

"Speech by J. Huddle" J.H. 7. (17) J.H. 7

his benoni for instance, I know of elderly ^{"Manyans"} women, who had not been ^{congresses} who told me
 "for the first time in our lives we have had to sleep in prison
 cells for some days, with our children, for our children; in answer
 to the congress call and whilst there ^{they} composed "Khethe yakho
 ngobi ndlela zimbili" which became a popular organising liberatory
 song. I am saying this in passing to indicate that Congress
 should never turn-back on its resolutions, if it should hold
 its prestige, and win the confidence and faith of the masses
 within and without the liberatory struggle.

Having ^{so stubbornly} resisted, ~~without flinching~~, Verwoerd's onslaughts, ^{and}
^{without flinching} ~~stubbornly~~ it became necessary ^{to the people} that something shall be done for,
 and with the children who refused and permanently rejected
 Bantu education, the need for an alternative and perhaps superior
 educational system became a most pressing demand, without
 which further or longer resistance would have been futile.

It is from this stage that the African Education Movement came
 into the picture, this organisation undertook to do all in its power
 to explore possibilities of establishing, maintaining and otherwise
 supervising these ^{boycott} children's institutions. These institutions
 were given the name "Cultural Clubs" and the full time
 personell who would run these clubs were to be known and
 are still known as Club leaders. The A.N.C. Y.L. issued a
 call for Volunteers of youth who could sacrifice their time
 and be in charge of these clubs ~~was~~, a few were found.
 Thus the Cultural Clubs proceeded. The A.E.M. appointed
 a sub-committee whose function would be to train the leaders
 in club-work etc etc. Training conferences have been held ~~near~~
 nearly every six weeks, at which eminent lecturers, including
 university professors have taken part. The A.E.M. whose first
 chairman was Fr Huddleston has links with many prominent
 people inside and outside S. Africa, Moral and small financial
 support for it has come from many such sources. It is
 through such support that a full time organizer (in my person)
 was employed. The A.E.M. had only sufficient funds
 to pay the leader's salaries at the initial stages, and afterwards

elections recommended the appointment of local committees in every area where there is Club, whose functions would be inter alia, raising funds to pay leaders' salaries. Committees have now been appointed and their powers, functions and duties clearly laid out in the rules and regulations drawn-up jointly by the A.E.M. & A.N.C. sub-committees. Copies of which are available either from A.N.C. Secretary or the A.E.M. secretary or from me.

General meetings of the A.E.M. take place once every month and meet at the Darragh House. The present Chairman is now Fr James Kerr and Mrs M. Berman the Secretary.

~~The state of affairs in the Cultural Clubs is as follows~~
~~Delegates~~ Delegates may desire to know what are the legal validity of these Clubs, what legal threats hang over the existence of the Clubs, what future, in terms of the law, under Education Act, have they. My answer is, if the prosecutions the Cultural Clubs have been subjected to, since their inception, be the right criteria for measuring their legal bases and their strength against the law; I shall not hesitate to say that the Clubs are founded on a rock the walls ^{of which} are of concrete. There have been 8-9 prosecutions against the Clubs ^{in the various areas on the Reef} on ~~an~~ allegations that Clubs are illegal schools but no convictions; after long and protracted trials were secured against them; except one in Jabavu ^{White City} whose case is ~~not~~ ^{still} on appeal. Thanks to the A.E.M. which has founded a panel of eminent attorneys and advocates to defend the Club leaders and in most cases pro deo.

There are today 1,515 children in our Clubs in the Reef and 21 leaders spread out as follows
 Brakpan 736 children and 10 leaders,
 Germiston 250 children and 4 leaders
 Natalfront 178 children 2 leaders
 Benoni 150 children 3 leaders
 Moroka 106 children 1 leader
 Alex. 64 children 1 leader
 Alberton 34 children 1 leader

Our Cultural Clubs

In this paper I propose to deal with all matters pertaining to the advent, development, decline and the future of the "Cultural Clubs" except for a handful of Congress officials here and there, the majority of delegates gathered at this conference, have very little or no knowledge about the our Cultural Clubs, how they came about; the Sponsoring organs what they are supposed to achieve; their functions and problems. For the benefit of such delegates then, it is my intention to ^{outline} ~~outline~~ although briefly the historical background of the establishment of the "Cultural Clubs".

The Cultural Clubs are an offspring of the A.N.C. they came into existence as a result of the ¹⁹⁵⁴ Durban ~~1954~~ national conference resolution which advocated the withdrawal of all African children from the Bantu education schools as from the date upon which the N.A.D. would take over control of all African primary schools. This resolution was again later confirmed by the N.E.C. which convened a special conference of all organisations and individuals opposed to the Bantu education act on the 9th & 10th April 1955, at which it was resolved to establish a national education council to draw-up plans for educational and cultural activities for African children, the immediate task being to cater for children withdrawn from Bantu education schools and for children not attending any schools. Thus was born the "African Education Movement" whose activities since its inception, I shall refer to later in this discussion.

When the time of the withdrawal of children from Bantu education schools came, it was discovered that not all Congress branches had conducted campaigns in the preceding four months before the date, and the result was that just a few areas responded to the boycott. Nevertheless the few areas that took part in the boycott did so magnificently and successfully well. By the end of May 1955 records reflect that there were no less than 6,000 children

out of Bantu education schools in the East & West Rand. There were ^{probably} more than that in the Eastern Cape. (Unfortunately I have no records of the Cape during this period. There was no doubt then that the boycott as such, was going to spread, although gradually and slowly, but like everything else that lives and grows, does so in stages, until maturity or adult stage is reached. ^{about 100 teachers on ref. lists had passed at the time, many were in African schools for the 10 years.} Unfortunately however that spirit of resistance, that spirit which refuses to submit to tyranny (to quote the chief) was not allowed to grow, it was choked and strangled at infancy not only by ~~the~~ Dr Verwoerd, but strangled and to the utter horror, ~~and~~ disgust and dismay ^{of many,} it was stifled by very prominent and high ranking congress officials; and ~~final~~ ^{of many,} harm, the last straw came from ^{the} bad press publicity notably the Bantu World and some missionaries who all argued that "half a loaf is better than no bread" Dr Verwoerd issued an ultimatum intimidating parents and children who had boycotted and slowly the numbers began to drop everywhere. Having mentioned or accused congress officials of stifling, ~~and~~ strangling the boycott I think it is fitting to mention specific facts to complete and perhaps remind delegates what the accusation is based on (i) There was the harmful confusion issued in press statements, openly discrediting and disowning leaders of the boycott, ^{movement} they ^{were} referred to as idle went works not under congress direction, and (ii) the statement that the boycott as such, had been postponed to a date to be fixed later by the President-General. ^{used to this day, has never been issued.} These and many other matters tended to weaken and waterdown the militant determination of the masses. Nevertheless in spite of all these setbacks, arrears affected by the boycott refused to be intimidated by anybody; not all children obeyed Verwoerd's ultimatum, ^{they} ~~they~~ refused to be condemned to ~~leave~~ the soul destroying Bantu education, they have refused to participate or operate the machinery designed to speed up their spiritual and mental and consequently physical enslavement, they have refused until this day. There have been arrests and deportations, but still the people have refused. They have demonstrated their refusal in a practical manner

That is why when next the club was raided the white police smashed the doors of the club room with their heavy boots as they held their revolvers in their hands. After a long trial against Mr Matimela the Senior leader there the case was won. 18 children wrote the national Std VI examination of whom 8 were successful in all subjects others passing in certain subjects. Supplementary exams will be written by those who failed certain subjects. Arrangements have been made by certain parents to send some of these senior children to Swaziland & Basutoland for further studies. Unfortunately those that had gone Swaziland have since returned as a result of the ^{school} strike at Mahamba Institution, but happily they are back at the club and studying. Leaders salaries and equipment are some of the problems of the club particularly seniors!

NATALSPRINT: There were 327 children at the close of last ^{year} term with only two female leaders there are now 180 children and still two female leaders. About 40 children have been transferred to the Gertmanster Peoples school under us. There are however a number of children who have gone back to their schools what is disturbing is that there are even Congressites children who are alleged to have been taken back to Verwoerd. The determination and courage of the remaining children and their leaders is inspiring indeed. These children have lost all tendency of fearing the police, and even Santa Teachers. A story is told of certain children who joined the club in defiance of their parents instructions, having failed to force these children out of the club, a parent (now Congressite) what these children were being brought at the club the child replied 'I cannot tell you father because you may be an informer (impimp) I am afraid you let the police come and trouble us. The Freedom Square where they play and congress ^{meetings} are held is jealously guarded by the children. Any non-congressite walking across this square is blocked and sent back by the ~~the~~ boys & girls. These children are remarkably politically conscious. Here too the problem of lack of accommodation like in Brokpa is acute. The children are kept under the trees the whole day. Then there is also the leaders salaries and equipment.

ALLEXANDRIA: About 900 children came out of the Santa Education Schools during the boycott and were absorbed in the Stail Sellane private school which originally gave protection to the Club for formal education, under Congress influence. Unfortunately after about a month's running differences occurred between the ANC branch and the

private school which resulted in a split. An independent C. Club was then started and up to the end of last year there were 220 children, with 3 leaders in charge. The present number is about 150 children. There are probably 26 children who have gone back to the slave schools. Here too the children and the leaders are encouragingly determined to carry on with the club activities in spite of various obstacles and interferences from many sources, even where they are least expected. 10 children wrote the national Std V examination of whom 5 got a clear pass others getting distinctions in certain subjects. Some are to re-write one or two subjects in June to acquire the full certificate had it not been for the arrest and long delay caused by the Senior club leader's trial there probably would have been a 100% pass. Like in all other clubs there is a general cry leaders' salaries and club equipment. An application for the registration of a school has been made on behalf of this club too. Accommodation is not a very serious problem at present.

Germiston: This club has fortunately, now been registered as a ^{private} school and is following a different syllabus than the new Bank Education syllabus. There were 321 children at the close of last term. There are now 375 with 7 teachers in charge. One teacher and about 17 children have been transferred to this school by the Alexandria Committee for general education purposes. The school has been fortunate to receive ~~large~~ numbers of desks, blackboards, maps and kinds of books from the certain A. E. M. sources largely from the Anglican school that are closing down. As the first and only known school under the influence of the liberatory movement in the whole country it is vital that all our efforts and energies should be directed towards making it the model of success and progress it deserves to be. There is the problem of teacher's salaries and the school funds that have to be tackled. Arrangements are being made to prepare all Std V club children from other areas to write the national Std V exam. here this year. A ^{school} trip to P. Elizabeth ~~for~~ in July, this year is also being arranged for. The children are excited to meet the Eastern Cape non-Bank school children.

Morokai: There were 59 children here at the close of last term under one young lady leader. There are now 54. A number of children have returned to Bank Education owing to the fact that this leader has been battling ^{to} almost alone at great odds. If Congresses could back her up more vigorously, there would be success of club activities here too. The courage and determination of this club leader is too admired.

Tsoaru: The drop from 100 children to 35 is probably due to the conversions

many children from the Bantus schools. This year the club opened with 860 children of whom 78 from the local Govt Bantu school which once had a 1000 children and is now virtually deserted with only 100 children remaining. Teachers in this school have had to be dismissed as result. This club is still confronted with the problem of "accommodation" there are still nine leaders.

The club ^{activities} are mainly run under the trees on an old deserted tennis court. It is here where the club children courageously demonstrated their determination to face whoever Verwoerd sends to intimidate them. Once they caused an unforgettable sensation in the whole town as they sang and marched to the charge office to demand the immediate release of their leader Mr. Mabasa who had been taken by the police. This police complied unconditionally.

There are now 9 leaders who are facing a trial for running the club.

These four were ^{quitted} arrested at 12 midnight by the police and allowed out on bail of R5 each the ^{early} next morning before the club children took. It is a mystery why only four were arrested when they were 9 at the time in the club.

21 club children wrote national Std VI exam last year, of whom 10 passed the whole course. The rest having to write certain subjects in June this year. Except for a few personal differences between the club leaders and the club committee there is progress. The youth league has to a larger extent been responsible for the establishment of this club.

Benoni: This club was also started in May last year mainly through the Youth league and the mothers. It is ^{the catalyst of} this club that sort in the deportation of ^{Korea} Mr. Monare, whose militancy and organizational ability caused an unforgettable sensation the world over. Up to the end of last year there were 290 children under the charge of 3 leaders. There are now 188, about 13 of whom are new recruits from Bantu Educ. schools. Owing to lack of accommodations, which is a new problem confronting ^{the} Benoni club this year, about 100 children former club members are idling at ^{their} home. This club has applied for registration as a school. Probably due to intense police intimidation during last year the children are so hardened and stubborn that in addition to bringing normal school books and slates to the club, and demanding that the leaders teach them, they are said to challenge the police with their books in their hands whenever the police happen to pass by. One young married lady leader is said to have ^{white} smashed a police sergeant in defence of the children in a Hall one morning, the sergeant with his policeboys came out ~~at~~ running and the children laughed & booed the

(8)

troubled

the document whose words descend like gentle rains upon our hearts, the source of our inspiration, the words that sooth and inspire us and ^{not} madden the parents and their fellow travellers. I am personally seeing to it that by the end of this year all club children shall be in a position to recite with understanding the whole freedom charter in their various languages and perhaps in English, instead of memorising long scriptural passages particularly purposely selected to enslave the hearts and souls children's minds, make them accept, tolerate and even enjoy the oppression and exploitation of the African people adults and the youth and themselves. Passages which impose fear of the white man and his hell the other side of the sky and the white man's missions on earth, these and the like will be eliminated from the club children's minds. Appropriate liberatory words to fit a series of church hymn tunes are being compiled by me and others, and which ready will be cyclostylated and distributed to the club to minimise spiritual enslavement of the children and all people who like me are convinced that the white man god who sent our oppressors and exploiters with their guns and rifles to rob us of our country, our wealth, our labour power and now our mentalities & souls does not care a damn for us non-whites.

Just as the reactionary parents are likely to deal bitterly with us freedom lovers as they have already done so with our leaders, I should like to make this remark in concluding this sketch of my talk, that the Bantu teachers, whom we lead, are shortly to be supplied with uniforms with N.A.A. armbands on their arms, who, are during these days, humbling and bitterly persecuting the African children in their attempts to drive acceptance of inferiority by them, will be remembered, and as the day of reckoning is drawing nigh, let them be warned now and just that their names are written in letters of blood and tears in our hearts and must and shall be dealt with in the usual way in which ~~past~~ saboteurs and people guilty of crimes against humanity are dealt with. A hundred pounds fine for every year that they have knowingly, willingly administered this deadly poison to the young African's ~~mind~~ will not suffice because the souls of a people cannot be bought, therefore they shall pay only once and it will be a final price.

STATISTICAL FACTS & FIGURES ^{ON} ABOUT Cultural Clubs

Brakpan:- Started in May 1955 with only 2 leaders ^{but} up to the end of last year there were 760 children in various groups and grades with nine club leaders in charge. One of these Mr Maboca, a fully qualified teacher, had resigned his teaching post in the Bantu School to join the club bringing with him many

place to create a culture which will reinforce the vicious fascist assault on the lives, and welfare of the masses, the scourge and all the attendant evils of this shameful educational system, denounced by the whole world save the hypocritical D.C. rats' sub organs, have now been ^{that} clearly brought up to the surface and the masses are groaning everywhere.

Teaching should lead the Bantu child, said Verwoerd, to do naturally and therefore willingly what (the white) Society has proscribed as good, correct and commendable. ¹⁹⁵⁵ ¹⁹⁵⁵ that statement he got this reply from freedom lovers:

It was ^{no from} the 12th of April ¹⁹⁵⁵ when thousands of children in the Reef and the Eastern Cape boycotted his slave intended schools and for ^{years} a year now these young pioneers have stubbornly resisted and remained outside Verwoerd's poisonous wells. All weapons, all his might and power has been used to cripple or otherwise hamper these militant and determined young Africans but it was all in vain. Traitors when matters got stiff and tough, traitors appeared but were immediately crushed by the people. Stooges, puppets and collaborators yelled through their Tokoloshe newspapers, Bantustan Radio broadcasts, Rediffusions, slave propaganda, and N.O.O. loudspeakers but were ignored.

Policemen and policeboys were later sent to every established Club fully armed to frighten and intimidate leaders and children but they were rebuffed. Finally, very white magistrates were called upon to intervene, the whole ^{civilized} world shook in shame to hear of blackboards, books, desks, pens & pencils ^{school children} being used in the courts of law ^{as exhibits in} of this country that still boasts of not only being civilized but "saving" white civilization what a joke?

These proceedings against our children were won the magistrates were embarrassed since the inception of C. Clubs we have at the most only had three convictions ^{all places combined} the third is still pending an appeal, whilst other ~~some~~ areas are facing the second round charges still on the same lines. Still the struggle goes on the determination of the children and leaders is becoming stronger and fiercer, the children are hardening, fear of the police or his gun or uniforms is evaporating from them. Experiments are being made in our clubs and great possibilities and potentialities are being discovered our power and abilities to do things for ourselves are being ^{examined} trained and exercised. Amongst many things that are being learned in the C. Clubs is the freedom charter that corner stone of the ^{whole} liberatory movement, that document drawn up by the "people" of S.A who believe in the inherent equality of humanity.

The Struggle against Bantu Education Goes On:

It is true that no power on earth can stop an idea whose time has come. The A.N.C. together with other democratic movements, clearly and wisely ~~and~~ indicated, the necessity of launching and maintaining a full educational and cultural offensive against the inhuman and barbaric schemes of Dr Verwoerd. As reflected in the National Executive report of last year, we learn that, in April 1955, at a Conference of various organisations opposed to Bantu Education held in P. Elizabeth the principle of establishing an educational Council was approved, such a Council was duly established and is known as the African Education Movement, with its headquarters in Johannesburg. Its first chairman and founder was that gallant freedom fighter and son of the soil the ^{late} KwaZulu Natal Father Huddleston with Mrs Maylle Berman as its first competent and devoted secretary. With the departure of the KwaZulu Natal; Father Jarret Kerr has come forward to be the chairman of the movement with equal interest and zeal. Amongst other things the A.E.M. has the following responsibilities & tasks:

- (a) Drawing up syllabuses for alternative (and perhaps superior) education to Verwoerd's.
- (b) Establish, supervise and guide cultural clubs for the children who have been and are still to be withdrawn from Verwoerd's poison schools ^{grow special} ~~to~~ ^{training to leaders.}
- (c) Give moral, legal and financial aid to the clubs thus established, whenever funds are available. Through the initiative of the A.E.M. contact was made with the African Bureau in London which was persuaded to provide financial assistance in the campaign against Verwoerd's education. ~~That~~, I am glad to report, ^{that} ~~an~~ ^{an} amount of £200 ^{was received} ~~some time~~ towards the end of last year which sum was distributed proportionally to defray the initial running expenses of the cultural clubs that existed then i.e. payment of club leaders' salaries. It is also through this African Bureau in London that a full time organiser of C. Clubs was employed by the A.E.M. It is to be feared however that this London Bureau cannot ~~not~~ be of much more assistance than it has been so far, but with Father Huddleston nearby, we stop are all cherishing a ^{fruitful} hope that more money will be forthcoming sooner or later, from the same source.

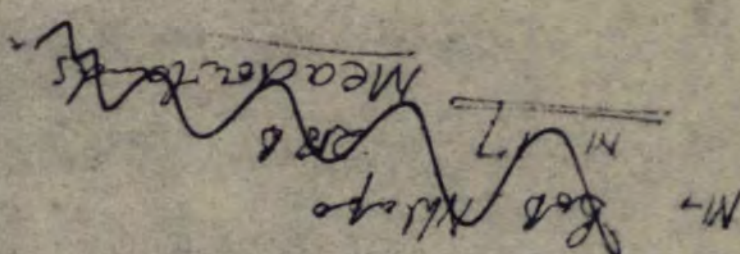
Speaking to people, the youth, the marrow of a nation, who, I believe have no doubt that apart from dwarfing and conditioning the minds of the African child to make them fit a particular and inferior post in life, willingly and without complaint; this slave education is further designed to destroy the culture of the people in the way they knew and appreciated it, and in the

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(11)

Kwa (E) A.N.G. ' (A.H.) Suyaya

Basapataelas movement.



d:s.d: - t.s.tl.

Kwa (E) A.N.G. ' (A.H.) Suyaya

r: r:	(f.m)	r: d: d
f: f:	—	m: m
ss	—	d: d

lbaleni' " Sibabonle bisiya Kwakerwoerd

solo Khibonanga na Kbane? (A.H.) Sibabonle bisiya Kwakerwoerd

d: s. d. l	r: r	l: m: m	d: d	d: s. d. l	r: r	l: med	d: d
	t: t	l	s s		f: f	l	ss
							m: m

Umajola

Mid: s -	d: d: d - 2	r: t: s.	d: d: d - 5.
umajola	oyoyika	Ku Malezindoni	Hamba thina siyohamba
dd: s -	d: d: d	tt: s	d: d: s -
Hamba thina siyohamba	Hamba thina siyohamba		

Fractal aspects

of two club leaders, whose case is still pending on appeal. Non payment of club leaders over a long period forced the club to suspend activities a month ago some children ^{were} transferred to the mooka club whilst others are probably idling.

Albertonville: A club was established here about three weeks ago with about 32 children and 1 leader in charge. There are also possibilities that this club will increase rapidly.

TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUE

1. Home Education
2. Raising of funds:— Lack of which, as I speak, on the point of destroying our achievements. Leaders everywhere have threatened to go for want of money. please help. The position is lamentable. Lack of anticipation of the boycott without leaders will bring us nowhere.

1. Brickpan: - This is still the largest club on the Reef. It started with over 2,000 children in May 1965, but owing to lack of funds, shortage of ^{efficient} leaders, and lack of accommodation, the numbers have gradually dwindled. By the end of last year there were only 260 children. This figure for the same reasons as stated above have continued to fall until today there are still 735 and 10 leaders.

Writing as private candidates 21 children entered for the National Std VI examinations ^{last year} and in spite of police interference, bitter obstacles and obstructions 10 got a clear pass others ~~or~~ obtaining distinctions in certain subjects. Others failing in one or two subjects. There was great joy and pride when the U.E. Dept certificates arrived and disappointment to the reactionaries. There are 18 who have entered this year including some for Std VII and we are all looking forward their success.

During this club's existence in the last 18 months there have been two ^{prosecutions} cases against the club leaders but no conviction was secured against them. The leaders are:

2. Gernustown: - This is a unique club. after running ^{as} a club for about 5 months it managed to obtain a licence authorising it to run as a private school, and as can be expected it did not provide ^{for} Bantu education. It became the first people's school proper. It was hoped that great experiments and explorations in the field of universal education will be embarked upon here but it was not for long to be. As a result of pressure from local reactionaries Mr Verwoerd was ordered the immediate closure of the school. Much the same as he did to the Chrysalis King School of Sophiatown. As there was much press publicity about this closure I shall not go into the details thereof. The school had then to convert back into a club. Although I suffered severe losses of children and teachers. There are presently 250 children on the rolls and 4 leaders namely.

- children have entered as private candidates from this club for the National examinations of U.E. Dept. they will be writing in two weeks time are good wishes are with them. This club has had trips to F.E. and met their Cape Council parts

3. Natalospruit

4. Benoni:

5. Alex:

6. Moroka:

7. Alberton private school Sophiatown
Get A.E.M News Bulletin for distribution at conference

Turning Point

(14)

The purpose of my presenting this report to conference shall have not been fulfilled if I fail to state a few problems confronting the clubs. Firstly its the lack of accomodation, shortage of club leaders as it can be seen from the enrolments, and finally the most important and urgent and burning issue finance to pay the club leaders. This is so pressing that if nothing can come up out of the discussion on this matter in this conference, this conference will have no choice but to call-off the boycott and face the shame and lowering of the prestige of the movement from these thousand children, and about 5 thousand in the Cape and their parents and it will be hard for Congress now to embark upon any other campaign in future.

The time is ripe for an intensification of the boycott. Bantu Teachers have appealed that Congress moves and they will secretly support, for they have now seen in detail the evils of bantus education, some of whom are working for months on end, ^{for charity} without earning anything and are not allowed to protest about it. ~~Doing that work to poison and die~~ theirs is not to reason why, theirs is but to "poison" the african children and "die" with them. If we still abide by Congress resolution again confirmed in the Bloemfontein conference about Boycotting bantus education schools ours is not merely to confirm that resolution and sit down ours to find the money we have asked for full time volunteers who have stood for all these 18 months firmly in open defiance against this evil thing, and they can not ^{stand} in that manner for ever. The A.N.C. locally and Provincial has done nothing about the clubs and club leaders, they have neglected to press on those concerned and involved to donate. Leaders have struggle single handed, as if the whole struggle is their personal affair. Not only that even as we are sitting many congressites still send their children to bantus educ. sch. and yet if they happen to be local congress officials where there are clubs they demand to have a hand in the running of the cultural clubs, resulting in serious rifts, disputes, antagonisms and friction with scant further of dividing the people, confusing, ~~storing~~ perplexing and puzzling them. finally no fees come to the clubs because the people are fighting amongst themselves and forgetting verwoerd.

I shall like to get back to the A.E.M. the club leaders the children and their parents, with a clear statement of policy from this conference.

The whole struggle against bantus education is today resting squarely on the shoulders of the club leaders alone. All these undertakings, all these people, all these facts although limited in ^{their} results and achievements came about or were motivated in answer to congress, but today congress is ^{maintaining} a ^{sublimely} dignified silence on its attitude to bantus educ. These people have been left to find on their own the best they can. There is a crisis in the clubs today most club leaders are likely to quit at the end of the year. Where will congress face this direct challenge?

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A 170

The actions of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, in ordering the expulsion of 4,000 children from the schools, and the dismissal of teachers, as well as the threat to banish African leaders from their homes are brutal reprisals which we cannot too strongly condemn. No democrat in South Africa can permit these things to go unchallenged.

To punish children for a lifetime - for that is what this action is intended to achieve - is the outrageous act of a barbarous government.

The Bantu Education Act was imposed on the African people without their having a say in their own future, and in the face of their deep opposition. Then, when the people take one of the few means of protest they have against this education for servitude, the Minister hits back with savage fury.

These acts, far from breaking the determination of the people to resist Bantu Education with all the means in their power, serves only to strengthen their will to fight.

A170

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(2)

The Government has clearly failed in its attempts to get the teachers to act as the agents for Bantu Education. Now that it is apparent that the teachers would not, even at the insistence of the Native Affairs Department, inveigle or persuade parents to send their children to school in the areas where the boycott was carried out, they are to be the victims.

African teachers must see themselves as part of the African liberation movement, and we call on them not to capitulate to the principles of Bantu Education but to place their service to their community and allegiance to the common cause of defeating the Nationalists first.

Dr. Verwoerd's original threat to transfer education from the boycott areas to other schools does not now square with his dismissal of the teachers. *It is clear that the dismissal is intended to frighten the teachers into complete submission to Verwoerd not using the boycott to evade his education responsibilities. If new teachers that unless they become active and enthusiastic opposites to Bantu Education, the schools are to be opened and if Dr. Verwoerd is genuine about extending education facilities, there should be room for these teachers and many more.*

These measures taken by Dr. Verwoerd against the African people are meant to make an example of those who pioneered the Bantu Education struggle on the East Rand and

A170

three (3)

and in the Johannesburg areas. Indeed, the boycott struggle waged will serve as an example and an inspiration to the African people throughout the country, and we have confidence that far from being intimidated by Dr. Verwoerd, ~~the struggle~~ the struggle against Bantu Education will be intensified.

We do not regard it as accidental that the news of the contemplated concentration camp should leak out now. These are familiar methods : camps surrounded by barbed wire, reprisals against whole communities; mass victimisations; government action even against children .. but as fascist governments have in the past been overturned by the action of the people, so the Nationalists will in time share the same fate.

The struggle against Bantu Education has only just begun and Dr. Verwoerd must now reckon with the intensified anger and opposition of the African people.

There are few threats the Minister has not used, but even the banishment and deportation of leaders will not break the struggle. New leaders spring from the people when they are needed, and the very conditions of oppression of the people create their organisations and their leadership. Those who fight for freedom today are

A170

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(4)

not deterred, even by the methods of the Nationalists. Each new repressive measure of the government sharpens the conflict with the people and brings nearer the break in their tyrannical hold.

ends.

P170 (5)

The notions of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, in ordering the expulsion of 4,000 children from the schools, and the dismissal of teachers, as well as the threat to banish African leaders from their homes are brutal reprisals which we cannot too strongly condemn. No democrat in South Africa can permit these things to go unchallenged.

To attempt to penalise children for a lifetime - for that is what this action is intended to achieve - is the outrageous act of a barbarous government.

The Bantu Education Act was imposed on the African people without their having a say in their own future, and in the face of their deep opposition. Then, when the people take one of the few means of protest they have against this education for servitude, the Minister hits back with savage fury.

These acts, far from breaking the determination of the people to resist Bantu Education with all the means in their power, serves only to strengthen their will to fight.

The Government has clearly failed in its attempts to get the teachers to act as agents for Bantu Education. Now that it is apparent that the teachers could not, even at the insistence of the Native Affairs Department, inveigle or persuade parents to send their children to school in the areas where the boycott was carried out, they are to be the victims.

African teachers must see themselves as part of the African liberation movement, and we call on them not to capitulate to the principles of Bantu Education but to place service to their community and allegiance to the common cause of defeating the Nationalists first.

Dr. Verwoerd's original threat to transfer education from the boycott areas to others schools does not now square with his dismissal of the teachers. It is clear that this dismissal is intended to demonstrate to all teachers that unless they become active, enthusiastic apostles of Bantu Education, their days as teachers are strictly numbered.

These measures taken by Dr. Verwoerd against the African people are meant to make an example of those who pioneered the Bantu Education struggle on the East Rand and in the Johannesburg areas. Indeed, the boycott struggle waged will serve as an example and an inspiration to the

H170 (6)

African people throughout the country, and we have confidence that far from being intimidated by Dr. Verwoerd, the struggle against Bantu Education will be intensified.

We do not regard it as accidental that the news of the contemplated concentration camp should leak out now. These are familiar methods; camps surrounded by barbed wire, reprisals against whole communities; mass victimisations; government action even against children ..but as fascist governments have in the past been overturned by the action of the people, so the Nationalists will in the time share the same fate.

The struggle against Bantu Education has only just begun and Dr. Verwoerd must now reckon with the intensified anger and opposition of the African people.

There are few threats the Minister has not used, but even the banishment and deportation of leaders will not break the struggle. New leaders spring from the people when they are needed, and the very conditions of oppression of the people create their organisations and their leadership. Those who fight for freedom to-day are not deterred, even by the methods of the Nationalists. Each new repressive measure of the government sharpens the conflict with the people and brings nearer the break in their tyrannical hold.

A 170

(17)

Bewysing No.
Gekry by *ANC Kantou*
Deur *S's Maule*
Te *Commissie*
Datum *27/9/55*
Verwysings No.

286

① ORT 117

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~~TO THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES~~

The present situation of boycott of schools has created a special situation in the Transvaal in which the Transvaal Executive is called upon to guide its branches and the people of the Transvaal in general. First we endorse the statement of the Working Committee of the African National Congress, which has called upon to demonstrate their protest by withdrawing their children from schools as a prelude to a permanent boycott which is our objective. This statement is flexible enough so as to allow people to decide each area according to its circumstances and conditions which has been our desire in the Transvaal - that the areas which ready must not be bottled up.

We can therefore understand the position of the areas which find themselves yet not able to cope up with the such a great task; by that we mean the people of any given area, not just the African National Congress Executive or the African National Congress Officials. But we cannot understand nor appreciate the efforts of those who make it their task to campaign for going back to school. We must therefore uncompromisingly attack the efforts of those who go cap in hand to the arrogant Native Affairs Department begging them to re-open the schools. To us the battle has begun. The fury of Verwoerd will be answered by the fury of the people. We must intensify the struggle of the Bantu Education as well as in other fields.

As the directives from the head office clearly state that Congress must undretake the work in the affected areas, give guidance to parents and children by arranging for private schools and teachers, we must accordingly ask all the branches to intensify the campaign against Bantu Education, in particular assist by whatever possible means those children who are victimised.

The assault on Mr. P.Q. Vundla is strongly condemned by us. The matter has accordingly been attended to by a special committee. The statement, however, in the Bantu World which says that Mr. P.Q. Vundla is leading a deputation to the Native Affairs Department, must be strongly condemned.

ORT 117
O. R. TAMBO (Lia. 26)
5/15/ Jan 1951
Jaw, Sh.

TO THE PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES

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We wish to refer you to our previous correspondence in regard to reports of activities in your province. There is no longer any need to emphasise the dangers of this lack of information from the provinces. This situation has already led to a serious state of affairs in the African National Congress itself. We have never been able to understand what your difficulties are. This matter can no longer be allowed to continue.

The Working Committee will recommend to the forthcoming National Executive a method of dealing with this situation. Our letters are not acknowledged let alone replies. There are hardly any inquiries from the provincial offices about various problems of the organisations. Any struggle we undertake must depend in the co-ordination and the efficiency of our leaders in all struggles.

As we are preparing for a National Bulletin which will be another method of bringing about this co-ordination, we would like to have all the addresses of all branches, their officials and Executive members. Please do not wait until you have collected every one. Send as quickly as you can those you have in possession whilst collecting others.

The actions of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, in ordering the expulsion of 4,000 children from the schools, and the dismissal of teachers, as well as the threat to banish African leaders from their homes are brutal reprisals which we cannot too strongly condemn. No democrat in South Africa can permit these things to go unchallenged.

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African people throughout the country, and we have confidence that far from being intimidated by Dr. Verwoerd, the struggle against Bantu Education will be intensified.

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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