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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (CAPE)

ANNUAL CONFERENCE: JUNE 18 & 19, 1955:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by Prof Z.K. Matthews

Sons and Daughters of Africa,

Once more this time has come round for me to speak to you in my capacity as President of the African National Congress in the Cape. The preparation of an address of this kind is a matter which engages the attention of the President from the moment one annual conference is concluded until the next one begins. During the year, while individual members of our organisation are primarily concerned with the work of Congress in their respective areas, it is the duty of the President to endeavour to see the work of Congress in the province as a whole as well as to keep in touch with developments in other parts of the country as far as the liberation movement is concerned. The organisation to which we have the honour to belong is Union-wide in its ramifications and our responsibility for its welfare and its success must always be broadly conceived. Any action we take either as individuals or as groups may have, indeed is bound to have, repercussions far beyond the area for which it is intended, and may either promote or hinder the work in which we are engaged, namely, to weld into a mighty, disciplined and irresistible force for freedom and independence, the African people who have been subjected for so long to so much oppression and humiliation in the land of their birth. I say it is not always easy for us as individuals to see our work in its proper perspective in our day-to-day activities, but I conceive it to be one of our duties, at least once a year, to focus our attention on the need for us all to see things from a broader point of view, to look beyond our local needs and local problems, to take stock of the road we have travelled since last we met, to record our successes and to note our failures and so learn from our experiences how best to prosecute the struggle in which we are engaged.

ANC
(CAPE)
MATHEW, ZK

① Presidential Address

Z.K.M.22

Sons and Daughters of Africa

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this kind

Once more this time has come round for me to speak to you in my capacity as President of the African National Congress in the Cape. The preparation of an ~~annual~~ address is a matter which engages the attention of the President from the moment ~~one~~ annual conference is concluded until the next one begins. During the year while individual members of our organisation are ~~more~~ primarily concerned with the work of Congress in their respective areas, it is the duty of the President to endeavour to see the work of Congress as in the Province as a whole as well as to keep in touch with ~~the~~ developments as far as the liberation movement is concerned in other parts of the country. The organisation to which we have the honour to belong is a Union-wide ~~organisation~~ ^{in its operations} and our responsibility for its welfare and its success must always be broadly conceived. Any action we take either as individuals or as groups may have, indeed is bound to have repercussions far beyond the area for which it is intended, and may either promote or hinder the work in which we are engaged, namely, to weld into a mighty ~~invaluable~~ ^{irresistible} disciplined and irresistible force for freedom and independence the oppressed African people who have ^{been} subjected ^{for so long} to so much oppression and humiliation in the load of their birth. I say it is not always easy for us as individual members to see our work in its proper perspective in our day-to-day ^{activities}, but I conceive it to be one of the duties of ~~the President~~ ^{our} at least once a year, to ~~bring~~ ^{focus} our attention ^{on} the need for us ^{all} to see ~~things~~ ^{things} from a broader point of view, to look beyond our local ^{needs and} local problems and to take stock of the road we have travelled since last we met, to record our successes and ~~to note~~ ^{our} our failures and so learn from our experiences how best to

ban +
deportation

promote the struggle on which we are engaged
 You will recall that soon after that ^{memorable} meeting which we
 had at Uitenhage ~~the~~ the Government of this country through
 its appropriate ministers took ^{against some of our best prominent members} certain steps ~~which were~~ designed
 to cripple the work of our organisation. In the first place two
 of most trusted leaders ^{namely} ~~on the part of~~ Dr J. L. Z. Njongwe ^{our vice-president} and
 Mr R. M. Matji ^{our general secretary} were banished ^{from attendance at patterns} and were called upon to resign from
 the A.N.C. and also a number of other organisations apparently
 chosen at random by the powers that be. It is not necessary
 for me to remind you about the valuable services which ^{these} ^{our day}
 sons of Africa had rendered to our organisation on the Cape when
 the story of the freedom movement in both Africa is fully told, as
^{must and} it will be, their names will rank high among those who by their
 selfless devotion and their undoubted gifts for leadership
 advanced our cause by an appreciable amount. ~~We cannot~~ No
 tribute that we can pay them can be too high. It is of course
 impossible for any Minister to ban anybody from the A.N.C.
 As for as ~~the A.N.C.~~ ^{the A.N.C. is} concerned these sons of Africa are still
 members of our organisation with their names written indelibly
 on not on bits of ~~the~~ ^{high on the} paper, but in the hearts of ^{their} people
 where they are beyond the reach of governmental interference.
 Their enforced inactivity speaks louder to the members of the
 A.N.C. than any actions of their own. The banning of these
 sons and daughters of Africa was followed by the deportation
 from East London of Mr A. I. Gwentsho and Mr I. M. Kengisi.
 Without bringing any charge ^{framed or unframed} against them the Governor-General
 exercising the power granted ^{that} them under the ~~notorious~~ notorious
 law - the Native Administration Act 35 of 1927 - ~~remanded~~ to
 "remove any Native from any place to any other place", decided
 to remove them to the different parts of the Northern Transvaal,
 there to live among people among whom they would presumably
 be unable to exercise any influence in favour of the ~~liberation~~
 noble principles for which the A.N.C. stands. This ~~deportation~~
 is one of the severest penalties which can be imposed upon

an individual because he is separated from the members of his family and is deprived of his normal means of livelihood. It is ~~only~~ a form of punishment which is designed to break the spirit of the individual concerned and to convert him into a sort of spineless individual. But African heroes who have had this treatment meted out to them have not reacted as they were expected to. They have proved themselves true sons of Africa able to adapt themselves to any area to which they have been sent and to preach the gospel of ^{freedom} liberation wherever they have gone. Set down among people whose languages and customs were strange to them, they have found that the language of freedom is intelligible to ^{all} ~~all~~ peoples everywhere. The result is that our Abagye A.S. Swentoko has had to be removed from the area to which he was sent originally to another where it is hoped ^{his message} he will be less effective. There can be no doubt as to what will happen there. While I am on this subject I want to remind you about the duty we owe to those members. As you know ~~an~~ efforts are being made by the A.A.C. to secure the ^{by the Supreme Court} rescission of these deportation orders ^{which} ~~whose~~ ^{legality} we believe to be of doubtful legality. ^{The} ~~For~~ response of our branches ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ our appeal for contributions ^{towards} the cost of these applications has been very gratifying but we must not lose sight of the fact that ^{provision} ~~must~~ ^{also} ~~be~~ ^{made} ~~for~~ ^{our} ~~deported~~ ^{members} ~~must~~ ^{be} maintained and support of our deported friends and any donations especially earmarked for this purpose will be appreciated and will be forwarded to them without delay. Finally on the subject of bans and deportations I want to refer to the confinement of our President General, Chief N.S. Lutuli to the district of Luvuvhu and to the ban imposed on our Secretary General, W. M. Simons. It has been said that ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~profession~~ ^{profession} it is the tallest trees that have to bear the force of the ~~the~~ ^{the} strongest blasts of the winds. In the wilderness which ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{comprised} the South Africa in which we live today ^{the A.A.C. has had} ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~than~~ ^{its} ~~fair~~ ^{share} ~~of~~ ^{of} the tallest trees ^{which} ~~have~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{the} ~~blasts~~ ^{blasts} of this stormy period of our history.

But not only has the hand of the white government of the whites
 rested heavily upon the leaders to whom I have referred
 and upon others to whom I could refer - our hats go off to
 all of them - but the ordinary common people has also
 felt the slings of the outrageous fortune which is theirs on
 the land of their birth. Need I remind you about what
 has happened in the Western areas of Johannesburg - the
 city of gold which would have been nothing but a muddy
 but for the blood, sweat and toil of thousands upon thousands
 of the slaves of Apartheid for generations the flows of African
 youth have gone down into the bowels of the earth there to mine
 the poundlets of instant diseases, and mutilating accidents
 and anal masters in order to bring to the surface the wealth
 which has made Johannesburg the richest city on the African
 continent. These in that city ^{to} which
 Africans have made the supreme sacrifice, the Africans find
 themselves ~~more~~ both wanted and unwanted, with no place
 in which they can have a secure and permanent home. From
 the Western areas in which they have lived under invariable
 conditions of filth and squalor for reasons beyond their control
 they ~~have~~ ^{are} now being bundled out at the point of the gun
 to Mandelands with no prospect of security. As more as the
 sun rises in the East, in a few years' time not one
 pretent will be engaged of for removing them from Mandelands
 to ~~the~~ ^{some other} area. Not even in the city is the
 African safe from the ~~hand~~ ^{eyes} of those who ~~are~~ will
 not rest as long as this or some African who has some place on
^{which} ~~where~~ he can lay his hand to rest. Africans who had no more
 respectable place in which they could be housed than
 the roofs of flats have become guilty of creating the
 offence of creating "locations in the sky" and they
 are to be bundled out of those roofs into the
 "site and service" ~~premises~~ ^{nigger} - houses

which are being created in different parts of the country. Not only in the Western areas of Johannesburg but everywhere where Africans have settled down, acquired property at great cost to themselves and built themselves such homes as their meagre resources permitted, they are confronted with the spectre of ^{compulsory} removal. But not only are Africans being subjected to this sense of insecurity. We in the A.N.C. have always maintained that the type of treatment ~~substantiated~~ meted out to Africans constitutes the yardstick ^{for} ~~by which~~ the rights of other sections of the population will eventually ^{in the first} be measured ~~unto~~ them. Other sections of the population ^{enjoyed} ~~seemed to enjoy~~ better rights than the Africans and some of them were inclined to adopt an air of superiority towards Africans. ^{They appeared to think that} What happened to Africans could never happen to them. Instead of helping Africans to protect and defend their meagre rights as they were ^{systematically} whittled down by legislation by legislation year after year, they left us ^{them} to our own devices and acquiesced in the gradual diminution of ^{their} our rights. When ^{Africans} we lost ^{them} our land rights in 1913, it looked as if only Africans ~~was~~ could be treated in that way. When ^{Africans} we lost ^{their} our franchise rights in 1936 many of the people who in 1955 are busy organising protest meetings about the entrenched clauses of the Constitution were only too glad to give the government of the day the necessary two-thirds majority to deprive ^{Africans} us of ^{their} our rights. After all only African rights were involved. It never occurred to them ^{then} that the entrenched clauses represented a pledge of honour to people defenceless and voiceless people. ~~So~~ Depriving mere Kaffirs of their rights was not such a bad thing after all and some of our so-called friends spared no efforts in an attempt to persuade Africans ^{their} than the system of separate representation introduced in

Insert on
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There will no doubt be some Opinions who will be dissuaded taken in
by this move to the extent of believing that it represents ^{some sort of} a gain
for the African, there will be a few extra trading licenses here and
and there, a post for here or a post there for some African, but on
balance this action will do nothing more than pile one wrong upon
another. The A.S.C. representing a people who have had more than their
fair share of wrongs in this country has no hesitation in saying that
though a few doubtful "rights" on the Frontier can never make up for what
Africans have lost and are losing on the country as a whole. Our claim
is not a few miserable privileges in a corner of South Africa but for
full citizenship rights in South Africa as a whole. Our opposition
to the Frontier proposal is not based on any ^{or} doubts regarding the
ability of the African to ~~stand on his own feet~~ ^{govern himself}. On the contrary it
is because we believe that the African given the opportunity can
stand on his own feet anywhere that we please we are not prepared
~~to accept this geographical circumscription~~ to accept this geographical
circumscription of his ^{right} ability to share in the government of the
country.

1936 was better than ^{the franchise on the common roll which} ~~what~~ they had ^{enjoyed} before. In 1955 it is not only the Coloureds who are faced with the prospect of being given "something better" than they have had hitherto. ^{Other sections of the population} ~~The English speaking people~~ will soon ~~have~~ be given a taste of "something better". The Appellate ~~and other still to come~~ Division Amovum Bill and the Senate Bill ~~are~~ constitute a "cracking on the wall" which needs no Daniel to interpret. The mills of justice grind slowly but they grind exceedingly fine. The white people in the Transkei who for generations have ~~been~~ lived in perfect safety among millions of Africans and have ^{been} treated like princes ~~every~~ on every hand — did they ever speak when their African friends were being deprived of one right after another? No, every deprivation of which the Africans suffered ~~was~~ only served to widen the gulf between them and their African friends until the Transkei became ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~apartheid~~ ^{apartheid} ridden as ~~any other part of the~~ ^{any other part of the} so-called ^{sovereign} State. Today for them also the cracking is on the wall. ~~For~~ ^{for them} for their comfort they have been assured that there will be no compulsory removal, but a gradual diminution or elimination of white interests in the Transkei.

Other disabilities which ^{hitherto} ~~seemed~~ reserved for Africans but which are gradually being extended to other sections of the population include the pass system ~~unphobionically~~ ^{unphobionically} called population registration in the case of non-Africans; the regulation of ~~for~~ departure from the Union; the right grant ~~of~~ ^{to} the police of the right of entry to ^{all, not just Africans} public meetings; the banning from attendance at gathering from membership of certain organisations; the denial to teachers of the right to take part in public affairs; the surveillance of the activities of certain individuals by members of the special branch of the C.I.D. including ^{temporarily} ~~the presence of~~ ^{with them} ~~the presence of~~ ^{with them} correspondence and the tapping of telephone conversations. These

are everyday occurrences, particularly of Africans to which
Africans have become so used accustomed, and, whether
these are evidence of a Police State or not they are
certainly the marks of what someone has called
the prison house which ~~is~~ once was our country.

But easily the biggest thing that has happened to
Africans since last ~~we~~ we met has been the transfer
of African schools to the control of the Native Education
Division of the Native Affairs Department since April 1, 1955.
It is common knowledge that the object of this transfer
has been ~~to~~ ^{is} to make Native Education the backbone
of the States Policy of ~~the Union Government~~, ^{white supremacy} that the object
of this policy of ~~backwash~~ has been stated as follows by
no less a person than the Prime Minister of the old ~~Union~~
~~Government~~.

^{white} We have been reminded at various times that permanent
backwash is the to-be the keynote of the Union native policy. That policy
cannot, of course, become permanent unless it is accepted by the people on
whom it is imposed. Some method must therefore be devised of conditioning
the African to make its backwash acceptable to him. On the principle
that the child is father of the man the spokes of backwash believe
that if they can condition the African child through a special system of
education devised for Africans, if they can give him the right
environmental ^{and then} studies, he will grow up into a man who will willingly
accept the status assigned to him by his white masters. Now the
separatists are right in believing that it is possible through
^{quite} a systematic process of conditioning to control the minds of
people in such a way as to make them react the way they are
expected to react. & this combined with a systematic control
of the mass media of communication such as the Press
radio the wireless, literature, the cinema etc plus the rigid
stamping out of all those who deviate from the official policy
can produce the necessary servility in the population for which it
is intended. It has been done before. It was done in Nazi Germany

in the new system of education. Every scheme ~~founder~~ designed to deprive Africans of their rights has always been accompanied by similar fanfares of trumpets, but ~~when~~ with the passage of time ~~they~~ ^{its} ~~their~~ real nature has come to light and the ~~accepted~~ propaganda has turned out to be sound and ~~very~~ signifying nothing but misery. The South Africa Act, the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, the Native Taxation & Development Act of 1925, the Native Representation Act of 1936, the Natives Land Trust Act of 1936, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 — all one and all were supposed to usher in the millennium, but the Africans who have to live under these laws alone know what they have meant and have done to African society.

The African National Congress is quite unrepentant in its ~~first~~ attitude towards all these laws. ~~It~~ ~~will~~ ~~continue~~ ~~to~~ ~~fight~~ ~~against~~ ~~them~~. The same applies to the Bantu Education Act. But in our campaign against these laws we ~~must~~ ~~remember~~ that we are engaged on a long struggle. Any idea that the victory will be obtained overnight is ~~worst~~ ~~thinking~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~worst~~ type. We are dealing with a well organized powerful and relentless ~~and~~ group which will stop at nothing to achieve its aims. We have deliberately chosen to non-violence as the basis of our method of struggle, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ a method which requires a high degree of discipline and a ~~well~~ ^{highly} developed sense of responsibility. The A.N.C. has adopted the withdrawal of African children as a method of fighting against the Bantu Education Act.

Inset on page 10.

Various methods have been suggested for dealing with the situation created by the Bantu Education Act.

In the first place Africans throughout the country whether they belong to the A.N.C. or not are unanimous in condemning the principles & the policies underlying Bantu Education. There are no Africans who believe in the idea that their children should be sent to school in order that they should ~~become~~ ~~better~~ ~~servants~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~white~~ ~~man~~. For them as for all ^{people} ~~people~~ ~~there~~

Opinion in sending their children to school is to prepare enable to prepare themselves for a longer ^{indeed} not a narrower span of life, for an advanced not a lower status, for greater freedom and not for more subservience. How then are Opium going to prevent their children from suffering the fate that is prescribed for them.

These are those who say that Bantu Education should be fought against from within. In other words what is suggested here is that African parents, teachers and children should, ~~unconsciously~~ while appearing to accept Bantu education, engage in a widespread campaign of sabotage of the system. The members of school committees & school boards should discharge their duties in such a way as to make the system unworkable. The teachers should ~~continuously~~ ^{secretly} sow the seeds of discontent in the syllabus they are supposed and infuse into the children they teach the spirit of freedom and rebellion of spirit to the masses of white supremacy. In the way it is believed the whole superstructure of what Bantu education would eventually crumble like the walls of Jericho. To those who intend to fight Bantu Education in this way we can only say that we do not enough envy the charade-like role which they have chosen to play. We can only wait and see how long they will persevere then will to fight from within.

Then we have the special school of thought which consists of individuals who intend to make the most of any ^{benefit, interest or privilege that} ~~promotion~~ they happen to be associated with the new system of Bantu Education. For them it does not really matter what the aims & content of Bantu Education is. They are concerned with making ~~beneficial~~ feathering their own nests while they are permitted to do so and to clear out as soon as they ^{have to}. Such individuals ~~will~~ ^{can} make no pretence of fighting against Bantu Education, but want to exploit it, for their personal benefit. Any African who can gain any ^{measure of} ~~advantage~~ ^{profit} from the whole ~~war~~ ^{bits} is welcome to it, when he does so at the expense of his fellow Africans, he must remember that the sufferings of his people will be on his head. The members of school committees & school boards ~~will~~ ^{must} make the most of the ^{such} benefits as are to be had. Parents & supervisors take the promotions which are available under the new system

But remember that man does not live by bread alone and because of getting the
best brightness of your children for a mere few hundred dollars.

Then there are those who look upon the new system of education as
providing the African people with an opportunity of capturing the whole African
school system by getting into all the key positions and ^{in school committees, boards, staffs etc} and turning
the whole system into a powerful arm of the liberation movement.
This will I suppose call for the election of an African Brotherhood to direct this
new necessarily underground movement.

Narrative for
p. 9.

→ The A.N.C. has as usual not indulged in any condemnation of those who have
decided on the different ways of fighting the Bantu education mentioned above
but has put forward its own programme. This is to embark on a campaign
of ^{rather} presenting African parents to ^{the} withdrawal of ^{their} children from school under the control of the National
and the establishment of alternative cultural, recreational and social activities
for such children. In doing this the A.N.C. has as usual chosen the hard
road. ~~of course~~ That this road is not an easy one has been realised by
those who understandably impatient to be rid of Bantu education as soon
as possible decided to embark upon the campaign before they were called
upon to do so by the National Executive. The results of these unofficial
forays have made it plain that a mighty organisational effort is required
if ^{to BNC} success is to achieve success in this Campaign. We shall have
to close our ranks, get rid of mutual reservations among ourselves,
because of the activities of agents-provocateurs in our midst and
intensify our ^{propaganda} efforts and follow the directives of our National Executive.
It will be for this conference to ^{the effective blow for freedom which it ought to be,} consider ways and means of making
this campaign. For its success this campaign will naturally depend
upon the co-operation of African parents. If we fail to persuade them
that withdrawal is the right road to take, we shall have to consider
^{alternative} other methods of defeating the Bantu Education Act, but defeat it we
must.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the A.N.C.
stands for full educational opportunities for African children.
The A.N.C. has always been in the forefront of the battle for better
educational facilities for African children, a better ^{terms and conditions of} status for African

teachers and a greater share of responsibility for the same upon parents as far as the management and control of schools for their children is concerned. The ~~U.S.~~ ^{struggle for} ~~Indian~~ ^{educational} force, compulsory education and the assumption of full financial responsibility by the State for the education of African children on the same ~~basis~~ ^{ways} as is done in the case of children of other sections of the population. ~~We are entitled to~~ Under the Bantu Education Act, as you know, the Union Government has not accepted ~~full~~ responsibility for the financing of the education of African children but has limited its responsibility to an amount of $\frac{1}{2}$ million, ~~while assuming 100% control~~ The Government has given itself the right of 100% control of African schools. Nobody ^{as stipulated in the} Nobody will be allowed to run a school for African children ^{as unless he has} without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs to do so. The right of any group of parents ~~to establish~~ to establish a school for their children and to some part, this purpose has been taken away from them. Many an African child has now begun his education in a private school of this type. With a population such as ours where the majority of children of school going age (6-12) have ^{school} no facilities the right of ~~voluntaries~~ the people to be free to add to the ~~existing~~ facilities for their children is of great importance.

The status of the teacher under the Bantu Education Act is worse than that of any group of unskilled workers. ^{from being a respectable profession the teaching} ~~Teachers~~ ^{profession has been converted into} ~~profession~~ ^{a miserable group of} ~~to all~~ ^{of} ~~men~~ ^{men} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~women~~ ^{women} who by their devotion to duty and self-sacrificing ~~service~~ ^{loyalty} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~dedication~~ ^{dedication} are responsible for the progress which has to date been made in African education or in future to be treated as if ^{they constitute} ~~members~~ of the ~~most~~ ^{most} ~~potentially~~ ^{potentially} ~~subversive~~ ^{subversive} ~~element~~ ^{element}. We have full confidence that the majority of African teachers will ignore the ridiculous regulations ~~passed~~ ^{passed} for them under the Bantu Education Act and get on with the business of ~~making~~ ^{making} the African child for a free society and not ^{for} the class society contemplated by the Act. Although they will have to keep their mouths shut, they nobody can suspect themselves or keep their hearts about ~~them~~ ^{them} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~future~~ ^{future} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~hands~~ ^{hands} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~State~~ ^{State} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~worried~~ ^{worried}

of which teachers are with their school teachers as against them.

Dr. Varnum, who ^{has} ^{cut down} ^{his} ^{own} ^{great} ^{balance} in his own work has threatened that any African children withdrawn from school ^{will} ^{be} ^{regarded} ^{as} ^a ^{result} ^{of} ^{the} ^{boycott} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Board} ^{of} ^{Education} will refer to ^{repeal} ^{all} ^{further} ^{educational} ^{opportunities}.

As you know in the Township are 7000 children in the East End and in the portion and in spite of ^{appalling} ^{terrible} ^{pleas} ^{by} ^{African} ^{leaders} ^{deputations} ^{of} ^{African} ^{leaders} who ^{have} ^{found} ^{themselves} ^{on} ^{having} ^{lost} ^{the} ^{will} ^{to} ^{fight} ^{for} ^{their} ^{rights} which they say they once had, Dr. Varnum has ^{been} ^{heard} ^a ^{half} ^{way} ^{to} ^{all} ^{these} ^{appeals} and advised to ^{come} ^{to} ^{the} ^{A.N.C.} and ^{ask} ^{of} ^{the} ^{A.N.C.}

It withdrew its boycott resolution which is hanging like a sword of Damocles over African schools. These enemies of Dr. Varnum have not yet approached the A.N.C. but they had better be prepared for the reception they will receive. The A.N.C. is not in the habit of allowing its policy to be dictated by threats. The withdrawal resolution was adopted by the Annual Conference of the A.N.C. and our Supreme Legislative body and only that body ^{can} ^{decide} ^{whether} ^{or} ^{not} ^{to} ^{abandon} ^{that} ^{resolution} and ^{any} ^{impression} ⁱⁿ ^{that} ^{direction} the activities of the friends of Native Affairs will strengthen rather than weaken the determination of the A.N.C. to go on with its campaign. Both of the African children of school going age are without educational facilities of any sort, and we are not ^{impressed} ^{by} ^{Dr.} ^{Varnum's} ^{decision} ^{to} ^{deny} ⁷⁰⁰⁰ ^{children} ^{all} ^{further} ^{educational} ^{opportunities}. ^{Not} ⁱⁿ ^{least} ^{the} ^{own} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Board} ^{of} ^{Education} ^{but} ^{what} ^{is} ^{its} ^{purpose} ^{rather} ^{to} ^{widen} ^{educational} ^{opportunities} ^{for} ^{African} ^{children}.

In the year past under the new dispensation our ^{representative} ^{deputation} ^{present} ^{will} ^{come} ^{to} ^{realize} ^{that} ^{education} ^{for} ^{ignorance} ^{is} ^{worse} ^{than} ^{no} ^{education} ^{at} ^{all}. It is the future of the African child, not ^{the} ^{present}, which must be safeguarded. The African's fight for the education of his children has been a long and a painful one. That fight has been concerned not only with the erection of school buildings which have largely been provided out of the meagre resources of the people. For many years African parents had to provide the money for the payment of teachers' salaries and for the provision of equipment by means of school fees and contributions to subscription societies and other fund-raising efforts organized by the teachers. ^{However} ^{it} ^{is} ^{only} ^{recently} ^{that} ^{Africans} ^{have} ^{been} ^{relieved} ^{of} ^{the} ^{burden} ^{of} ^{paying}

school fees, and other charges. African parents have also had to fight further to
 might see that their children are not ~~permanently~~ fobbed off with an
 inferior system of education. They have had to be vigilant and to examine
 every new scheme introduced into the African educational system and
 to satisfy themselves whether it was a forward or a backward step.
 Every move which they have regarded as a backward step ^{in the long run} has been
 defeated by the people. Attempts have been made in the past to give
 us medical birds instead of accredited ~~and~~ doctors; agricultural
 demonstrators instead of agricultural officers, school farms instead of
 schools; ~~native~~ ^{practical} ~~economic~~ ^{vocational} teacher certificates instead of teacher
 certificates of specialized. Some of these hastily adopted courses have
 been miserably imposed on the African, ^{these} ~~some~~ have had to be abandoned
 but in every case the African has had to put up a fight for his
 education. What the position which has been created by the Native
 Education Act is therefore nothing new. It is simply another attack
 on the African educational system which will set the clock back
 for many years but which need not deter us from our main
 purpose, namely, to fight for the placing of African the education
 of the African child upon a sound basis. That basis will be
 determined by the African people themselves who will co-operate with schemes
 which are for their benefit but will refuse to hold their co-operation
 from schemes which are designed to make them into tools for the ends
 of others. ~~Some~~ Some people are of course overwhelmed by the fact
 that the Government possess the funds necessary to enable them
 to carry out their schemes and the people themselves have not got the
 money to enable them to fight back. But ~~winning~~ ^{winning} money
 is not everything. People in different parts of the world, not including
 South Africa, have shown before now that financial resources and the
 instruments of power are not sufficient to overcome a people's will
 to resist what they believe is not in their interest. For that
 reason we are not afraid of the Native Education Act; we know
 that in the long run it will be defeated by the will of the
 people to resist the ^{evil} doctrines of white ~~imperial~~ supremacy.

If the policies of the Opposition parties and especially of the United Party, which has not yet learned the lesson that they will never return to power by trying to out-Nationalist the Nationalist. Only a party with a policy ^{with a policy} diametrically opposed to that of the Nationalist Party will ever remove ^{them} from office.

How long it takes No such party has yet emerged from among the people who enjoy the franchise in South Africa. Such a party when it eventually does emerge, will probably be in the wilderness for some time, but it will be the only party with a future in South Africa and which will constitute a genuine alternative government to that of the Nationalist Party. It is such a party such a party alone which will be able to proceed ^{South Africa} ~~for~~ ^{not} ~~Western~~ white civilization, but civilization as such.

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