43 Duke Street Observatory 7925 20 April 1983

The Editor
Cape Times
77 Burg Street
Cape Town

Dear Sir

There has recently been a debate in the Cape Times(13 & 16 April) over the issue of whether South Africa is involved in a civil war. The debate, although originating from the arguments of a Conscientious Objector as to why he refused to serve in the SADF, has had the effect of obscuring these arguments.

On the 22 March Peter Hathorn was sentenced to 2 years in prison for refusing to obey his call-up. Pete's reason for objecting was not that he defined South Africa as being in a state of "civil war".

Rather, it was the nature of the conflict itself and the role of the SADF in that conflict on which he based his decision.

Pete argued that the conflict in South Africa involves South Africans fighting against South Africans (whether or not this is defined as a "civil war" is immaterial).

For many years there was a commitment to non-violence by black political movements in this country. Violent state action crushed this non-violent political activity and resulted in the use of arms as part of the strategy in the struggle for political rights.

Participation in this conflict means "taking sides" in the struggle and serving in the SADF is thus siding with the oppressive white minority.

It is not only the internal role of the SADF that Pete objects to, but also its role as a foreign aggressor. South Africa's military occupation of Namibia is illegal as defined by the International Court of Justice.

The SADF regularly invades large areas of Southern Angola. Support for dissident groups in neighbouring countries, as well as intermittent raids, have also been alleged.

It is Pete's commitment to working for change that has compelled him to stay in this country and act on his conscience. As a result of this he was given 2 years imprisonment, the maximum sentence a Conscientious Objector is liable for at present. With the imminent Defence Amendment Act, objectors could be jailed for 6 years.

However, the realities of South African society which objectors feel unable to defend, remain unchanged. It is only that the possible options will be further limited.

Pete's stand thus focuses on the realities of our society rather than on the precise definition of a "civil war". It is crucial that we do not allow his argument to be obscured by semantic debate.

Yours faithfully Paula Hathorn

Rowall atten.

H.D.E (P.G.) SEC.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION

ASSIGNMENT

DUE DATE 18th JULY 1983.

ONE ASPECT OF CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION: A FOCUS ON THE REACTIONS AND RESISTANCE TO THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953 (ACT NO. 47)

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Historical Background
- 3. Background to the Bantu Education Act
- 4. Reaction to the Eiselen Commission Report
- 5. Some Aspects of the Bantu Education Act
- 6. Reactions to the Bantu Education Act
- .a) In Parliament
- b) By Various Organizations Survey of Race Relations 1953 1954
- c) Campaign of Resistance by African National Congress
- 7. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

In dealing with the topic I shall be giving a brief historical background to the Bantu Education Act. As this Act was preceded by the Eiselen Commission into Bantu Education (1949 - 51) and it reflected many of the Commission's recommendations, I feel that the two should be seen together. I have therefore referred to some of the recommendations of this Commission through the reactions by certain groups to this Commission prior to the legislation which followed it. As my focus is mainly on reactions to the Act, I shall limit my discussion on the actual Act to the implications and basic ideologies behind the terms rather than giving a detailed account of the terms of the Act. Similarly in discussing the major policy statement made by Dr Verwoerd in the Senate in 1954, which I feel cannot be divorced from the Act, I have not given his much quoted, in other sources, actual statements, but rather looked at the implications these entailed. I have attempted to give most of the reactions to the Act, but have limited this reaction until 1955. I attempted to find out what big business had to say by looking at the Optima journal of the Anglo American Corporation. The first mention of Bantu Education appeared in an article in 1956 by Prof. E.H. Malherbe, but this was more a description of what was going on in Higher Bantu Education and I thought rather reactionary. The only statement of relevance was that he saw ethnic universities as possible danger areas for opposition in the future. It would be unfair for me therefore to say that there was no reaction from big business as there may have been in sources which I have not researched. I have in my conclusion attempted to give my own opinion about why resistance to the Act failed.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The coming to power of the Nationalist government in 1948 may be seen as the triumph of Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa. Very little time was wasted in introducing laws representing their ideology which had its roots in the previous centuries, but which developed definite structure and an overall plan or policy as a result of the conditions in South Africa in the 1930's and 1940's. The economic depression of the 1930's and the severe drought of the 1940's left the majority of Afrikaners - many of whom were still concentrated in the rural areas, in dire financial straits and contributed to their rapid urbanization. This urbanization (of all sectors of the population) coincided with the second industrial revolution in South Africa and led to political unrest among both Afrikaner and Africans. The second world war saw a rise in both the growth of Afrikaner Nationalism and African Nationalism (the dynamics of this are beyond the scope of this essay) and the period was marked by political unrest by both groups.

It was as a result of these conditions that organizations such as the Broedebond (formed in 1918); the Federasis van Afrikaner Kultuurvereenigings (FAK) formed in 1939; the Christelike Nationals Onderwys en Opvoeding Volkskrongres of 1939 and the Ossewabrandwag, formed at the time of the emotionally packed centenary of the Great Trek in 1938, were all to contribute to and shape the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology which determined Nationalist government policy following 1948.

The passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 was in part the result of the plan to make Christian National Education the educational policy in South Africa, but this cannot be separated from the Act's function in the cornerstone of Afrikaner Nationalist ideology i.e. apartheid, through which the government sought white domination and Afrikaner domination in particular. Through Bantu education as laid down in the Act of 1953 and extended several times in future years, the government was able to apply social control through suppression, for its own interests, of the future fortunes of the African majority in this country.

African education, which had largely been in the hands of missionaries or under the administration of the various provinces was transferred through the Act to the control of the Minister of Native Affairs (Dr H. Verwoerd) who was invested with sweeping powers to control all Bantu education in South Africa in a manner in which he saw fit. What this policy entailed, was to be clearly stated by him in his policy statement to the Senate in 1954. (discussed later)

3. BACKGROUND TO THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT

In a manifesto on Christian National Education brought out in 1948 by the Nationals Instituut vir Christelike Onderwys en Opvoeding, which had been formed by the FAK to produce a revised educational policy 1 there was a definite policy statement on the education of Africans.

"The task of white South Africa with respect to the native is to Christianise him and help him culturally and this vocation or task has found its immediate application in the principles of trusteeship, no placing of the native on the level of the white, and in segregation. The teaching and education of the native must be based on the European attitude of life, or particularly that of the Boer Nation as the senior European trustee. The mother-tongue language is the basis for instruction. Because of the cultural immaturity of the native, it is the task of the State in co-operation with the Christian Protest (Protestant, my addition) Churches, to provide and superintend education for Natives. The actual teaching should be undertaken by natives themselves under the control and guidance of the State, with the proviso that the financing of native education be placed on such a basis, that it is not provided at the cost of European education."

^{1.} Atkinson. N. Teaching South Africans, (Chap. 7) P. 218
2. Mbers. A.W. An Analysis of the Association Between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism: A study of the role of ideology in education P. 7.

In this statement we see already the concepts which were to meet with the greatest resistance and protest when the Act was introduced in 1953. The concept guardianship or trusteeship would come to mean control; inequality in order to maintain white dominance is reflected in the words 'no placing of the native on the level of whites'; segregation would be entrenched through apartheid legislation; racial purity and Afrikaner dominance in the words that the 'Boer Nation would be the senior trustee.' Mbere, although he doesn't say when it happened, quoted Verwoerd as declaring," we want to make South Africa white. Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely, white domination, not leadership, not guidance but control, supremacy....."3.

The Bantu education Act was based to a very great extent on the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission (1949-51). This Commission was given very definite terms of reference. It was to examine "the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."

It is interesting to note that both Verwoerd and Eiselen had been educated in Germany during the rise to power of Hitler and would have been influenced a great deal by the ideals of the Aryan Race. ⁵ The two chief architects of Bantu education were thus ideally suited for the implementation of the ideas of racial purity of whites versus racial inferiority of blacks, which forms the cornerstone of apartheid idealogy.

The Commission in its report proposed a set of 'guiding principles' for the implementation of Bantu education. Although few of the detailed recommendations of the Eiselen report of 1951 are specifically mentioned in the Act (possibly as a result of the opposition and suspicions that this report evoked) it undoubtedly reflected the major government reasoning on the matter. Instead, however, in the Act sweeping powers were given to the Minister of Native Affairs himself to implement Bantu education as he saw fit. The actual terms of the Eiselen report are beyond the scope of this assignment, but a good expose of them are given in both Mbere and Rose and Tunmer. (see footnotes)

^{3.} Mbers. A.M. An analysis of the association between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism.

4. Atkinson. N. Teaching South Africans. (Chap. 7)

5. Malherbe. E.H. Education in South Africa. Vol. 2. Part 2.

6. Mbers. A.M. An analysis of the association between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism.

7. Ross. B. & R. Tunmer (eds.) Documents in S.A. Education

P.258

REACTION TO THE EISELEN COMMISSION REPORT

There was considerable opposition to the report. A national conference was called by the Institute of Race Relations to discuss the Eiselen report and the Minister of Education was requested to delay any legislation until the findings of this conference had been issued.

274 people, representing 159 differnt organizations in the Union and neighbouring territories attended the conference on July 1st, 2nd and 3rd. 1952 and the findings were distributed to all Senators, M.P.'s, M.P.C.'s and senior educational officials. On the question of the aims of education for Africans the conference resolved that 'While accepting the fact that Africans are ethnologically a separate race, Conference does not consider that they are a community unrelated to the rest of South Africa. It believes that Africans are not culturally, economically or politically independent, but that they are an integral part of South African society'. While the conference recognized that education must inevitably take socio-economic considerations into account and should strive for the development of the individual's whole personality, it resolved that, 'Concerning the type of culture that should be transmitted by education, Conference believes that since each child is the inheritor of world culture to the full extent of mankind's present attainment, he should have access to this common heritage'.

A full statement of the decisions taken at the Conference is to be found in the Survey of Race Relations 1951-1952. Other objections made at this Conference were that they felt that Africans should not be expected to finance native education directly. Regrets were expressed that missionary control would gradually be abolished and the Conference found it entirely unacceptable that the control of Bantu education should be under Bantu Affairs. 9.

A good example of how many Africans themselves regarded the Eiselen Commission report.

and the state of African education to date in general is the statement by G.S. Mtimkulu,
a leading educator, quoted in Mbere.

Africans do not accept the laws, policies and institutions designed to keep and perpetuate them in this subordinate position in the land of their birth. They therefore seek for integration into the democratic structure and institutions of this country. To them one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education — an education essentially in no way different from, or inferior to that of the other sections of the community. The African has not been convinced that all variations in his system of education have been dictated by purely educational considerations.

In 1952 the Cape African Teachers Association at its annual conference condemmed the Eiselen recommendations and attempted to organise the people to 'explain to them the recommendations of the report'. 200 teachers met at Queenstown in defiance of threats by the authorities, to discuss ways of resisting Bantu education. This had followed well—attended public meetings inLanga organised by both the C.A.T.A. and a Vigilance Committee set up to protest against the proposed legislation. At their conference

^{8.} Horrell. W. (comp) Bantu Education to 1968

9. Institute of Race Relations. Survery of Race Relations 1951-52

10. Mbare. A.M. An analysis of the association between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism

P.115

in Queenstown they called on 'teachers and parents to do everything in their power to oppose the Herrenvolk schemes for their enslavement'. 11. The State responded by withdrawing recognition to the C.A.T.A. and supporting the Cape African Teachers Union instead. Resistance by the T.A.T.A. met with a similar fate.

5. SOME ASPECTS OF THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953

The Bantu Education Act of 1953(Act No. 47) was marked, in my opinion, by three basic and far-reaching implications. Control over all native education was to be removed from the provinces and placed under the direct control of the central government and under the Minister of Native Affairs in particular. 12. Secondly, the Minister was given sweeping powers, one example of which is Clause 15, which has at least 10 sub-clauses outlining the extent of these powers. 13. The third basic notion which was to have far-reaching consequences for Bantu education was the question of funding. Notice was given in terms of the Act, particularly Clause 6, 14. of the shocking disparity which was to result between government expenditure for white and black education. This disparity in government expenditure has probably been the major factor for creating the 'gutter education' which the students of Soweto in 1976 were so totally to reject.

In a major policy statement on Bantu education in the Senate in 1954, Dr Verwoerd made clear what his policy toward Bantu education was to be. It is beyond the scope of this essay to go into all his statements in detail, but through the policy he put forward in these statements it became obvious that Bantu education was to be an inferior education, a blatant 'instrument of social control'. ¹⁵ Equality with whites was out of the question and schooling and training was to be to prepare the Bantu child for those forms of labour for which he would be needed for in white interests.

6. REACTIONS TO THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT

a) In Parliament

The Bantu Education Act was strongly opposed by the opposition in Parliament. In the third reading of the Bill, the opposition gave the strongest parliamentary opposition possible i.e. that the Bill be read 6 months later. At some stage in its passage through parliament, Mrs H. Suzman said, (quoted in E.H. Malherbe) 'that it is quite futile to try to keep natives in a perpetual intellectual twilight and lead them back to a tribal Eden'. ¹⁶

^{11.} Lodge. T. The Parents School Boycott. in Africa Perpective No. 17.

12. See Clause 2eSb in Rose and Tunmer, Documents in S.A.Education

13. Ibid

14. Ibid

15. Hirschon. B. Year of Fire, Year of Ash

16. Malherbe. E.H. Education in C.A. Vol.2. Part 2.

P. 46

P. 258

P. 259

P. 259

P. 45

My own research in this regard is limited to the third reading of this debate in Hansard Vol. 83, on 29th September 1953.

Dr D.L. Smit, United Party member for East London City said,

It is our firm belief that the Minister will not advance the cause of Native educat by the methods indicated in this Bill and that he will involve himself and the country in difficulties the extent to which he can hardly conceive.

Most of the debate, however, was taken up by what I can only describe as sterile discussion which attempted to clear the good name of General Smuts, against attacks from National Pary members over some paper which he had been supposed to have signed in 1945 over placing Native education under Native Affairs at the time.

The African National Congress(ANC) commented on the lack of resistance to the passing of all the Nationalist laws which they regarded as heralding fascism in South Africa.

What has been the reaction of the people to it? (fascism). On the Parliamentary front there has been no opposition to the Nationalists at all. There has not even been an attempt at formal protest on the part of the United Party in particular.....the policy of the official opposition in Parliament has therefore been one of surrender all along the line. The same may be said of the liberals and reformist trade Unions. Although they did now and again give expressions of formal protest against isolated Acts of the Nationalist tyranny, they have made no attempt to actually resist the onslaught of, the fascists outside Parliament. Not only did the liberals and those of their kind encourage the illusion of social change through Parliament among themselves, but they spread the illusion even among those who have no parliamentary rights at all!

There was one major exception in Parliament and that was the address by Mrs Ballinger (Native Representative). She made mention of her opposition and objections in earlier readings of the Bill to the centralization of African education in the hands of the Native Affairs Department. After being accused by the Minister of Educations of sowing suspicion in the minds of the natives over the move, she retaliated by saying that she was speaking

with the voice of me constituents. I am doing exactly what they have told me to do and that is to protest against the transfer of Native education to the Native Affairs Department.....They want education controlled by an education department and not by a political department that is designed to put them into a rigid political framework. The African population has never accepted the principle, the idea that they are not part and parcel of the S.A. community.

At a later stage of the debate she said

I think that there are certain great advantages in the diversity and elasticity of the present system under the provinces that we cannot hope for with centralization and rigidity which the Minister of Native Affairs appears to wish to establish. It is the regidity as much as the political control, that I am afraid of. I am afraid of political control. I think it is educationally and nationally unsound; but I am entirely opposed to the rigidity with which the hon. the Minister seems to approach this subject....I feel that it is going to establish a rigidity in the whole system which will destroy the initiative of the Native people.

17. Karis and Carter Collection Vol. 3. Document 7b

18. Hansard Vol. 83

19. Ibid

19

b) Reaction by Various Organizations Given in the Survey of Race Relations 1953-1954 The Institute of Race Relations set up a Standing Committee to study the administration of the Act, obtained copies of all regulations and circulars issued and kept in touch with the churches and missions. In January 1954 it passed a motion reiterating its stand that 'the transfer of African education to the Department of Native Affairs under the Bantu Education Act is unsound in principle and undesirable in practice. 20. Special mention is made of the hardships for both teachers and pupils in the double session system. They felt that the teachers would be too tired to teach properly and the children would have to go without food for many hours. The committee was also watching closely the training which was to be given with regard to women who would be recruited for kindegarten teaching. Apart from the Dutch Reformed Churches, all the major churches as well as the Christian Council of Churches expressed fears and opposition to the Act. Most reluctantly said that they would be forced either to close their missions or rent the buildings to the government because of lack offunds. This resulted from the fact that the government in March 1954 pegged its contribution of expenditure on Bantu education to £6,5000,000 per year. Government expenditure for 1951-52 per child was £43,80 for whites, £18,84 for Asians and Coloureds and £7,58 for Africans. 21.

The C.A.T.A. announced that it was to call a nationwide meeting of all African teachers to protest against the Bantu Education Act. It was quickly prevented however, by warnings of drastic steps against them by the government.

c) Campaign for Resistance by the ANC

None of the resistance to the Bantu Education Act discussed so far could be described in any way as being an organized popular resistance. The major attempt at a popular movement was made by the African National Congress; the S.A. Indian Congress; the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organization and the Congress of Democrats when on the 8th May 1954 they launched the 'Resist Apartheid Campaign'. The Bantu Education Act was one of 6 pieces of legislation that this campaign was set up to resist. However, this campaign has been described thus:

Of all the campaigns conducted by the ANC, the campaign against Bantu education was the most poorly planned, the most confused and for Africans generally, the most frustrating.

All Africans were united in their opposition to the proposed control of African education. They saw the Bantu Education Act as a 'bare-faced policy of discrimination' 23. They saw this as a plan by the Nationalist government to shut the door to the only escape for their children (education) from the 'lower depths of a racially divided society'. They were also very concerned about the long term consequences, seeing that this form of education could lead to their children being conditioned to accept an inferior status.

20. Institute of Rece Helations Survey of Hace Helations 1953-54 PP 100/101
21. Karis and Carter Collection Vol. 3 Troup F. Education Under aparted P. 29

In December 1954 at the National Conference of the ANC the Bantu Education Act received special attention. The conference rejected Bantu education totally and called for a withdrawal of all pupils 'at least for one week' starting on April 1 1955. A later instruction said that parents were to prepare to withdraw their children from primary school from this date indefinately until a further directive was given by the National Executive Committee.

However, for the boycott to succeed alternative schooling had to be arranged and it was here that the ANC failed to work out a coherent programme which could be adapted to local conditions. This can partly be explained by the fact that the NEC was in disarray following the rebanning of Albert Luthuli, its President, on 11th July 1954, the terms of which forbad him to attend public gatherings for 2 years and he was forbidden to leave the magisterial district of Groutville near Stanger. 25. On 23rd July Walter Sisulu was ordered to resign from the ANC and his position of Secretary General within three days or to stay away from gatherings for two years. This was to have a crippling effect. To add to Luthuli's misery he sufferred a stroke and was hospitalized in Durban (where the December Conference was held) and effectively completely out of reac of the main organizers, the Youth League and Womens Organization, who had been entrusted with organizing the school boycotts. Another reason for the boycotts limited success was that the organization's resources were over-extended as it was, through the Resist Apartheid Campaign, to defeat 6 other discriminatory measures at the same time. 20. i.e. The Native Resettlement Act (which was designed to remove 60,000 Africans from the Western Areas on the Reef); the pass laws; the Group Areas Act; the Suppression of Communism Act and the Anti-trade Union Movement.

Because of the lack of preparedness, Matthews advised that the boycotts be postponed. However, some local leaders, particularly those on the East Rand, were well-organized. and determined to go ahead with the boycott. Angry delegates to a special Transvaal conference on March 13th, openly defied the NEC and decided to intensify preparations for an indefinite boycott. Two weeks later, however, they reversed their decision (because of differences between the members) but requested the NEC to allow areas that were ready to boycott to do so. 27. A more activist attitude marked the working committee in the Johannesburg vicinity. Oliver Tambo - acting Secretary General identified himself with the policy of withdrawal whereaver possible.

^{25.} Karis and Carter Collection Vol.3.

^{26.} Hirschon. B. Year of Fire, Year of Ash

^{27.} Karis and Carter Collection Vol.3.

PP.21/22

P. 47

An attempt to bring together opposing opinions was made at a meeting in Port Elizabeth by the NEC where it was decided that the boycott was to go shead in areas where the people were ready, with permission from the NEC and where alternatives for schooling were arranged. 'Nevertheless, the scattered boycotts that began on April 12th, when the schools resumed, were not inspired by the official leadership'. It became a movement beyond their control. ²⁸ Parents were left with the 'unhappy choice of exposing their children to Bantu Education or giving them no education at all, ²⁹ in most areas of the country and the lack of the ANC material resources to supply this alternative education. Furthermore government harrassment added to their dilemma.

It announced that all children out of school on 25th April would be expelled and that unlicenced schools were illegal, with a fine of £50 or imprisonment for those found running them.

Those who were able to run schools called these 'cultural clubs' but police harrassment continued throughout the boycott.

Lodge points to the fact that the boycotts succeeded for some time in the East Rand areas of Benoni (at one stage 10,000 children were out of school), Boksburg, Germiston and Brakpan. Here they can be regarded as popular movements. He maintains that the reason for the success of these areas was due largely to the fact that there was a large dissatisfied proletariatin these areas resulting from particular circumstances in their socio-economic history. These people had been involved in political and trade union responses in preceding years and they were poorer and had a higher degree of social solidarity than in other areas. Limited success was also achieved in Alexandra but the provincial ANC president, E.P. Moretsele attributed the main responsibility for the boycotts to the parents rather than the ANC. 31° This was largely as a result of rough tactics used to enforce the boycott which the ANC blamed on 'tsotsies'. In Benoni the Youth League volunteers and mothers visited 10 primary schools in the Old location and ordered all children home. In Germiston, all children stayed at home until the ANC had opened an 'independent' school after which the children went there.

The only other area where there was a measure of success was in the Eastern Cape. However, this was largely suppressed by government intervention. By the third week of the boycott nearly 7000 school children were absent and hence banned by the government from further schooling.

In the end However, the government pushed on with its Bantu education programme regardless.

28. Ibid	
29. Treup F. Forbidden Pastures - Education under Apartheid 30. Ibid	P.32 P.22
31. Lodge. T. The Parents School Boycott. in Africa Perspective No. 17	P.22

7. CONCLUSION The reaction to the Bantu Education Act was marked by apathy on the part of the official opposition and although the ANC was able to lead some meaningful popular protests through their call for boycotting the schools, its vacillation and disunity (helped a great deal by government intervention through the banning of its leaders and by declaring independent schools illegal) and above all its lack of organization (admitted to in their annual report of the following year as being the greatest weakness in their campaign) lack of funds and perhaps, in my opinion the biggest blunder - of linking the campaign to other issues instead of concentrating on the one issue of Bantu Education Act, made its effect fall far short of expectations. Although some support was given by liberals including the very good work done by Trevor Huddlestone in the alternate school system, the liberal party official position, as taken from a letter by J.T.R. Gibson to New Age, April 21st 1955, showed that this party's 'belief that boycott was impractical and alternative education almost impossible to supply both for practical and legal reasons. 32. Was that net free ?

It is my opinion that the greatest reason for failure to stop the Act was firstly, the strength and resources of the Nationalist Government, who wereable to crush the efforts made to protest. Secondly, a very weak official opposition who made no real effort to organize a proper protest and thirdly the poor organization of the ANC itself and the divisions within this organization.

32. Karis and Carter Collection. Vol.3.

footnote P.89

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ATKINSON. N. Teaching South Africans, Salisbury, 1978. Chapter 7.

AUERBACH. F.A. The Power of Prejudice in S.A. Education

LOUGE.T. The Parents School Boycott: Eastern Cape and East Rand. in African Perspective HANSARD. Vol.83.

HIRSCHON. B. Year of Fire, Year of Ash. Zed Publishers, London. 1978.

HORRELL. M. (Compl) Bantu Education to 1968, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1968 KARIS & CARTER Collection. Vol.3.

MALHERBE. E.H. Education in South Africa, Vol2, Part 2, Nationalism, Language and Education, 1977

MBERE.A.M. An Analysis of the Association Between Bantu Education & Christian Nationalis A Study of the Role of Ideology in Education. (Ed. D. Harvard 1979

ROSE.B.GR. TUNMER. Documents in S.A. Education.

S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS. Survey of Race Relations 1951-1952, 1953-1954 TROUP. F. Forbidden Pastures - Education Under Apartheid. Defence and Aid Fund. London.

and the from ents his particular and specimen and particular or White to the labour as a feet of a too and a feet of Blueta biz netrattina ett jature zer jeri je material transmit strategy maked of the policies and resident and a contract tetro i bagiani) (2) That would red to in a great that colored for booking come the recent of the workers in which I is the negliging trained to be a second of the seco a problem to the second of the The anti-moved of African and Administration of the African State of the African Sea of Springers And in the dark principles of a splitten quantity thin above a reason and a substitute of which and the little getting and the highest mentions of the party of the second of the second of the second of palvail man and attitle employed misthis civilian plater with the prince the above the A servery the many properties to make the report of the property entanced. The land of the second of the second of the farment for the contract of the contract o HIPSCHOOL O. VEST OF THE COURSE OF THE PROPERTY SHAPES TO THE TENT POPPELL. M. (Bestel) Renty Servetter to their like Textilitie of Back Hald Inph. (190 a very good effort which marages to direct logethe a wide range of literature - though pointed and above Reads a serious intivest in the area. How about doing a B Ed?

R. (A)

7

28 July 1984

Dear ECC Member

This note is to encourage you to attend an ECC Workshop and the next ECC Meeting and to bring to your attention a couple of issues which it would be useful if people discussed in their organisations before the next ECC Meeting.

(1) DATE OF NEXT MEETING

16 August, 8.00 pm, Rondebosch Congregational Church.

(2) ASSESSMENT AND PLANNING WORKSHOP

12 August, 2.00 - 5.30pm, Rondebosch Congregational Church.

At our last meeting it was decided that it would be useful to have a thorough afternoon of planning and assessment of the campaign and the workings of our committee.

Areas that will be covered include :

- * Namibia Campaign where to next?
- * Structure and finance of committee
- * National Co-ordination
- * Interest groups on youth/parents/international peace groups
- * the Declaration and Patrons

This workshop will be open to anyone in our organisations and representatives are asked to make a special effort to attend.

(3) ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED:

(a) Patrons

It has been suggested in the committee that it would be useful to have patrons for the end conscription campaign. This issue was raised at a meeting held in Johannesburg with reps from the Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban ECC's. This group suggested that we have national patrons (approximately two from each region.) Organisations need to discuss this idea, and put forward suggestions for patrons from Cape Town.

(b) Declaration

Another suggestion raised by the group of ECC reps from different regions was that the declaration should be launched nationally. (The other regions have adopted Cape Town's declarations and are busy collecting signatures). We need suggestions as to how we can launch the declaration.

HOPE TO SEE YOU AT THE NEXT ECC MEETING.

VIV

P.S. If any of this is unclear you can phone me at 47-9236

- David Kraging Exec Structure * Profile Structure VI Declaration & Patron. Donglas.

* sneak & lilltany * ellegaraction. - rusas purblication B/s_

END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

28 July 1984

Dear ECC Member

This note is to encourage you to attend an ECC Workshop and the next ECC Meeting and to bring to your attention a couple of issues which it would be useful if people discussed in their organisations before the next ECC Meeting.

(1) DATE OF NEXT MEETING

16 August, 8.00 pm, Rondebosch Congregational Church.

(2) ASSESSMENT AND PLANNING WORKSHOP

12 August, 2.00 - 5.30pm, Rondebosch Congregational Church.

At our last meeting it was decided that it would be useful to have a thorough afternoon of planning and assessment of the campaign and the workings of our committee.

Areas that will be covered include :

- * Namibia Campaign where to next?
- * Structure and finance of committee
- * National Co-ordination
- * Interest groups on youth/parents/international peace groups
- * the Declaration and Patrons

This workshop will be open to anyone in our organisations and representatives are asked to make a special effort to attend.

(3) ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED :

(a) Patrons

It has been suggested in the committee that it would be useful to have patrons for the end conscription campaign. This issue was raised at a meeting held in Johannesburg with reps from the Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban ECC's. This group suggested that we have national patrons (approximately two from each region.) Organisations need to discuss this idea, and put forward suggestions for patrons from Cape Town.

(b) Declaration

Another suggestion raised by the group of ECC reps from different regions was that the declaration should be launched nationally. (The other regions have adopted Cape Town's declarations and are busy collecting signatures). We need suggestions as to how we can launch the declaration.

HOPE TO SEE YOU AT THE NEXT ECC MEETING.

VIV

P.S. If any of this is unclear you can phone me at 47-9236

13 (letober 1984 , Beckenham Wansions Murseny Local Karclebosch The theinferson Committee Dir / Machan A friend of mine from Port Elizabeth expressed interest in the activities of, and usues raised by the End Conscription Committee, to it passible what you could furnish him with information of and publications by something the committee? If so, could you forward to the adoless helow ... Thanking you; your; yours sincerely * MR. E. SWAMEPOEL Chuy & 27 PATTERSON RD REDHOUSE 6215 Mr. D. T. Druger

404 Roslyn Gardens
Roslyn Rood
Ronchbosch
Capatonn

ECC
1 Rhedwoven

Ohsometry

I was into westered by you Jon 84 news better and would like to hear more.

J F Siebert

19 November 1984

Dear

The End Conscription Committee would like to let you know of recent and forthcoming ECC activities.

You may have attended the ECC information workshop on November 3. In case you didn't, I've enclosed a handout with details of ECC's history, aims and affiliate organisations.

One particularly useful suggestion was raised at the workshop: that ECC hold regular (perhaps monthly) information evenings, at which an issue related to conscription can be discussed and participants can be updated on ECC activities. These will begin next year. We'll let you know well in advance.

You might want to diarize the following ECC events:

- & Friday 23 November Protest meeting focussing on the recent Transvaal and Eastern Cape unrest. The speakers will be Professor Francis Wilson and Andrew Boraine, and the meeting will be held at St Georges Cathedral Hall at 1.00 pm.
 - & Friday 28 December Anti-Conscription concert at the Sea Point Civic Centre watch the press for details.

In the meantime, there is much to be done in building the campaign. Even in our day-to-day personal relations, each discussion we have on conscription and militarisation potentially broadens the support base of the campaign.

We also have a 'watchdog' role to play, taking note of even the smallest example of SADF work and passing on that information to others. As our rulers increasingly resort to military solutions to political problems, we are likely to witness the military having a growing effect on all aspects of our lives.

In particular, the military is increasingly involving itself in the sphere of education through cadets, youth preparedness programmes etc. ECC has decided that the issue of youth and conscription will be the major focus of its work next year. So if you have any information, or suggestions as to how best we can forward the campaign in this area, please let us know by writing to us at the above address.

Hoping to see you at future ECC gatherings.

Nichael Evans

Michael Evans

Chairperson, ECC

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive Location:- Johannesburg ©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.