

# In the Fight against Bantu Education, as in all other things LEADERS MUST BE GUIDED BY THE FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE

By Titshala

**A**FRICANS value education more than other sections of the population do. This is not due to some peculiarity in the national character. Africans prize education just as they prize freedom more than anyone else, and for the same reason. The same reason that a hungry man values food more than a satisfied man: it has what the economists call a scarcity value.

To most individuals, the education of their children seems to open up some chance for a life more pleasant and satisfying than the back-breaking ill-paid manual labour which has exhausted their parents and aged them before their time. To the African it has often seemed that a higher educational standard in the rising generation may offer the key to uplifting the political and economic status of the nation as a whole. Thus they have made heroic sacrifices to keep their children at schools; they have honoured those sons and daughters of Africa who, overcoming the almost insuperable obstacles in their way, have attained academic qualifications and entered the learned professions.

Verwoerd's Bantu Education plan crudely outrages these profound emotions and aspirations of the people. He hates the "educated Kaffir" who gets ideas above his station, "thinks he is as good as a White man," and becomes an "agitator." He is determined to put a stop to all that. His schools are to put the Natives in their place, to give them just enough English and Afrikaans to understand the instructions of the White master, just enough reading and writing to make them useful menials in this machine and tractor age.

## EYES OPENED

This plan has opened the eyes of ordinary, non-political people to the blatant oppression of apartheid even more than such things as the Bantu Authorities Act and the suppression of free speech. Through the labours of the African National Congress and other progressive organisations, and such fearless critics as Father Huddleston, the people have learnt the facts about Bantu Education. They were never satisfied with the quantity or quality of schooling given by the crowded and inadequate mission schools—but the thought that in future the schools would be run by the hated Native Affairs Department, specialists in pass laws and poll tax, is intolerable. It has filled the people with dismay, indignation and anger.

The African National Congress correctly reflected these feelings of the people when it decided in December to organise a boycott of the Verwoerd schools. The decision met with a warm and enthusiastic response throughout the country.

Unfortunately, from the start, that decision was blurred by unclarity and misunderstanding. Was the boycott meant to be permanent, as designed in itself to defeat the purpose of the Act? Or as temporary, as the opening stage of a long-term campaign? Did Congress expect parents throughout the country to be sufficiently organised to withdraw children en masse on April 1? Or was the boycott envisaged not as a united mass action but an act which individual parents should take in response to the general appeal?

These questions were not answered by the original decision, nor was the situation helped much by the March meeting of the National Executive of the A.N.C., which deferred the commencement of the boycott from April 1, without setting a new date, and without calling for any preparatory action on the branch level in the meantime.

An editorial in New Age, at that time, stated correctly:

**"It is high time that we stopped thinking in terms of magical 'days' when, somehow or other, everything will happen nicely and tidily just as the planners have planned. Life just does not happen like that. To draw the people into mass action is a process—often a protracted one—varying in innumerable ways according to the circumstances and local conditions in different areas. The art of leadership consists precisely in the ability to direct this process, to respond sensitively and flexibly to changes and to local conditions, to weave many different strands into a common pattern of action and tactics."**

## DISSATISFACTION

These shortcomings in the March decision of the N.E.C., which was not accompanied by any clear political explanation to the membership, led to a good deal of dissatisfaction in the A.N.C. branches. It was felt by some that the leaders were retreating from the struggle. In the Transvaal and the Cape resolutions were taken to proceed with the boycott anyway. The Transvaal resolution was rescinded a week later, when it was decided to recommend to the National Executive that branches should be authorised to call the parents into action in areas where they were organised and ready. Unfortunately this recommendation was not accepted.

The latest circular of the A.N.C. working committee has done a lot to clear up some of these misunderstandings and confusions. It welcomes the initiative taken on the Witwatersrand, and congratulates the people. It has called upon all branches to organise protest withdrawals of children as from Monday, April 25th—thus doing much to correct the idealistic conception of a magical "date" when everyone would act at once. The working committee calls upon African parents "who are in a position to do so" to stage a withdrawal. "This protest," says the statement, "is a prelude to the permanent withdrawal of children."

## FLEXIBILITY

This newest statement goes far to correct the remote, abstract character of previous pronouncements by our leaders on this subject. It correctly envisages the struggle against Bantu Education as the unfolding of a campaign, in which great flexibility and variety are required according to local circumstances and the general progress of the campaign itself; in which the initiative and judgment of the provinces and the men on the spot are allowed to play their fruitful, creative part.

I do not think "New Age" was right last week when it criticised the Congress decision of March as "muffling" the protest. What must be criticised is the isolation of the national leaders from local activities

and feelings, an isolation for which the branch and provincial officials themselves are often to blame. I feel confident that the newest circular of the Working Committee is a long step towards removing its isolation; I feel proud that our leaders have the wisdom and self-critical ability to learn from the progress of the struggle.

## NOT BY ITSELF

One conception still remains, however, which history demands we modify. The struggle against Bantu Education is of vital importance. But neither this nor any other particular campaign can be seen properly if it is viewed apart from the political situation in South Africa as a whole. "Bantu Education" is not a thing by itself; it is an integral part of the whole system of repression and oppression of the Nationalist Government. We are not merely fighting against the Verwoerd plan; we are fighting for a universal education, a free compulsory education of a high standard for our children. We shall never win such an education under the rule of apartheid and white baasskap. Here indeed is the whole fallacy of the "Liberal" position. They demand a franchise with an educational quali-

fication, and say that they are in favour of universal education so that in time all will have this qualification and thus be able to vote. They quite overlook the stark historical fact that education is politics; that unless and until the African people gain political power they will never secure the right to a full schooling for their children.

A complete and permanent withdrawal of children from the Native Affairs schools would, without doubt, be a striking victory in the struggle against Bantu Education in particular and the whole theory and practice of apartheid. But it is not and cannot be the beginning and the end of the struggle. I have no patience with those theoreticians who get their inspiration from the discredited armchair saboteurs of the "Unity Movement," whose political wisdom is epitomised by "the boycott, the whole boycott and nothing but the boycott."

## GUIDED BY THE PEOPLE

Congress should avoid encouraging this sort of political childishness in conducting its campaign against Bantu Education. It should leave plenty of discretion to local leaders in deciding the day-to-day conduct of the campaign. This whole issue

of "temporary or permanent" is something of a red herring. We must be guided by the feelings of the parents in the various areas. It is folly to call on people to send their children back, when they are determined not to give way to Verwoerd. It is equally folly to take up a "die-hard attitude, and isolate Congressmen by keeping their children out when others are sending them back, by dribs and drabs, to the schools. We must preserve unity. This is a people's action, or it is nothing. The individualist who says, "I'm taking my kids out! I don't care what others do," does more harm than good to the movement.

When we call people in an area to take action, we must be very clear in explaining that this is the beginning, not the end of the struggle. The struggle may take many different turns and forms. We take our children out for a few days, for a week, perhaps for good. It will all depend on developments inside and outside our area. Sometimes it is necessary to take a step backwards today in order to take two steps forward, in company with many other areas, tomorrow. All these things can be understood by the people, provided they are explained properly, with respect for their intelligence, not just announced as if by a big chief or dictator.

Above all, this campaign must not be seen as a thing in itself. Fighting Bantu Education is fighting for freedom, for the Freedom Charter and the Congress of the People. No parents' meeting should go past without these truths being drawn out. What do we want, instead of Bantu Education? Full and complete schooling, free and compulsory, for all our children. How shall we get that? By building the A.N.C., by sending in our demands for the Charter, by electing our delegates to the Congress of the People and collecting their travelling expenses.

Thus we shall convert the campaign against Verwoerd's deformatories into a positive and immensely powerful contribution to freedom.

## NATS LOOK TO UNITED STATES FOR PROTECTION

Concluding Article in a Series by M. DICKSON

Another indication of the close economic ties that have developed between South Africa and the U.S.A. is provided by South African import figures over the recent period. Imports from the U.S.A. have increased greatly since pre-war years. In the peak year of 1948 they actually exceeded imports from Great Britain.

It would be foolish to think that the far-flung American interests in South Africa will remain without influence in the political sphere. It must be stressed that the Nationalist government has made special efforts to attract American investment to South Africa. In the annual South African-American survey which it issues for the benefit of American businessmen we can read statements offering their services to U.S. capital written by men like Havenga, Louw and even, in his own inimitable way, Dr. Verwoerd ("What we are doing to uplift the Bantu"). In 1953 an agreement was concluded between the South African and U.S. governments granting special privileges to American investors, so that many of them in effect will be exempt from paying taxes in the Union. (Agreement to avoid "double taxation"). In addition, all restrictions on the movement of profits and of the original capital back to America have been removed. Thanks to the attitude of the Nationalist government the wealth produced by South African hands can now flow in an uninterrupted stream to the U.S.A. just as it has been flowing to Britain for many decades. It is interesting to note that the world-wide survey

of opportunities for American investment published by the U.S. Department of Commerce speaks with special favour of South Africa: "Among the attractive features of the investment climate of the Union of South Africa are freedom of remittance of earnings and capital, relatively low tax rates, and a desire on the part of the government to encourage foreign investments."

The Nationalist government knows that it cannot hope to stand alone against the tide of democracy in the whole world. Therefore it looks for protection with the most reactionary and anti-democratic forces in the world to-day, the U.S. imperialists. It knows that American support for its policies will be the more certain the greater the American stake in the super-exploitation of South Africa's non-white labour. Hence the Nationalist government is only too keen to act as the agent for American finance imperialism, if in this way it can ensure itself of powerful international patronage.

## CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

A number of progressive overseas writers have pointed out the connection between the high level reached by American investments in the Rhodesias and the formation of the new Central African Federation. It is clear that this move greatly assisted the control of American finance capital by weakening links with London. Similarly, the achievement of a Nationalist republic would, in the present world context, inevitably tie South Africa more closely to America. It is important not to

lose sight of the role which the Nationalist demand for a republic is playing in the world-wide conflict between British and American capital; a conflict which Palme Dutt has so aptly described as "antagonistic partnership."

## PROTECTORATES

In that connection the Nationalist government's demand for the protectorates is also not without significance. Both British and American capitalists have their eyes on the mineral wealth of the protectorates. The American capitalists know that their exploitation of these territories would be made easier were the direct link to Whitehall to be broken. The Nationalist government, as the tried agent of U.S. finance capital, will be able to count on American support for its demands.

In all the capitalist world the most reactionary and discredited cliques in each country have come to see their only salvation in the role of agents for U.S. imperialism. The South African ruling clique is no exception to this. It has not only made it its business to remove all obstacles to the super-exploitation of its own population by American finance capital, but it has also shown its willingness to take part in the aggressive schemes of American imperialism in other parts of the world. It is easy to understand the words of Senator Hickenlooper after his official visit to the Union: "I feel I have been on a useful visit to a dependable friend." UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE SENATOR HE LEFT THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATORY MOVEMENT OUT OF HIS CALCULATIONS.

# Legal Rights of Africans—the first in a series by a former M.P.

## SECTION TEN OF THE URBAN AREAS ACT

**A**MENDMENTS to the Native Urban Areas Act have changed the nature of the Pass Laws very radically. In the past it used to be an offence for an African to enter a town or village which had been specially proclaimed. This has been done away with and now it has been made an offence not to enter but to remain in an Urban Area or in a proclaimed area under certain conditions.

The notorious Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act makes it a crime for any African, man or woman, to remain for more than 72 hours, i.e. three days and nights in a town or proclaimed area unless he or she falls under one of the following headings:

1. If he or she was born and has his permanent residence in the area; or
2. He or she has worked continuously for one employer for ten years or more and has not during that time been convicted of any crime for which he received a sentence of more than seven days' imprisonment without the option of a fine or more than a month's imprisonment even with the option of a fine; or
3. He or she has lawfully lived continuously in the area for at least 15 years and was not convicted of a crime and sentenced in the same way as under 2.
4. If a person is the wife or unmarried daughter or son under the age of 18 years of a person who has lived in the area for 15 years or been employed by the same employer for ten years without receiving any sentence as described above and such wife or daughter or son ordinarily lives with him.

### 72 HOURS—OFFENCE

If an African does not fall under any of the above headings, he commits an offence under Section 10 if he remains in a town or other urban area for 72 hours or

more unless he has within the 72 hours obtained the permission of a special Municipal Officer, generally the Manager of Native Administration, to remain. This means that upon arriving in a town or village an African, even though he has not come for purpose of seeking work, must apply to the "Superintendent of Native Affairs" for permission to remain before the 72 hours have expired unless he falls under headings 1 or 2 or 3, in which case he has the right to remain in that town without anyone's permission.

If, however, he is in the class which requires permission and he is lucky enough to obtain permission, the Superintendent or other official must issue him with a permit which states the purposes for which he may remain in the area and for how long. If the purpose is to enable him to take up a job, then his permission to remain comes to an end as soon as he loses that job no matter whose fault that may be. An African must then re-apply for permission within 72 hours of losing his job as otherwise he is guilty of an offence.

### PERMIT—14 DAYS

If an African obtains permission to seek work under a permit, he cannot be given more than 14 days within which to find the job. An African who has found a job but has been refused permission to remain in the area has the right to appeal against the refusal to the Chief Native Commissioner for the area and his decision is final. The Native Commissioner has the right on application to grant permission in his discretion to the African concerned to stay in the area while awaiting the outcome of his appeal. In any case the Court assumes that an African has been in the area for more than 72 hours unless the African concerned proves the contrary to be the case. These laws apply to both men

and women and any exemptions issued under the old law are no longer valid and do not give a person an exemption from Section 10.

Thousands of Africans are being arrested by policemen or Native Municipal Inspectors who stop them anywhere and ask them to produce their permits. They are, of course, referring to permits issued by Superintendents, but Africans who fall under the headings 1, 2, 3 or 4, generally have no documents whatsoever to prove that they fall within these categories.

Next week we will deal with this situation, with the power or right of the police to arrest such people and with other problems arising out of this new Pass Law which is responsible for many thousands of arrests and the breaking up of homes and the separation of husband from wife and the breaking up of families.

The Government is at the moment busy passing a new amendment to Section 10 which is before Parliament and will probably become law in a few months' time. Briefly the new law, when it comes into force, will state that an African who has had a job and has left the Urban Area for not more than 12 months, shall not be refused a permit if he desires to re-enter the area within 12 months to go back to his employment with the same employer by whom he was last employed, to do the same class of work that he was performing with that employer providing that he is not prohibited from entering the area or remaining in the area under some other law. Under the proposed amendment, an officer issuing permits to remain for purpose of seeking work may indicate in the permit the class of work which the African may accept and thus limit permit-holders to particular types of job.

(MORE NEXT WEEK)

# For Heaven's Sake! CAN'T YOU COUNT?

By PETER MEYER

Have you seen that magnificent Russian film, "The Fall of Berlin," with its vivid account of Hitler's last, panic-stricken hours? I was reminded of it last week reading Mr. Strijdom's speeches in the House of Assembly. A ring of hostile faces surrounds this Nationalist Fuehrer.

Mr. Strijdom has taken his followers and gone into laager. The gaps in his ox-wagon fortress are being sealed with thorn branches. Inside, the old voorlaaiers are being examined and everyone is rushing to and fro. Senator de Klerk is in charge of a special commando of the blind, the lame and the old.

The recurrent Afrikaner tragedy is about to be enacted again. Once more, figuratively speaking, the Afrikaners are taking up arms—to fight whom, and why? The dark clouds of Afrikaner history are gathering again.

Mr. Strijdom wants it this way. He is not prepared to accept the gospel of live and let live.

### HE BELLOWED

Last week Mr. Strijdom lived up to his reputation as an "honest" politician. He admitted that the Nationalist Government is oppressing the Non-White population. In his eagerness to trip up Mr. Strauss he bellowed again and again that there is no such thing as "leadership"—it is supremacy, domination, baasskap.

We agree with Mr. Strijdom—leadership and baasskap cover the same ugly sins. But by taking up this stand Mr. Strijdom admitted that baasskap is being imposed on the Non-White population by force. Leadership, said Mr. Strijdom, is voluntary. Otherwise it is baasskap.

Mr. Strijdom's next true confession was that leadership or baasskap cannot survive if it is based on merit. This piece of plain speaking put Dr. Friedman, with his vague "liberalism," neatly in his place. Leadership or baasskap, Mr. Strijdom explained, exists because the White man makes the laws and because the laws put all the political power in the White man's hands.

If this is not an admission of oppression, then I don't know what is. Mr. Strijdom was perfectly correct in reminding U.P. "liberals" that they are as much a party to this oppression as he is. What is this nonsense about leadership?

This is possibly the clearest explanation Mr. Strijdom has ever given of what he intends doing with the Non-White population (if they will only allow him to do it). His policy, briefly, is that the White man has the franchise and he is not going to share it with the Non-Whites under any circumstances. He will withhold the franchise from the Non-White population at all costs. Some time, when that much-talked-about "Bantustan" is set up, the Non-Whites can go and get the franchise there. Thus Mr. Strijdom.

### LOTS OF ENEMIES

So much for South Africa. Now for the rest of the world. Mr. Strijdom started with Africa. He looked up the continent and saw enemies stretching the whole way up to Cairo, into Col. Nasser's study. He shook his head grimly and said South Africa could never beat all these enemies by itself. It must have the help of the other White populations in Southern Africa.

And what common interest is going to make these Whites stand together? Why, their survival, of course. And on what basis? Apartheid, naturally!

I wonder, once the Central African Federation gets apartheid, who gets the copper mines—the Whites or the Blacks? If the Whites get it will the Blacks be allowed to go on working in the mines? This is a serious matter. It is time a Nationalist study group got down to sorting out the future White and Black patches on the continent.

### IMPOTENCE AND RAGE

Then Mr. Strijdom looked to the east and saw, not a star, but the Asia-Africa Conference—an indication of an event, or a new turn of events, just as important in its own way as that occasion nearly 2,000 years ago. All around him Mr. Strijdom sees new things happening, new nations arising, new ideas circulating—and in his impotence and rage he can think of nothing better than to beckon impatiently to all White men to follow him into his laager.

Mr. Strijdom was so blunt about everything that even the United Party looked a little alarmed. Please, they said, remember that there are 180,000,000 of them on this continent and only 3,000,000 of us. Mr. Strijdom glared at them as if to say—Don't be cowards! And another Nat. speaker mocked them for having "given up the fight for White civilisation."

But the U.P. refused to be drawn into the fight. It kept looking earnestly at Mr. Strijdom, and one could almost hear it whisper urgently—FOR HEAVEN'S SAKE! CAN'T YOU COUNT!

## Police Fail to Force Children into Schools

(Continued from page 1)

In BRAKPAN the boycott continued last week despite hard pressure on the people by the authorities. An advisory board member was arrested but later released.

In BENONI all meetings were banned and the police seized copies of the Boycott Bulletin being distributed. By the end of the week 48 people had been arrested. E. Monare was refused bail and is being charged under the Public Safety Act. The teachers were told to get the children back to school, and police patrols also tried to chase the children back.

In MOROKA all schools closed on Wednesday of last week. Jabavu White City joined in the boycott the following day. Towards the end of the week there were some children in the schools again. Teachers locked the gates of their schools so children who wished to join the boycott could not leave. Police who stood on guard at the schools at the outset terrified the children into leaving in even greater numbers, so the policy was adopted of having police in plain clothes on duty.

## DURBAN RACING

First Race—1 PANISEL, 2 Turfmaster, 3 Tiaz.  
Second Race—1 FAIR POLLY, 2 Lovely Payne, 3 Cherway.  
Third Race—1 DEMAGOGUE, 2 Skylon, 3 Lemont.  
Fourth Race—1 FOURTH FORM, 2 Faience, 3 Dawn.  
Fifth Race—1 CAPE ALOE, 2 Shaving Cream, 3 Rasputin.  
Sixth Race—1 KNOWSLEY, 2 We're Off, 3 Fire Brick.  
Seventh Race—1 BALKAN LAD, 2 Darwin, 3 Puccini.  
Eighth Race—1 KING'S GAMBIT, 2 Kim, 3 Lissom.  
Ninth Race—1 SAINT EASTON, 2 Roslyn, 3 Sacred Dawn.

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### A.N.C.—Athlone Branch

We extend fraternal greetings to all workers in this country and other lands on this great international workers' day.

### TEXTILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION (CAPE AREA)

Greetings to all workers in South Africa and overseas. On this May Day let us dedicate ourselves anew to continue and intensify the struggle for the right of the workers to enjoy the fruits of their labour in peace and liberty.

### OPTICIANS

Wolfson & De Wet, F.N.A.O. (Eng.), Qualified Sight-testing and Dispensing Opticians, 4 King George Street (between Bree and Plein Streets), Johannesburg. Please note Change of Address.

Phone 22-3834  
20% Reduction to Africans

### EXPERT WATCHMAKERS

Reasonable prices and guaranteed workmanship. For Cycles, Watches and Jewellery come to Klaff's Cycle Works, 82 Harrison Street, Johannesburg. New Age readers will receive a special discount on all new watches bought. Managed by Issy Heyman.

### BARBARA PELTU & TED LEVY

On this May Day, 1955, Barbara Peltu and Ted Levy are happy to announce their engagement and send May Day greetings to all their friends and to all democrats.

### NATIONAL UNION OF LAUNDRY, CLEANING & DYEING WORKERS

extends May Day greetings to all workers in South Africa.

### AFRICAN LAUNDRY, CLEANING & DYEING WORKERS UNION

extends May Day greetings to all workers in South Africa and urges that this May Day task be to organise the unorganised and to defeat the Government's plan to destroy the trade union movement.

### THE S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS (Cape Western Region)

The S.A. Congress of Democrats (Cape Western Region) extends its good wishes to all democratic, freedom-loving people.

### AFRICAN TEXTILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION (CAPE AREA)

May Day greetings to all who toil and suffer. Let us build unbreakable unity, defeat all attacks and press on to better working conditions and freedom for all.

## WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA!

We greet you on the occasion of  
**MAY DAY, 1955**

LET US WORK TOGETHER FOR FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE-TIME! LET US ORGANISE TOGETHER FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE!

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS  
Mayville Branch.  
Sydenham Branch.  
Overport Branch.  
Clairwood Branch.  
Central Branch.  
Clare Estate Branch.  
Merebank Branch.

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