, or U.S. Republicans and Democrats.

One War Policy.

Similarly, in the field of external policy, when it was a matter of whether White South Africa should remain a British, or become a German, Protectorate, there was room for argument between Malan and Smuts. That argument is now settled.

Foreign policy was hardly so much as mentioned by any Party or candidate in the 1953 election, for the simple reason that the Union's foreign policy was taken for granted as being common ground. Both Malan and Strauss claimed to be the heirs to the late General Hertzog; both took care, however, not to remind voters of Hertzog's oft-repeated and celebrated dictum that "South Africa must not commit herself in advance to participate in Britain's wars."

~~Continued participation in the British Empire; subordination of South African~~ interests to those of the imperialist war bloc; commitment to the "Middle East" military scheme; support for American intervention in Korea; uranium production for atomic weapons—on all these matters there is a complete identity of policy among both sections of the ruling class.

Thus, too, Nat. and U.P. policies are indistinguishable on such matters nearer home as the annexation of South West Africa and the greedy reaching out for the Protectorates.

Neither Dr. Malan nor Mr. Strauss took the trouble to make even a formal declaration in favour of world peace. This remarkable omission could hardly have occurred during a general election in any other country at the present time. That it happened here without occasioning comment indicates not only the petty parochial outlook of the politicians, but also the tremendous amount of hard work that remains to be accomplished by the conscious supporters of peace in the Union.

Post Election Heart-Searching.

To the outside observer, it would, therefore, appear to make little difference who won the election: whether Strauss or Malan travelled to London for the Coronation; whether Verwoerd or van der Byl issued the new pass books. But to the people of our country—~~—~~—"the toad beneath the harrow"—the issue appeared otherwise. To the African, feeling daily the brunt of that stormjacket spirit—whether in the police, at the pass office, or among any of the other white petty officials with whom he comes into contact—which showed its ugly face at the smashing of U.P. meetings. To the Coloured man, under the goad of ever-new apartheid indignities. To the Indian, whom the Nationalists have cast in South Africa for the role of martyrdom suffered by the Jew in Hitler's Germany. And to the majority of white South Africans, ex-servicemen, trade unionists, housewives, English-speaking people, Jews, anti-Fascists.

To all these sections of the population the election result was a bitter disappointment. True, there is little love for the United Party, that opportunist collection of mediocrities, disappointed careerists and financiers. But the Nationalists comprise, undoubtedly, the most-hated Government since the days of Lord Charles Somerset.

For the past eighteen months and more, the Strauss-Oppenheimer leadership of the United Party have deliberately set themselves out to suppress every manifestation of militant mass opposition to the Government. They persuaded the Torch Commando to stop its demonstrations. They squashed the move to fight Swart's two new Nazi Bills outside Parliament, and ended by slavishly supporting them in Parliament. They even had the colossal cheek to send various unsuccessful emissaries to the leaders of the non-white liberation movements to get them to call off their campaign.

And all these things were done, it was said, with the object of winning the elections. Thus was justified every betrayal, every desertion of principle.

That line of policy ended, as it had to end, in disgraceful and humiliating defeat. You can't beat the Nazi by taking over his policy. You can't beat anybody by abstaining from opposition. The U.P. lost not only the election, but also its self-respect and the confidence of its own supporters.

Disillusionment with the U.P., a search for new solutions, for a real alternative to Malanism: this is the content of the discussion and debate that is going on throughout South Africa today, on every level—in the factories, in the buses, in the people's homes. This debate is reflected in the prolonged election post-mortem—however superficial its level—which still occupies most of the correspondence columns of the Opposition press.

It is also reflected in the sudden appearance of two new political parties.

Federal Illusion.

We do not think the Federal Party need be taken very seriously. It's a strange combination, which has produced this odd freak. On the one hand, political second-childhood, looking backwards to the days of the four colonies before 1910. On the other hand, real political childhood, all at sea on the stormy tides of public affairs, lacking rudder and compass: experience and theory.

Revolutionary changes in the Union's structure involve revolutionary means to implement them.

We are sure that Messrs. Heaton Nicholls and Kane Berman will be horrified by

the mere thought. Which is one of the reasons why—if it lasts so long—their Party will not survive its first bye-election.

Liberal Delusion.

It is not necessary to enlarge much on Mr. Mandela's searching analysis of the Liberal Party in this issue of **Liberation**.

That the South African Liberals "will do anything for the Africans except get off their backs," is one of those illuminating epigrams which are continually being revived by the march of events. In fact the principal issue on which the Liberals part company with militant democrats is precisely that they are always thinking of doing something "for" the non-Europeans, of persuading the white electorate to "give" them votes, or land, or houses. Whereas if forty-three years since the demise of Cape Liberalism has taught us anything, it is surely that the non-Europeans will get nothing but kicks, disenfranchisement and apartheid, until they are organised and determined and united enough to take their rights for themselves.

We used to be told that when the Africans "advance sufficiently in the scale of civilisation" all good things would be forthcoming. Despite every obstacle placed in their way by the successive Union Governments, the Africans have in the past forty-three years made immeasurable advances in the arts and crafts of a complex industrial society. Yet, shoved off the common voters' roll in the Cape colour-barred and restricted more year by year, they are further from democratic integration in the Union's political and economic structure than they were in 1910.

Before Union, the Liberal delusion could be excused as a blend of commendable optimism and wishful thinking. Today, with the experience of those forty-three years behind us, it can only be viewed—if honest—as gross self-deception and blindness.

The True Alternative.

Malanism is no accident. It is the inevitable end-product of "white domination" and conquest. It cannot be defeated and overthrown within the framework of the 1910 colour-bar Constitution, which contained the seeds of its own destruction and is, indeed, being fast destroyed by the Government itself.

The true alternative to the Swart-Strydom dictatorship which threatens us, is a real and vigorous people's democracy, embodying the demands and aspirations of the millions of subjugated people of our country for land, equality and freedom.

The only road to that democracy runs through the efforts of the oppressed people themselves; through mass education, mass organisation and mass struggle. Education through meetings and classes and the printed word; organisation through untiring, imaginative building of national liberation movements and trade unions in the course of practical action; struggle through every effective means of mass political activity.

The white workers and middle classes derive no real and permanent benefit from non-European subjection. Their economic privileges are already being swallowed by the sharply-rising costs of apartheid and the vast State machine of repression. Baasskap means living not in security but in constant fear. To be cast for the role of a jailer involves living in jail. The only bright future for Africans of European descent is to be found in living as partners in equality and friendship with an emancipated African people; for there is no future for the "baas," the "bwana" or the "sahib"—as such—in this or any other Continent.

The majority of white South Africans will be persuaded of these truths, not by the my generalisations and timid compromises of the liberals, but by the massive strength of the peoples' liberation movement when it grows to its full stature. They will be convinced by the reality of life itself.

To Halt Reaction

Such is the fundamental lesson of the election. It is for those who see and understand this lesson to enter and make their impact upon the great debate which is raging in the country; to leave no false argument unanswered, no half-truth unexposed.

It is good and healthy that people should discuss such issues. But debates must not be made an excuse for escaping the very real and urgent tasks that face every anti-Fascist, of whatever shade of opinion: to resist each and every new Government attack on the people's rights, to defend every position on their road to the slave state.

The Government cares nought for Parliamentary protests and UNO investigation. If South Africa has not already been altogether turned into one vast jail and concentration camp, if some vestiges still remain of free speech and open opposition, it is due to the militant and fearless alliance of the oppressed people under the leadership of the African and Indian Congresses. And, today, the police State of Swart can only be averted if that alliance is broadened in practice, in common resistance, to include anti-Fascist sections of the population and opponents of the Government. Before we can go forward, we must halt the drive to reaction.

The crucial test for every democrat today is not the ingenuity with which he devises paper constitutions for a future South Africa, but the courage and tenacity with which he fights the Government and opens the road to progress.

THE PRINTED "LIBERATION"

With this issue, "Liberation" makes its first appearance as a printed magazine. We trust readers will forgive the delay which has been necessitated by the change over; and that they will feel, as we do, that the delay is compensated for by a great improvement in appearance.

With this issue, too, we make for the first time an appeal to our readers and friends for financial support. We believe that this magazine has a vitally important role to perform in our country. But, like similar endeavours everywhere, "Liberation" cannot survive and grow unless you, our readers, assist.

We ask you not only to become a subscriber, and to get others to subscribe, but also to contribute towards the "Liberation Printing Fund." All donations will be acknowledged in our next issue.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE NEED FOR THEORY

The Editor, Liberation

Dear Sir,

We welcome **Liberation**, and would like to congratulate you on the high standard of the first issue.

The principle that 'there can be no democratic movement without democratic theory' has been repeated very often in South Africa, but in fact very little has been done about it.

A major source of difficulty has been a wrong idea of what is meant by "theory." Many people seem to think that a theoretical study consists of vague and unsubstantiated generalities. Others seem to think that a theoretical education can consist of a memorization of general principles based on overseas experience. How many of us have even set ourselves the task of making a concrete and detailed study of South African political economy, history or society? How many critical studies applying our well-known principles have been published? Is it not high time that critical histories of the conquest of Africa, the experience of the African and Indian Congresses from their foundations, the trade unions in South Africa, the industrialization of South Africa, etc., should be produced?

~~We call on all democrats to set about seriously increasing their knowledge and understanding of our own South African conditions and problems, as well as the general principles of history and politics. In our opinion it is the duty of the older and more experienced people to begin at once to summarise the experience of the struggles of the past and to carefully consider and formulate the lessons of this experience for the benefit of the large number of young militants coming forward in the battles of today.~~

With greetings for a democratic South Africa,

D. HOLT
A. R. LIPMAN
B. LIPMAN

Johannesburg.

To the Editor of "Liberation."

Dear Friend,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the publication of "Liberation." It appears at an appropriate time to articulate the thoughts and hopes of the voiceless millions of our country. I am glad to see that "Liberation" stands for the principles and objectives of the ANC and SAIC. But I hope that this will not blind you to the necessity sometimes to criticise particular decisions and tactics of the SAIC and ANC.

I have in the past been a critical supporter of the Congresses and have had reservations in my support for their present methods of struggle. Nevertheless I joined the first batch of Natal's volunteers and went to jail last September. I feel that as long as we remain loyal to the basic principles of the liberation movement, we should make full use of our right to criticise our leaders and the decisions which they make. Only in this way will we be able to avoid mistakes and set the people's forward march on the correct road to freedom. I hope that "Liberation" will be guided by this spirit of constructive and objective criticism.

For Afrika!

Yours for Democracy,

A. K. M. DOCRAT.

Durban.

["Liberation" is not controlled by any organisation and will always consider itself free to criticise the Congresses in a constructive and helpful manner where criticism is called for. —Editor.]

SEARCHLIGHT ON THE LIBERAL PARTY

By NELSON MANDELA.

The formation of a South African Liberal Party has been announced. Prominent Liberals are among the office bearers. Its constitution purports to uphold the "essential dignity of every human being irrespective of race, colour or creed, and the maintenance of his fundamental rights." It expresses itself in favour of the "right of every human being to develop to the fullest extent of which he is capable consistent with the rights of others." The new party's statement of principles thus far contents itself with broad generalisations without any attempt to interpret them or to define their practical application in the South African context. It then proceeds to announce "that no person (should) be debarred from participation in the government or other democratic processes of the country by reason only of race, colour or creed." But here the neo-Liberals abandon the safe ground of generalisation and stipulate explicitly "that political rights based on a common franchise roll be extended to all suitably qualified persons." This question-begging formulation will not for long enable our Liberals to evade the fundamental issue: Which persons are "suitably qualified?" The democratic principle is "one adult, one vote." The Liberals obviously differ from this well-known conception. They are, therefore, obliged to state an alternative theory of their own. This they have, so far, failed to do. The African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats stand for votes for all—the demand, a century ago, of the British Chartists, for universal equal franchise rights. Does the Liberal Party support this demand? Historical reality demands a plain and unequivocal answer. Which side, gentlemen, are you on?

In South Africa where the entire population is almost split into two hostile camps in consequence of the policy of racial discrimination and where recent political events have made the struggle between oppressor and oppressed even more acute, there can be no middle course. The fault of the Liberals, and this spells their doom, is to attempt to strike just such a course. They believe in criticising and condemning the Government for its reactionary policies but they are afraid to identify themselves with the people and to assume the task of mobilising that social force capable of lifting the struggle to higher levels. Incidentally, this middle-course policy constitutes the foundation upon which the South African Institute for Race Relations is built and the same dilemma which faced the Institute in the recent past awaits them. For years this body talked about liberty, equality and the abolition of the colour bar. But when the people, stung into action by the vicious policy of the Nationalists, launched the Defiance Campaign, all talk of liberty and equality evaporated in the air and frantic efforts were made by Liberals of all shades of opinion to induce the people to call off defiance and to accept the status quo. Their advances were met ignominiously. The people spurned and repulsed them as frightened and vacillating hypocrites whose interests were identical with those of the governing circles. They were dismissed by the Nationalists as confused kaffer-boeties whose ideas were subversive of the traditions of the country.

Finally, the Liberal's credo states that to achieve their objects the Party will employ "only democratic and constitutional means and will oppose all forms of totalitarianism such as communism and fascism." Talk of "democratic and constitutional means" can only have a basis in reality for those people who enjoy democratic and constitutional rights. We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single victory for political freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the Government and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of a bitter

struggle by the oppressed people themselves for the overthrow of racial discrimination. This means that we are committed to forms of struggle which seek to mobilise from our own ranks forces capable of waging a determined and militant struggle against all forms of reaction. The theory that we can sit down with folded arms and wait for a future parliament to legislate for the "essential dignity of every human being irrespective of race, colour or creed" is a crass perversion of elementary principles of political struggle. No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands.

In the South African context to propose that democrats limit themselves "to constitutional means of struggle" is to ask the people to submit to laws enacted by a minority parliament whose composition is essentially a denial of democracy to the overwhelming majority of the population. It means in effect that we must obey a constitution which debars the majority "from participation in the government and other democratic processes of the country by reason only of race, colour or creed." It implies in practice that we must carry passes and permit the violation of "the essential dignity of a human being" by reason only of race, colour or creed. It means that we must accept the Suppression of Communism Act, which legalises the gagging and persecution of leaders of the people because of their creed. It implies the acceptance of the Rehabilitation Scheme, the Bantu Authorities, the Group Areas, the Public Safety, the Criminal Law Amendments Acts and all the wicked policies of the Government.

The real question is: What is the political significance of this organisation? In the general struggle for political rights can the oppressed people count on the Liberal Party as an ally? The answer is that the new Party merely gives organisational expression to a tendency which has for many years existed among a section of the European ruling class and in the United Party. This section hates and fears the idea of a revolutionary democracy in South Africa, just as much as the Malans and the Oppenheimers do. Rather than attempt the costly, dubious and dangerous task of crushing the Non-European mass movement by force, they would seek to divert it with fine words and promises and to divide it by giving concessions and bribes to a privileged minority ("the suitably qualified" voters perhaps).

It becomes clear, therefore, that the high-sounding principles enunciated by the Liberal Party, though apparently democratic and progressive in form, are essentially reactionary in content. They stand not for the freedom of the people but for the adoption of more subtle systems of oppression and exploitation. Though they talk of liberty and human dignity they are subordinate henchmen of the ruling circles. They stand for the retention of the cheap labour system and of the subordinate colonial status of the Non-European masses together with the Nationalist Government whose class interests are identical with theirs. In practice they acquiesce in the slavery of the people, low wages, mass unemployment, the squalid tenements in the locations and shanty-towns.

We of the Non-European liberation movements are not racialists. We are convinced that there are thousands of honest democrats among the white population who are prepared to take up a firm and courageous stand for unconditional equality for the complete renunciation of "white supremacy." To them we extend the hand of sincere friendship and brotherly alliance. But no true alliance can be built on the shifting sands of evasions, illusions and opportunism. We insist on presenting the conditions which make it reasonable to fight for freedom. The only sure road to this goal leads through the uncompromising and determined mass struggle for the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of democratic forms of government.

"NATIVE EDUCATION" AND THE AFRICAN TEACHERS

By P. P. D. NOKWE.

In order to understand and evaluate the function and the status of the African teacher in the complex of South African society, it is essential to understand and evaluate the function of education among the Africans. The African teacher is the unfortunate product of, and the even more unfortunate instrument of what is commonly called "Native Education." The history of South Africa, and its social, political and economic structures, reveals the existence of this qualified education. So-called Native Education is a reality—it is a term applied to a process, which is intended for the African and not for the European. It differs from European education in purpose, administration and development. It is in the field of education that discrimination and segregation are most completely implemented.

The history and aims of African education expose the falsehood of the claim that Europeans came to South Africa with benevolent motives of civilising the African and of bestowing upon him the benefits of Western Civilisation. What is clear is that the desirability of 'educating' the African, and the form of education have been functions of the economic value of the African to the European. "Native education" is the product of the economic structure and development of South Africa.

The first schools were started by the early missionaries, and the earliest was in the Cape at Genadendal in 1799. The different missionary societies established different mission schools. The missionaries regarded education as an ancillary to the evangelization of the African. The process was simple, the African had to be taught to read and write, so that he should be able to read the Bible and be converted, after which he qualified as a teacher and evangelist. He was then sent out to teach and convert his people. Originally the farmers opposed the evangelization and education of the African, as they regarded Christianity and Education as the prerogatives of the White man. Later, however, when they realized that the 'educated and christianized Hottentot' was more industrious, efficient and loyal, they sanctioned the process. It may be noted that 'industrious' means readiness to work for Europeans, and loyalty means unquestioning submission to European authority. The missionaries continued their work of educating the African without any assistance from the European community until 1854. The results of their work were pious Evangelist-Teachers and industrious and loyal labourers.

In 1854, Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape, realised that the 'education' of the African was a means of solving the Frontier farmers' land and labour problems. He realized that the education and evangelization of the African had the effect of 'pacifying' him, which really means that the resistance of the Africans to European demands of land and labour has been lowered. In Sir Grey's own words, "the education of the African was an attempt to bring them to civilisation and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends, who may have common interests with us."

Education then was a strategy of invasion. Not only was education used to pacify the African, but also through it his needs for European commodities were to be increased, so that when bartering was inadequate to satisfy his needs, he should readily exchange his labour for money to acquire these commodities and so make him dependent on the European. In order to expedite the process of stimulating new wants, African labourers were paid partly in money and partly in kind, and commodities such as Coffee, Sugar and Tobacco were used. With this purpose in view, the Governments of the Cape and later

of the other Republics subsidized the Mission Schools. In return for these subsidies, the governments acquired the right of regulating the Curricula. The Curriculum consisted in a little English to enable Africans to read the Bible and be able to interpret; manual and industrial training.

Towards the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th, minerals were discovered and towns and industries developed and the demand for labour increased. Originally Indians and Chinese were imported, but this system was inadequate and the various Republics devised means of disturbing the self-sufficiency and independence of the African in order to induce him to sell his labour to the European as cheaply as possible. Apart from the imposition of Taxation one of the methods which was carefully studied was education. This is clearly indicated in the Reports of various Commissions and Directors of the period.

Report of the Directors of the Transvaal 1903.

"The view mentioned above of **teach the Native to work**" . . . contains the true principle by which the education of the Native is to be regulated and controlled, and no proposal for a plan of Native education would be likely to **commend itself to the sense of the great majority of the people of this country** that did not contemplate the ultimate social place of the Native as an efficient worker. . . . ~~The tentative scheme prescribed the results of which have yet to be tried and determined make provision therefore, in the first place for the combination of manual training with elementary instruction and in the second place for the shaping of that elementary instruction so as to equip the Native for a more intelligent comprehension of any industrial work before him.~~

This report is an admirable thesis on the prevailing views of the aims and function of "Native Education." "The great majority of the **people** of the country" are the European employers who had determined the ultimate social place of the African as an efficient worker. The Africans were not, and are not regarded as **people**. There is an admission in this report that by some different process of education the Africans could become something other than mere efficient workers, but this would not commend itself to the Europeans, because it would not facilitate the exploitation of the African. The governments implemented their plans of producing efficient cheap labourers and the products of this system of education were pious Evangelists, loyal teachers and industrious workers. A few of the Africans escaped this triangle after completing their industrial and teachers' training courses, and they managed to get overseas, where they pursued the type of education which would not commend itself to itself to the sense of South African Europeans. Some qualified as doctors, others as Lawyers and Graduates. It is some of these **accidents** of "Native Education" who later organised the Africans to struggle for their liberation, notable amongst these is Dr. Ka I. Seme, the first President of the African National Congress (1912). The fundamental principle, then, of "Native Education" is that it is undertaken because it is economically convenient for the European. It does not contemplate any benefit for the African, since his ultimate social place is as an efficient worker and any other plan does not commend itself to the European. It is now a little less than 50 years since the above report was written. Many things have changed since then; many things are now accepted as normal which were then regarded as abnormal. And all these radical changes "the sense of the great majority of the people of this country" has not changed.

African teachers are still mainly trained in missionary training institutions, which are subsidised by the Government. There are 33 Mission (State-aided) training institutions in South Africa. In almost all these schools, the trainees have to clean their classrooms, school premises daily and, where they are in residence, they have to do their own washing and ironing. In many such institutions the girls who are in training have to cook for themselves in turn. Whilst it is generally argued that this has to be the case with African students because the fees are not adequate to pay the wages of a large number of employees in these institutions, whose duties it would be to clean the premises, clothing and cook for the students as in European schools, it is submitted that the inadequacy of the fees is due to the principle of under-paying the African and these

menial duties which the students must do, are in actual fact, a preparation of their minds and bodies for their ultimate social place as workers.

For many years it was only necessary for an African to pass Std. VI in order that he could be trained as a teacher, as compared with Matric as a pre-requisite for European teachers. This low qualification has been justified by saying that it was a concession to the African, who has fewer obstacles in his way, than a European to obstruct him from qualifying as a teacher. This, then, it is argued, is an advantage for the African. This argument is completely deceptive and fallacious. The real reason for the low qualification is to implement the doctrine of "manual training and elementary instruction" and to keep the quality of "Native Education" as low, and the European education as high, as can be commendable to the sense of the Europeans. There are about 10,000 qualified teachers who have passed Std. VI only (N.P.L.), 3,000 who have passed J.C. (N.P.H.)-900 Matriculants, and about 315 graduate teachers in South Africa.

On completing his training, the teacher usually finds employment in the school controlled by the denomination to which he belongs. In that case he is employed by the manager of the school who is usually a priest, subject to the approval of his appointment by the Provincial Education Department which controls "Native Education."

The African child does not receive education as a right and as has already been shown, his education is merely economically convenient. In contrast with the European child, the African child does not enjoy free compulsory Education. This has two effects, and they are that the State does not contemplate or desire that all Africans should be educated, since this would not be convenient as South African Economy relies on the existence of a large reservoir of cheap unskilled labour. The number is therefore regulated, by shortage of schools, poor equipment of the schools, and the general poverty and exploitation of the Africans which makes it impossible for them to keep their children in school for long, because the schooling of an African child is an additional burden on an income so low that it requires the very child should supplement it. The second reason for the above is that the State does not want to accept African education as its duty. It is convenient to regard it as a benevolent and charitable gesture towards the Africans. These, then, are the 'controls', which ensure that "Native Education" will continue to be a process, which commends itself to the sense of the large majority of the Europeans. It might be argued that this analysis is not correct since it neglects the existence of high school education and even University education. High school education usually prepares the European child for technical or university apart from the fact that only a small percentage of the African children ever receive high school education. (Only 25 per cent. of the children of school-going age are in school, and of those who are in secondary schools are about 2 per cent. of the total enrolment. This is to be contrasted with the corresponding figures for Europeans which are 100 per cent. and 16 per cent.) The Africans are denied technical education, and those who do get through their courses at high schools usually become teachers, nurses and clerks.

The principle of cheap labour is applied to the teachers. Their salary is about three-fifths that of European women teachers, which is three-fifths of that of European male teachers, with the same qualifications. The African teachers with the exception of those in Natal, receive no pension benefit. When they are too old to serve the government faithfully, they have to find some other employment.

The general conditions of employment of African teacher are uncertain and vague. In the Cape, African teachers are discouraged from being active members of political organisations but the Department has no powers to dismiss teachers who are active members. In the O.F.S. African teachers can be members of political organisations, but they are not allowed to hold any office. In Natal, and the Transvaal, teachers are not allowed to be members of political organisations. These restrictions are in accordance with the fundamental principles of "Native Education." The teacher is expected to accept the "ultimate social place" of the African, which commends itself to the sense of the European, and he has no right either to question it or attempt to change it. The consequences of violating these restrictions is dismissal with the possibility of being struck off the roll. Although the African community really bears the cost of "Native Education" it has no effective control over the education of its children.

The Government deceives the Europeans by telling them that they in fact carry the burden of Native Education. This is of course completely untrue, since a large percentage of the national wealth of the country depends on the contribution of the African through direct and indirect taxation, and the compulsory contribution through cheap labour.

The teacher is caught up in a conflict of interests between the government and his people, and as his people have no power to secure him, he unconsciously resolves the conflict in favour of the government and he pursues his task as a loyal servant. The position and status of the teacher is no accident. It is the direct result of a political, social and economic system which does not regard the Africans as people and whose object is the perpetuation of white supremacy and domination and black inferiority.

The educational system is a process which is intended to carve the African child so that he may fit into a fixed mould. There is therefore no pretension to develop the creative abilities of the African child. The teacher, in the process, is merely a precision machine and nothing else. And should he regard himself as anything else, and his task as different than he is "a dangerous element." The insecurity of the teacher in his job is the insecurity of every worker in an artificial system which depends for its existence on the complete submission of people. The lack of control by the Africans in the education of their children is the denial of control of the Africans in all their affairs in the country.

In order to have a different system of education, we require a different society, a society which will not fear to develop the creative abilities of the African child to the fullest; a society which will not predetermine the role or share of any of its members. In short, democratic education is only possible in a completely democratic society.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

By " BWANAUSI. "

Historical.

About 1922, there was a suggestion to link up Northern and Southern Rhodesia, but the settlers in Southern Rhodesia turned it down because the union was to be at the expense of Southern Rhodesia.

In 1938, the question of amalgamating the three territories, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland came up again, and a Royal Commission under Lord Bledisloe was sent to "consult" the people of Central Africa.

In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where the Commission spent most of the time, the Africans objected to the idea of linking up with Southern Rhodesia, in view of the fact that the interests of the Africans in the Northern Territories were paramount, and Southern Rhodesia was a so-called white man's land.

The Commission found that amalgamation was not practicable in view of the disparity in the policies of the three territories towards the African, and also due to the disparity in the constitutional development of the three territories. The Commission found that some sort of closer association was desirable, and so recommended the formation of the Central African Council, which Southern Rhodesia did all she could to make unworkable.

Birth of Congress.

In 1944 the Nyasaland African Congress was formed and was registered as a political party. The Northern Rhodesia African Congress was born more or less at the same time.

The Governments of the two countries instituted District, Provincial and Protectorate (in Nyasaland) and African Representative Councils (in Northern Rhodesia) as counters to these two Congresses.

Constitutional Development

During the same year, history was made in Northern Rhodesia in that two Africans sat in the Legislature for the first time and in the following year two Africans sat in the Nyasaland Legislature.

These developments disturbed the white minority of Southern Rhodesia. They felt that this step would make the Africans of Southern Rhodesia clamour for more rights than they had hitherto enjoyed.

In 1948, Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Roy Welensky decided to call a meeting at the Victoria Falls to discuss Federation. At that time the Labour Government in Britain was doing more for the political set up of the Northern Territories, and the delegates to the Falls Conference, at which Conference Africa was conspicuous by his

absence, it was decided that to put an end to the advance of the African in the North, Federation was the only tool. They called upon Britain to call a conference to discuss the matter in full.

Then came the second Falls Conference at which Britain insisted that Africa be represented. At this Conference the four African representatives voiced their objections to the scheme, and their objections were so good that Huggins asked the conference to exclude these Africans who knew only one word—No. Mr. James Griffiths said he would walk out if the Africans walked out. In the minutes of the proceedings, in spite of the fact that the Africans voted against the plan for federation, it was recorded that voting was unanimous.

Then the Africans of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia decided that it was absolutely useless to attend these conferences if their objections were not going to be recorded. (This answers Mr. Selope Thema's question in the Bantu World why the Africans refused to attend these conferences.)

The authorities decided that the next conference in London, had to be attended by Africans. To divide the people the Nyasaland Government chose some men from the Protectorate Council and sent them to London. These did not want to go for reasons stated above, but they were assured that they were going there as "observers."

When in London the Colonial Secretary told them that they were not "observers" but delegates, they chose to defy his ruling that they attend the conference. At the same time, a delegation of the Congresses of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was conducting a violent campaign against the Central African Federation. The Nyasaland delegation was led by O. T. Chirwa, B.A.

Features of the Federal Constitution.

1. The draft constitution of the Federation provides for 35 members of the house of assembly, allocated thus:—

Southern Rhodesia	...	17
Northern Rhodesia	...	11
Nyasaland	7

(of which 6 were to be Africans, two nominated by the Governor of each country).

From the outset you see that Nyasaland, which has the largest population, gets the least number of seats.

2. The Federal Government will have control, among other things, of Telecommunication, Transport and Immigration.

3. Federal legislation will override all territorial legislation.

4. The original draft proposed an African Affairs Board to look after African interests. This has now in the later draft been abolished. Instead there is to be a select committee of Parliament to look after African interests.

At present the African in Nyasaland enjoys the privilege of being in control of radio-telephone and telegraph services both in the operational and servicing aspects. He is the postal clerk, post master etc.

In Transport he enjoys the monopoly of driving railway engines, of examining the tickets and of being a guard.

These have to go when Federation comes.

Immigration is of vital importance. The Federation will swamp these countries with many whites and so drive the African to the tsetse-fly belts of these parts of Africa. His land will have to go. The Chief will no longer control the land, in favour of his people.

Above all, the African's aspiration to determine his own affairs in a self-governing country will be vitally threatened by Federation. This is the crux of the problem.

The African in Southern Rhodesia used to have a paper protection from legislative that would adversely affect him. Now under the Federation, even this protection, which has never been exercised, has been done away with.

The visit of the Colonial Minister, Mr. Hopkinson, did a lot to unite Africans of Central Africa. He was very arrogant, and further he said that there were many Africans who favoured Federation. This angered every African. A significant consequence of the visit was that the Governor of Nyasaland cabled to London saying that there was intimidation, or else the people would gladly accept the federal idea. The first reaction came from the Chiefs, who decided to have their own meeting, not a government sponsored one, at Lilongwe, where they passed eleven resolutions condemning the Minister of State and the Nyasaland Government. The conference of chiefs decided to send a deputation to the Queen to protest against this obnoxious idea. In London the delegates of this mission were snubbed and this made them see a new light in that it was the Congress that was fighting for their rights and they decided to join hands, and thus the Supreme Council of Nyasaland Chiefs and the people was formed to co-ordinate and direct the action of the people.

Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia have also been very active, and have not let their people down. And so begins an era of struggle in Central Africa.

Book Review:

MUSIC AND IDEAS

A New Approach

By W. B. NGAKANE.

Rarely are books on music written for the ordinary reader and with some other object than the exposition of its technique and structural forms. Here, however, within this compact little volume and within the limit of little more than a hundred pages, Mr. Finkelstein departs from the old beaten paths and views it from an entirely different perspective. The orthodox writer of music deals with its historical development, its technique and its structural forms. On the other hand, Mr. Finkelstein writes about music as a vehicle for expressing ideas, an explosive force which, while growing out of and with the people, giving pleasurable satisfaction to their aesthetic sense, nevertheless interprets their ideas of the status quo and their dissatisfaction with it.

Tracing the development of music from that of primitive man, the author of this book goes to great pains to demonstrate that at every stage, its forms were adequate to the needs of the people. Among primitive people a single melodic phrase repeated endlessly, sufficed as a song, for its purpose, apart from the satisfaction of the aesthetic sense, was to control the forces of nature with which they contended all their life. "It was a means for organising the tribe's collective labour in real activities such as hunting, sowing, and the beginning of an attempt to understand nature. There were rituals for hunting, war, sowing, harvest, festive initiation of the young into adulthood, and ceremonies over the burial of the dead. Each had its own dance and song." Two types of music are characteristic: ritual music at this stage, distinct but tending to combine, one based on pitch

and the other on rhythm. As man evolves and life becomes more differentiated, there is a corresponding growth in complexity in the structural forms and technique of music. During the slave-owning regimes of the city-owning civilisations a great advance was made in instrumental techniques and music ceased to serve as the product of all the people but was organised by the priests in the interests of the king and nobility. This process of the disinheritance of the submerged classes continued in an upward curve until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when chamber music and opera became the prerogatives of the nobility. But already at this time the contradictions of the capitalist economy showed itself, and great composers and musicians were treated as artisans and servants hardly above the status of cooks. This contradiction manifested itself in the contrast between the form and content of the music. The comic opera, however, was the first means by which, through ad-libbing and veiled satire, the first shafts were thrown at the ruling classes. The democratisation of music followed closely when through the symphonies, which were essentially concert-hall performances, the simple folk could now share their heritage with their former superiors. Great advances have since been made and not only has music been made accessible to the simple folks, but opportunities have been created for their artistic development in every sphere.

Just as among primitive folk music was an instrument for controlling the natural forces with which they had to contend, so in each stage along their road of social economic and political development, men have used music as an instrument for liberation from the forces that stood in the way of their freedom. Among the slave-owning communities, music was used to express their revulsion against their oppression. In the capitalistic society of the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the labouring classes expressed their revulsion against their conditions through music.

Finkelstein has succeeded singularly by his little work in showing that music can be and has indeed been a dynamic force in the world of human affairs, at the same time influencing and being influenced by it and accelerating the tempo and intensity of man's struggle against the fetters that threaten his freedom.

How Music Expresses Ideas, by S. Finkelstein. London, Lawrence and Wishart.