during the 1940s and the 1950s. The strength of the 1955 boycott is better understood if it is put in the context of political and trade union responses in the preceding years.

The most active and militant political force on the East Rand during the 1940s was the Communist Party of South Africa, which seems to have won considerable support with its involvement in small local disputes, usually arising out of day-to-day difficulties of economic survival. The issues could include municipal prohibition of female hawkers (Benoni, November 1943) (120); police violence against location inhabitants (Brakpan, December 1943) (121); intimidation of rent defaulters (Brakpan, March 1944) (122); location conditions and the behaviour of the location superintendent (Brakpan, August 1944) (123); dismissal of teachers (Boksburg and Brakpan, March to November 1944) (124); housing shortages (Benoni, June 1945 to September 1947) (125); brewing (Springs, July 1945) (126); bus services (Brakpan, April 1946) (127); food shortages (Brakpan, May 1946) (128); municipal extension of passes to women (Brakpan, July 1946) (129).

Let us look more closely at Communist Party involvement in local issues in the town where there seems to have been most activity, Brakpan. Though of the East Rand townships by no means the worst in terms of overcrowding or living conditions (130), the small location community (5 000 in 1939) (131) seems to have been in state of constant ferment in the 1940s. Brakpan was exceptional on the East Rand in the 1940s in having a Nationalist town council and provisions for control of its African population seem to have been distinguished by their rigour. The City of Johannesburg's 1939 Survey of Reef Locations makes special mention of recent increases in the size of the Brakpan municipal police force, erection of fencing and a clamp-down on illicit brewing.

During the 1940s, Brakpan's Native Affairs Department was headed by a Dr Language, whose other claim to fame was as the leading theoritician and "native expert" of the Ossewa Brandwag. (The OB appears to have had quite a following on the East Rand, doubtless enhanced by the blowing up of Benoni's post office in 1942 by some of its local enthusiasts (132). Even by the standards of his calling, Language seems to have been a formidable intolerant and unpleasant man. His term of office began with the re-organisation of local influx control into the location, raising of lodgers' fees, and harassment of minor rent defaulters. Matters came to a head between the council and the location community when, on Language's initiative, the council successfully arranged the dismissal from his teaching post and Brakpan's Amalgamated Mission School of an important local politician, David Bopape. Bopape was one of the most energetic and active of the grass roots Congress leaders of those years. Initially drawn into politics by his involvement in the TATA salary campaign of 1940-41, he became a founder member of the Youth League, and was by 1943, a forceful and effective spokesman for the Brakpan African community. He does not appear to have shared the normal Youth League antipathy to communists, perhaps because, unlike many young Congress intellectuals, he was himself involved in bread and butter political issues, and by 1946 is thought to have actually joined the South African Communist Party, while retaining an important position in the Transvaal ANC (134). Bopape's activities appeared to have gained him a large personal following, for his dismissal was to provoke a school boycott affecting 2 000 children and a one day stay-at-home of the location's 7 000 workers on August 10th 1944 (135). Bopape had apparently angered Language by his campaigning for better living conditions in the location and the issue of his dismissal was to fuse with a range of grievances, which included the housing shortage, inadequate and expensive transport, low pay for municipal workers, high municipal rents, no running water within the location and Language's racism (136).

The action of Brakpan's parents inspired a similar protest the following year in Boksburg after teachers' dismissals there. In this case parents organised under the slogan "African Education run by Africans" and their case was taken up by TATA, which had already begun to establish Parent/Teachers Associations in the East Rand.
The existence of these may have something to do with the effectiveness of both these and later school boycotts (137).

The communal support for Bopape did not succeed in gaining his re-instatement (despite initial promises by the Brakpan Council) and discontent within the location continued to simmer. In May 1945 the Council announced that it was going to use beer hall profits for general street cleaning, refusing at the same time to grant the Advisory Board extensions to its powers which would have included some say in location revenue expenditure. Three months later a fresh permit system was introduced and a wave of arrests of illegal location residents took place. In all these local disputes, the Communist Party's local spokesman played a prominent part, and in their African language newspaper Inkululeko, reported these extensively. In its sensitive approach to local issues and its down playing of more remote and abstract political problems, it seems to have gained a real popularity. A former Youth leader and Brakpan resident remembers:

The ANC missed out a great deal (in the 1940s T.L.) because it would not interest itself in the little things that bug the people ... the popularity of the Communist Party in places like Brakpan was because they took up such things (138).

The December 1945 Advisory Board elections illustrated the effectiveness of the approach. Communist candidates stood and were elected in Springs, Brakpan, Benoni and Nigel. The newly elected Brakpan Board went on to win a significant victory by organising a bus boycott which successfully reversed a Council decision to relocate the bus terminal further from the location boundary (139).

Brakpan's African community was administered with an unusually heavy hand. For example, the municipality was the first on the Reef to consider enforcing a registration system on African women (140). The role of an exceptional individual like Bopape was obviously important in consolidating the local representation of Communists. But the latter's performance here was not untypical of their activity on the East Rand as a whole; the Benoni squatters movement was given energetic leadership by the local Communist Party branch which held mass meetings, encouraged occupation of empty premises and organised the biggest political demonstration in Benoni's history when in 1945 several hundred people marched through the city centre bearing placards saying "We are homeless"; "We are starving"; "slums cause crime"; and "We sleep in tents this winter" (141).

The Communists established a tradition of involvement in local socio-economic issues that was taken up by later nationalist politicians. Communists were also important in the work place struggles that took during the 1940s on the East Rand. Their role in the 1946 African Mineworkers' strike is well known, though the effect on location residents of the brutal treatment of miners who marched out of their compounds into the East Rand towns had yet to be considered. Communists had a role in the organisation of the African Iron and Steelworkers, who with the left wing Food and Canning Workers' Union were to form the two strongest regional affiliates to, first, the Council for Non-European Trade Unions, and later the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The East Reef in the mid 1950s, then, was an area in which a tradition of radical politics had existed for a comparatively long time within its black communities, a tradition which was characterised by sensitivity to parochial concerns and successful intervention in them by African nationalist and socialist politicians. With this background, it becomes easier to understand why the parents within these communities responded in the way they did to the call for a boycott of schools in 1955. The boycott should be seen as flowing out of a well established momentum by poor people to retain some control over their lives.
NOTES

2. See Hirson, B. Year of Fire, Year of Ash, London: Zed, 1979, pp 20-34, for example.
5. The Good Shepherd, March 1948, p 27.
10. Murphy, op cit, p 199.
14. Murphy, op cit, p 121.
15. Federal Council of African Teacher's memo to Department of Native Affairs.
16. Imvo Zabantusundu, 12 8 1944.
18. Report of Proceedings, ANCYL meeting, Newclare, 5 12 1948, Unsorted ANCYL papers, AD 1189, SAIRR Collection, University of the Witwatersrand.
19. Agenda, Bloemfontein Youth Conference, 1948, Unsorted ANCYL papers, AD 1189, SAIRR Collection.
20. Misconduct which could justify the dismissal of a teacher could include political activity and any public opposition to any state agency. Murphy, op cit, p 165. In fact the Transvaal Province had already made this a ruling in 1950. See The Voice of Orlando, May 1950.
22. Rose & Tunmer, op cit, p 262.
23. Organised opposition from Natal teachers developed later: perhaps partly because of the absence of political organisations prepared to involve themselves in educational issues and also, possibly, because in Natal direct state control of schools, in contrast to other provinces, was common before the passage of the Act. See Kuper, op cit, pp 37-190 and Horrell, op cit, p 36.
25. The best history of the evolution of the AAC and associated bodies is a University of Cape Town sociology honours dissertation by Roy Gentle (no title available) from which many of these details are drawn. The Torch contains useful information as does the breakaway faction's Ikwezi Lomso.
31. The history of resistance in these areas to various government land schemes should be linked with the especially overcrowded conditions characterising these areas as early as the 1940s. See Report of the Witwatersrand Nine Natives' Wages Commission, UG 21 1944, pp 10-12.
33. Ciskeian school attendance figures, for example, were the best in the country. See Ciskeian General Council Proceedings, 1954, p 18.
34. The Good Shepherd, March 1942 and November 1946.
35. Ibid, June 1949.
36. The Voice of Orlando, April 1950.
40. Interview with Professor Es'kia Mphahlele, Johannesburg 1980. See also The Torch, 5 8 1952 and 26 8 1952.
41. The Torch, 3 8 1954.
42. Ibid, 2 3 1954.
43. Professor Mphahlele remembers approaching ANC activists in 1952 and attempting to discuss Bantu Education with them but failing to elicit much interest. The ANC, at the time, had all its energy caught up in the organisation of the Defiance Campaign. There were relatively few teachers in the higher echelons of the ANC and those teachers which remained in Congress after 1952 tended to be Africanist-inclined (e.g.s : Zeph Mothopeng, A.P. Mda, Godfrey Pitje, Peter Raboroko, Robert Sobukwe, Potlake Leballo, and Tsepo Letlaka).
45. Hirson, op cit, p 47.
46. Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to 42nd annual ANC conference, 16-19 12 1954, p 10, SAIRR papers (University of the Witwatersrand) AD 1189, ANC II. Brakpan must have been atypical : here energetic campaigning against Bantu Education began as early as June 1954, according to a report in Advance, 1 7 1954.
47. Feit, op cit, p 164.
48. See Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit, pp 31-33.
49. Ibid, pp 32-33.
50. Legal advise submitted to the conference by the Liberal Party lawyer J. Gibson made it clear that the law would not tolerate any formal education outside that provided by the schools registered with the new department.
51. Information on this conference drawn from : Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit, p 33; Ts. memo. by Congress of Democrat delegation in FSAN papers (University of the Witwatersrand), CIII (4) (IV) 15 10 55; Ts. memo by Liberal Party delegation in Ballinger Paters (University of the Witwatersrand) File B 2 14 1.
52. This has been exhaustively discussed in both Feit, op cit and Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit.
53. The earliest Congress campaigning appears to have been in Brakpan. See Footnote 46.
54. Treason Trial Record, South African Court Records Collection. (Henceforth : TTR) p 2265.
55. Ibid, p 7485.
56. Ibid, p 2266.
59. TTR p 2472.
60. Ibid p 2438.
61. Ibid p 2450.
63. 'The Girl Who Will Not Go to School Again', Drum, April 1955.
68. TTR p 2413.
61
70. The Star, 18 4 1955.
74. Karis, Carter & Gerhart, op cit, p 33.
75. Feit op cit, p 183.
76. FSAW papers, CIII (2), cyclostyled letter on origins of AEM.
78. Germiston meeting reported in Rand Daily Mail, 2 5 1955.
80. Bantu World, 10 9 1955.
81. Pencilled memo on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection.
84. See report in Drum, June 1955, pencilled memo on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection, Bantu World, 10 12 1955 and 17 12 1955.
88. Ibid, 7 4 1955.
89. Daily Despatch, 18 5 1955.
90. The Torch, 24 4 1955.
92. Helen Joseph (interviewed January 1981) recalls that local enthusiasm for the boycott was very evident in smaller centres when she visited them in June 1955.
96. Quoted in Feit, op cit, p 184.
97. Karis, Carter and Gerhart, op cit, p 34.
98. The Torch, 15 2 1955.
103. Pencilled memo on cultural clubs, AD 1189, ANC IV, SAIRR collection.
105. Pencilled memo on cultural clubs.
106. Handwritten note on political instruction, FSAW papers, AD 1137, CIII 3.
107. FSAW papers, CIII 4 X 9 13 1956.
111. Ibid, p 99.
112. Ibid, p 97.
113. The Star, 26 1 1981.
116. Ibid.
117. See Loges - my 'Destruction of Sophiatown', University of the Witwatersrand 1981 History Workshop.
118. Ethnic grouping policies for example were universally disliked. Both Humphriss and Brandel-Syrier (op cit, p 8) mention resistance to the removals but more research is needed to uncover the details.
119. See, for example: 'Benoni hit by glaring class-room shortage', Imvo Zabantusundu, 2 12 1961.

120. Inkululeko, 9 11 1943.

121. Ibid, 4 12 1943.

122. Ibid, 4 3 1944.

123. Ibid, 14 8 1944.


126. Inkululeko, 28 7 1945.

127. Ibid, 4 4 1946.

128. Ibid, 15 5 1946.

129. Ibid, 17 7 1946.

130. That distinction belongs to Benoni. For a brief review of location housing statistics see City of Johannesburg, Non-European and Native Affairs Department, Survey of Reef Locations, May 1939.

131. Ibid.

132. Humphriss, op cit, p 85.

133. Inkululeko, 4 3 1944 and 24 11 1944.


135. Inkululeko, 18 4 1944.

136. Ibid, 4 10 1945.

137. Ibid, 10 5 1945.

138. Interview with Dr Nthato Motlana, January 1981.

139. Inkululeko, 4 4 1946.

140. Ibid, 17 7 1946.

141. Humphriss, op cit, p 184 and Inkululeko, 9 6 1945.

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**WIP** is a journal published five times a year to explore and present ideas and material on contemporary South African society.
Much attention has recently been focused on educational facilities for black school students in South Africa. Less public though no less important are the changes in the provision of black adult education. To understand these trends it is necessary to look at the changes which have been taking place in this field since the 'twenties.

Historically, in South Africa as in other countries, education has not been neutral. Individuals have not been provided with tools to enable them to independently interpret the world, but have been subject to educational programmes designed from particular ideologies or world-views. Even the seemingly technical aspects of education have been and continue to be ideologically determined. Indeed the very structure of language itself cannot be separated from ideological considerations (1). In English, for example, reality (some non-definable continuum) is broken down into segments of actors and processes. Even in the expression it is raining, some attempt to identify a 'prime mover' or actor can be seen, even though lexically it is described as 'empty' by grammarians (2). These segments are part of the inherited meaning of English. And yet reality, or more accurately the experience of it, is not totally determined. For example, the interpretation of events continually shift as human identifiable actors metamorphose into organisations (eg. "The church announced"), processes (eg. "The negotiations broke down"), abstractions (eg. "The truth will out"), and the like. (3)

The development of black adult night schools on the Witwatersrand from the early part of this century illustrates the continuing relationship between educational needs and programmes and wider political and ideological considerations.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In South Africa during the first half of this century it was the Communist Party which developed the challenge to the ruling racist ideology and which initiated extensive trade union action in an attempt to give a structure to black resistance in the country. It also later co-operated with African nationalist movements to broaden the area of the attack.
And it was the Communist Party which initiated the first effective night school movement - effective primarily in that those that passed through it were not simply given the tools with which to better survive in the existing society. As will be shown, the CP night schools trained many of the blacks who were later to lead the black resistance movements.

This was naturally a situation which many in the society could not view with equanimity. The liberal reaction was one of co-optation. It attempted to set up a counter tradition by establishing adult night schools for blacks. This had not always been the liberal position. As will be argued, it was only in the face of the democratic challenge from the left, that they were forced to relinquish their former support for segregationist policies and adopt the position that integration was essential for economic development in South Africa.

The liberals were not the only section of the society to react to the radical traditions of black resistance. The state consistently acted to constrain independent black organisation. After 1950 the object of state repression included the night school movement. As will be argued, the now Nationalist Party government with its policy of segregation of the races, did not support a programme of acculturalization, such as that conceived by the liberals, as it viewed co-optation rather than in terms of 'separate development'. The aspirations of the educated elite were no longer to be directed towards white collar jobs in the 'white' areas, but would be directed towards 'tribal' development and leadership in the impoverished black 'homelands'. In contrast to the liberal conventional wisdom, it has been argued that this was not simply an 'ideological' act but actually facilitated the further exploitation of cheap black labour and the expansion of the economy, particularly during the 'sixties.

Partly in response to this expansion, the 'seventies witnessed an increased demand for skilled labour which could not be met through immigration from abroad. The state was obliged to adopt a programme of apparent liberalisation in respect of the training of black labour. The labour unrest of 1973/4 helped to force the state into this position, together with the recessive economic trends and growing unemployment of unskilled labourers. This process of apparent liberalisation will be illustrated in relation to the state's adoption of its own adult education programme in the mid-seventies.

Section one of this paper will deal with the rise of a radical adult education movement; section two will consider the liberal response; section three will look at the intensification of repressive action in the 'fifties and 'sixties, and the final section will consider the situation that evolved in the 'seventies.

THE RADICAL TRADITION

Formal educational institutions are primary structures for the perpetuation of ideologies sympathetic to the status quo, or at least able to be contained by it. Ideological forces which seek to subvert and radically transform the structures of society do nevertheless survive so long as the reality they see, and seek to transform, corresponds sufficiently closely to the experience of certain sections of the population. While these forces may be denied influence in the formal educational structures, they may seek to establish alternative educational structures within which to articulate their philosophy.
IN South Africa there was undeniably a mass basis among blacks for such alternative ideologies. For many years after the martial superiority of the colonial powers had been established, no real attempt was made by the state to gain ideological control over 'the natives'. The army of missionaries operating at the time did more than their share but they never reached more than a tiny minority (4). Depending rather on its repressive apparatuses - army, police and legal machinery - the state forced the blacks off their land to mine gold and diamonds and later at the time of World War I, to work within the growing number of secondary industries where conditions were poor and wages low.

This urbanization/industrialisation process did not immediately affect the demand for education from black adults. Initially much of the upper-grade, skilled artisan work was reserved for whites, some of whom already had the know-how, while others were trained on the job or in state financed technical colleges. Furthermore white workers were united in traditional craft unions and were able to maintain their position of strength and the high wages that went with it (5).

However, as industrialization progressed and secondary industry emerged fragmentation of skilled work occurred, creating opportunities for black workers. Also a limited number of white collar jobs (e.g., teachers, clerks, interpreters) were opened to blacks. This led to increased demands for education, which was an advantage in obtaining this more lucrative employment. Later it also became an advantage in bargaining for better wages. This was one of the major reasons given to the Eiselen Commission why differentiated education for blacks and whites was undesirable:

"The Bantu feel that if they do not follow the same curricula and pass the same examinations they cannot obtain certificates of equal pay, and the possession of the same qualifications is held to be a powerful instrument in pressing for improved financial treatment". (6)

However, this demand was not met, leaving simply the frustrated expectations of an increasingly militant section of the proletariat, who sought alternative means to improve their wages and conditions.

THE COMMUNISTS

In 1915 the International Socialist League (ISL) was formed by certain left-wing socialist members of the South African Labour Party, who opposed the Labour Party's support for what they saw as the Imperialist War. In 1921 the ISL was re-constituted to form the Communist Party of South Africa, which affiliated to the Third International.

The activities of the ISL were initially directed towards the skilled white workers. However, within the ISL there were men in particular Sidney Bunting, David Jones and later Edward Roux, who argued that a major section of the working class was being ignored, namely the African workers and they strove to organise among this group. In 1919 Bunting and other ISL and African National Congress (ANC) men were arrested in connection with the 'night-soil workers' (sanitation collectors) strike.

Even at this stage, this organisational work included the setting up of a night school.
Roux, later to become the central figure in night school activity, wrote of these years:

"Bunting and Jones continued to have difficulties, not only with the police, but also with their fellow members of the International Socialist League, many of whom doubted the wisdom of this direct approach to the black workers. But the two transigents were not discouraged ... Jones started night classes for Africans, teaching them to read and write. He got them to write on their slates: 'workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to win.' But few natives actually joined the league, they felt uncomfortable and shy at white meetings." (7)

This is the first reference to any night school activity on the part of what was to be the Communist Party. The organisation of night schools was to play an important role in the CP's attempts to recruit and train black working class leaders.

The question of the CP's relationship to black workers was thrown into stark relief in 1922 when white mine workers went out on strike. The strike was against the threat of undercutting by cheap black labour. The Chamber of Mines intended to increase the ratio of black miners to white supervisors. Within the CP, one faction led by W.H. Andrews, maintained that the main emphasis should still be given to the white workers, while the opposing faction in the Party, led by Bunting, favoured an Africanisation Policy.

In 1924, at the annual Party Conference, Africanisation won the day when the Conference rejected a notion that a fresh approach be made to the Labour Party for affiliation. This new direction - 'the turn to the masses' had to meet unique organisational problems. Firstly when organising Africans they could not draw on any prior trade union tradition. Secondly, many of the men who came to town to find work had little or no formal schooling and little knowledge of the capitalist structures they were working under.

Following the 1924 conference which launched trade union activities for Africans, Party schools were established under the general direction of the veteran Communist T.W. Thibedi, who launched a drive against illiteracy (8). It seems that Thibedi with his 'natural genius for getting people together' (9) became responsible for the school, but he later moved into trade union organisation. (this was increasingly viable as in the late 'twenties greater numbers of Africans were becoming permanently urbanised and performing work of a more skilled nature) (10). While organising a Bakers' Union for non-Europeans in 1928, Thibedi met Moses Kotane, who subsequently joined the CP and attended the night school, which had been taken over by Charles Baker (an ex Roman Catholic priest turned atheist). Moses Kotane was to become the general secretary of the CP and an executive member of the ANC. Kotane believed that the early night schools had been a formative influence for him and had been responsible for his own political initiation. (11).

Moses Kotane was not the only leader to have been recruited into and trained by the CP night school. In the late 1920s, the Party school boasted 80 regular students. (12)
Among the pupils were leading ICU and Party organisers: Stanley Silwane, Thomas Mbeki, Tantsi, Johannes Nkosi and Gana Makabeni (13).

Johannes Nkosi was to become the first African Communist martyr when he was shot while addressing a meeting during an anti-pass campaign in 1930 in Durban. Gana Makabeni became the secretary of the strong Clothing Workers' Union in 1928, a post he held for three years. The other names mentioned have also left their mark in the history of the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Much legislative machinery was used against the Communists in an attempt to frustrate their efforts. In the late 'twenties, the Hertzog Bills (14) were being debated and feeling among blacks was running high, the Party school was accused of promoting racial hatred and was taken to court. The account given by Roux of the trial is quoted in full as it illustrates the type of constraints that they were forced to work under:

"Meanwhile in Johannesburg the prosecutions of communists continued. Nzula had given up his post as headmaster of a Native school at Evaton and has come to Johannesburg, where he was helping Baker with the night school. In February (1929) he had delivered a lecture to the scholars on "Hertzog's Native Bills". On the evidence of the inevitable Native police spies, two of whom had joined the school, Nzulu was charged and found guilty of "inciting hostility" between the races. Baker appeared as witness for the defence. He contradicted the evidence of the two detectives who alleged that Nzula had used the words "hate the enemy" and "fight the white man". The trial was held two months after the lecture, one of the detectives spies admitted that he could not understand English very well and neither had made notes at the time. The defence maintained that Baker's evidence should be accepted by the court. The magistrate, however, preferred to believe the Crown witnesses. Nzula was sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, or a fine of R10." (15)

Night passes were a great nuisance. Every African, if he wishes to avoid arrest after 9pm, must carry a special night pass written and signed by his employer. Many white employers were not at all willing to sign passes for attendance at night school, especially a communist night school, so that teachers had to write out these passes themselves.
This was a laborious and time-wasting business. Later we had forms printed on which only the bearer's name, the date and a signature had to be written." (16)

The early successes of the Party and its night school were short-lived. In the late 'twenties and early 'thirties the Party was split and weakened by conflicts revolving around the bolshevisation policy. Many stalwarts or the Party, including Bunting, were expelled at this stage for 'right deviations'.

The effect of this 'purge' served not only to weaken the leadership but also to lose much of the grass-root support which the Party enjoyed up to this time. Evidence suggests that the Party school dwindled, but did not altogether cease to function over the period of crisis. (17) Certainly a School existed during the war, for reference is made to a school conducted by the Central Branch of the Communist Party in Johannesburg in 1946, teaching 'English, Arithmetic and History' to an average of forty pupils. (18) But the shortage of evidence over this period implies a changed role for the Party school, more simply educational than training for leadership within the organisation.

Roux himself, deeply disillusioned over Bunting's expulsion, went to Cape Town and started an educational newspaper in co-operation with Motane. It was written in Basic 'Ogden' English. (He apparently sent material to Prof. Ogden in Cambridge for correction). This new paper has as its motto "Paper for Bantu Education and Development - There is not knowledge which white men have which black men cannot have as well" (19). This publication went under the title of an earlier paper Umvekele - Theba. The African Defender, which had enjoyed mass circulation due to its reporting of the Ethiopian Situation in 1936. It ceased publication after the victory of the Italian aggressors. In 1938 Roux broke his ties with the Communists and thereafter worked only part-time at the new night school which had been started by an organisation known as the People's Club (20). This subsequently developed into the Cape Town liberal night school movement, offering formal examination course. It is interesting to note how that even those who later worked in Johannesburg looked to Roux as having started the movement. (21).

GROUPS OTHER THAN THE COMMUNISTS

Within the radical tradition there were other groups besides the Communists who were involved in education at different times in South Africa history. However, records of their activities are sparse. Oral evidence suggests that classes were held by the ICU and the trade unions organised both by the 'Trotsky-ite' Max Gordon and later by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) (22). Fannie Klenneman, a trade unionist in the 'twenties and 'thirties, in a recent interview gave the following account of her own involvement in the ICU's school and that conducted under the auspices of Max Gordon's unions:

"Q.: Did you have anything to do with the night schools?
A.: Yes I did a lot of work, I worked in Max Gordon's organisation the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions, I taught at his schools." (23)

The scale of the latter activity for the ICU can be gauged from the fact
that Fannie Klenneman had to hire three buses to take the group on an educational excursion. These activities were however, short lived. For the ICU collapsed in the late 'twenties due to poor organisation and leadership problems and the night school organised by Max Gordon's Unions seem to have disappeared after this internment at the beginning of the war.

CONCLUSION

All these organizations were concerned with political education. They worked under difficult conditions. They distanced themselves absolutely from the formed channels of education. Their aim in general was to train leaders and allow as many as possible to understand the structure that oppressed them. Their success in the 'twenties can be gauged by the relatively large number of leaders who emerged after attending the night schools. Education then for the radicals had to be part of an active struggle. The internal and external events which eventually weakened the movements should not eclipse the achievements - some measure of which can be judged from the level of response engendered in outside groups, which are considered below.

LIBERAL RESPONSE TO THE DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

Somewhat contrary to impressions given above, there was initially no radical departure from the earlier tradition by the liberals during the 1930s. In fact, in many instances, those involved in the later tradition were sympathetic to the communists or were even card-carrying members if the Party[24]. The fact that Roux was virtually the founding figure underlines this point. But in spite of these sympathies, a definite shift in emphasis can be discerned. Learners were no longer viewed as potential leaders but as individuals needing skills with which to operate within the given social structure. A more formal school-type education was taught to more adequately equip learners for employment. The Cape Town night school in 1939 "in response to persistent demands" added a Junior Certificate class which "soon became the largest in the school" [25]. But even there more limited activities fell outside of the Apartheid framework and were ultimately stopped by the Nationalist Party as well be shown in the next section.

THE AFRICAN COLLEGE AND THE MAYIBUYE NIGHT SCHOOLS

Against a background of the anti-fascist war effort in 1938 the African College was started by a group of students from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Within two years another school had also opened [26]. The latter school was the first of many to become known as a Mayibuye School [27] and in addition to university students had acting school teachers on the staff. Initially these were volunteer efforts, but later the Mayibuye Schools were subsidised.

The aims of both schools at this early stage were similar. Those of the African College are reproduced below:

"(a) Teaching of ... English, arithmetic, civics and Government - with special emphasis on the native laws and geography, with proposed extension to include Hygiene and Debating and speaking for the higher classes...."
(b) To impart useful knowledge adapted to the needs of the pupils.
(c) Emphasis on imparting as much general knowledge as possible to help the pupils adapt to and understand their present cultural environment.
(d) Solution of special problems and difficulties brought by the pupils or known to be common to the Bantu.
(e) Encouragement of free expression and discussion by the pupils to reveal and clarify their difficulties and attack superstition and prejudice through discussion and explanation from both sides. In the course of these discussions, the pupils will be able to see European approaches and attitudes more clearly when these stand out in contrast to their own." (28)

This is clearly a liberal programme eg (c) suggests that the environment is given and the pupils must 'adapt' to it. (e) reveals a belief that the traditional culture is inferior and must be transcended in order to 'adapt' to modern or 'European' ways. Together these endorse a liberal reformist and not a revolutionary programme. A corollary to this was a belief in a politically neutral education. This is illustrated through a story told by one of the teachers at the African College who started teaching civics to some of the higher classes, but was only allowed to continue this practice once she had reassured the Teachers' Council that she was only describing the Laws, was in fact working from her own university lecture notes, and was in no way making judgements about them. (29)

Trade unions were not seen by those in the African College or in the Mayibuye school as a threat. In fact the schools attempted to encourage trade unionists to send their members for elementary education, and it seems that some did attend, although no students was even asked to state allegiances, just as the teachers were expected to remain silent on politics. (30)

Unlike those run by the Communists these schools emphasized skill development rather than collective organisation. The arguments of the night schools in support of this approach were in line with the Van Eck Commission of 1946 (a government commission which called for greater mechanisation, the rationalisation of industry and more efficient use of African labour in skilled positions). A policy document of the night schools argued that: "... the present method of paying low wages to inefficient employees is very wasteful. It raised the cost of production, decreased the value as a market of large sections of the community and leads to wastage of labour power." (31)

The night schools in fact wished to extend their activities to include vocational training (32) - a strategy which would strengthen the bargaining position of blacks. In the end the schools did not themselves initiate such training, but they were instrumental in 1943 in persuading the Technical College to open a 'department for Non-European adults'. (33) Similar projects were subsequently begun in other Reef towns. These ran successfully until 1955 when, presumably as a consequence of the regulation requirements of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, they were forced to discontinue this service. (34)

As with the communists, these schools had to contend with the difficulties of the Pass Laws and poor physical conditions (35).
Nevertheless, owing to the influx of pupils ("at one time some eighty teachers, each with a dozen or so pupils around a table") (36), they opened new schools in whatever premises they could find. Finally, their accomodation problems were solved when the Rand School Board made available to them the premises of the day 'coloured' school, and subsequently a second school was also used.

While overall attendance grew, individual students were unable to attend regularly due to a range of reasons which are similar to those which pertain today. Unemployment and insecurity of tenure of employment; the shift system, long hours of work (particularly affecting female domestic workers); a difficult weather conditions and sickness; high cost and difficulties of transport, long hours without food and low income with its attendant evils and domestic difficulties. (37)

In spite of these difficulties, the African College students were actually involved in the direct running of their school. Monthly meetings of the pupils Council were held to discuss matters relating to the school and to formulate suggestions and criticisms of the teaching, books, etc. (38)

Through teachers at the Mayibuye schools, the Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA) became interested in the work of the night schools. In March 1942, they were sufficiently persuaded by the arguments in favour of the schools and agreed to sponsor their efforts. As a result

"the whole aspect of work was changed - viz., while carrying on with the work at existing schools an attempt was now made to co-ordinate the activities of all night schools with the object of getting financial support from the Government or Province." (39)

This was possible in the war years as there was a general government concern to enhance the education, and hence the skill, of blacks to meet the requirements of the war economy, which in turn required rationalisation of education and implied upward mobility for blacks. Smuts, the then Prime Minister, is quoted as saying "segregation has fallen on evil days."

There was even some relaxation of the pass laws at this time, and talk of recognizing African trade unions (40)

Due to war-time conditions in general, and in particular due to lack of transport and teaching personnel, two Mayibuye night schools had to close. The remaining schools were thus increasingly interested in formal ties of co-operation and co-ordination. In the mid-forties the Witwatersrand Federation for Non-European Adult Education was formed, and became known as the JAC's. Besides the Mayibuye schools, other organisations were represented, the most important of which was the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The importance of the SAIRR lay in the fact that they represented, and had done since 1929, the mainline liberal tradition of South Africa. Originally they had supported a separatist policy broadly along racial lines, but in the face of the political and economic pressures of the war years the SAIRR became the most outspoken protagonist of the necessity for integration. The general economic climate has already been described, but to illustrate that the SAIRR in particular was consciously responding to these changes the following extract from a 1947 conference on Adult Education is given:
"While an appeal must be based on justice and Christian principle, what the European group must also be asked is: Can South Africa, in the face of present and future developments on this Continent and overseas afford economically to carry this burden of illiteracy?... South Africa has been urged to develop secondary industries in order to offset a possible decline in gold production but the post-war world is going to see intense economic competition for markets and South Africa is already heavily handicapped." (41)

Politically, the war against facism in the name of democracy led to an upsurge of mass popular activity at this time (42), and the influence of left-wing ideas posed a real challenge to the traditional ideologies of segregation and minority control. In order to neutralise these tendencies, the liberals called for integration. That this was in response to militant activity can be gauged from a statement by Mr Quintin Whyte, the then director of SAIRR:

"The soldiers, who have visited other lands and have imbibed new ideas, will return with a new conception of human dignity and with a new perspective of a land where the majority of them have not the elementary rights of citizenship. Such material, more conscious of its deprivations than of its own limitations, is ready for the hands of the agitator. ...These unhappy and distressing conditions have been aggravated by the fact that the great mass of non-Europeans is illiterate; that is to say, they cannot express themselves and cannot be communicated with through the written words. They cannot read public notices affecting themselves, and they are dependent upon what they hear for an understanding of matters that often affect them in vital and intimate ways. They are thus easy prey to foolish or unscrupulous would-be leaders who give their own stupid or malicious interpretation of the motives and actions of Government and other authorities."

(43)

A deputation from J4C's was sent to the Johannesburg Municipality in 1945 to request financial support. Mr J.D. Rheinallt Jones, director of SAIRR, was the primary spokesperson. An application was made for a full-time organiser's salary. To follow up the discussion, Rheinallt Jones wrote to Mr Venables of the Johannesburg non-European Affairs Department on 20th August 1945 making the following recommendations on behalf of the whole deputation:

"I ask you to consider favourably the following possible forms of help to the night schools:

A, 1. The formation of a Committee under the auspices of an approved body to supervise those night schools which are prepared to come under the Committee, provided that they are in no way connected with any political group or used for political purposes.

2. The provision of a grant for Adult Education to enable the Committee to appoint a full-time organiser who will not only supervise the schools coming under the Committee, but also make a survey of the needs and of all existing facilities."

(44) (my emphasis)

Although the Mayibuye schools and SAIRR in this exercise stood on the same platform, a distinction between the two needs to be drawn.
The former did not seem to fear the left in the same way as did the latter. In a separate memorandum to Mr Venables, Mr Fanaroff of the TTA stressed the urgency of the need for education but made no allusion to a threat from subversive elements. Knowing the fact that some of the teachers in the early schools were known to be Communist sympathisers, but were nevertheless tolerated while they agreed to work within the 'non-political' framework, would explain this. However, in the anti-communist climate after the war their silence in the face of the SAIRR's "agitator" statements can be understood.

The J4C's application for municipal finance was successful and in 1947 they received £3400.0.0 which gave the 19 night schools a far sounder financial basis. This fund also enabled them to employ African teachers at a small fee to take over some of the work done by the less satisfactory volunteers.

In 1944, the Minister of Education, responding to the general climate, had set up a Commission of Enquiry into Adult Education, which had included an investigation of African adults' basic education in its terms of reference (45).

As a result of the report, published in 1946, the Minister appointed a National Advisory Board "to consider applications for monetary aid from local voluntary organisations." (46) But in another respect the Report reflected developments which had already been started independently by the SAIRR, for it recommended:

"that experiments be made by the research section of the National Council for Adult Education with a view to ascertaining what will be the best method and technique for a large-scale combating of illiteracy." (47)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS' PROJECT

The stated aim of SAIRR's project began in 1945, was "to provide material and work out methods and techniques of teaching and of training teachers for making adult non-European literate." (48).

This research had in fact been initiated in the 'thirties by Eddie Roux and had been continued by Mrs Rheinallt Jones. But in 1946, Mrs Naida Whyte, wife of Quintin Whyte the Director of the SAIRR was given the go-ahead to work full-time on this project. She worked primarily on the Laubach literacy method which had been developed in the Phillipines by Dr Laubach a missionary. The slogan under which the literacy method was carried was "Each one teach one and win one for Christ" (49) Clearly this was fundamentally different from the radical education of the 'twenties, both in content (religious rather than political) and in methodology, (individual rather than collective). Mrs Whyte adopted the method to teach literacy in the South African vernaculars and in English and Afrikaans. Her work was heralded as a major step towards overcoming the problem that had beset literacy efforts up until that time. The government gave recognition to her work by subsidising it (50).

The Institute itself did not run courses. In 1958, at the end of a five-year experimental period, the following description of their activities was given in a special report:
We help sponsors to train teachers and see their classes initiated. Classes range from domestic ones for two or three learners, to large ones as run on mine compounds and in Durban Night Schools. There are well over 100 classes using our methods running under all conditions throughout the country. Concentration is on mines and in Durban Night Schools. No class is initiated without the approval of the Union Education Department." (51)

It should be noted that this type of activity followed the spirit as well as the letter of the law, in a way that the other schools did not, though as any organisation which contained unknown elements, such as volunteer teachers with left-wing leanings could have been viewed as a potential breeding ground for 'agitators'. By working with state approval and through employers, for example the Mining Houses, the SAIRR dispelled all such fears. Herein lay the reason why in the long term the Mayibuye schools were closed by the state and why the Race Relations initiative flourished.

However, it took nearly a decade before these controls were implemented and in the intervening years the Mayibuye night schools flourished. In 1947 there were 19 schools attached to J4C's and by 1957 there were 32 with a total enrolment of 3000 taught by 160 teachers, many of whom were paid Africans (52). Even when the subsidies were withdrawn in the early 'sixties the schools continued to survive on fees alone.

CONCLUSION

The liberal response in the realm of education has been shown to have taken two distinct forms. Those may be termed 'National' and 'Regional' responses. The SAIRR representing the former, argued from general principles, and having on this level justified the need for literacy, proceeded to develop the expertise which would enable them to attack illiteracy on a national level. The latter group which was represented by the regional endeavours in Johannesburg and Cape Town were more concerned to build up their efforts from small beginnings. This group did not address itself directly to national policy decisions and found that it was less antagonistic to other efforts being made, be they by radical political groups or traditionalist African teachers. Both groups gained this impetus from the economic trend which had begun during the war, but only the SAIRR felt that any liberalization had to exclude more radical groups.

As will be shown in the next section, the only strategy which survived the onslaught of Apartheid was that of the liberals.

THE STATE ATTACKS

The Afrikaaner Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, and as was noted at the time "anyone who demanded equality with Europeans was a Communist" and many people were prosecuted under the Act. However, protest was not silenced. The 'fifties were characterised by much activity on the part of the ANC and the Indian Congress activity which took the form of a more defiance resistance campaign rather than of dialogue which had been tried since 1912 but which had proved ineffective.
The strength of the state in the 'fifties was such that it did not bend in the face of this attack, a strength which was grounded in the new stability it had been able to forge in the power-bloc. As Jon Lewis (54) points out, this did not mean that the state was all powerful, for it did not outlaw the ANC at this time in spite of the threat which it posed. Rather the state used this period to enact the legislation and establish the machinery needed for the full implementation of Apartheid. One of the earliest pieces of legislation passed was the 1953 Bantu Education Act (55). This Act sought to bring all education for blacks under the control of the central government. The means used was to insist that all educational undertakings be registered and in order for registration to be granted certain conditions had to be met. which were clarified for the night schools only in 1957. Before this time however, many of the left-wing volunteers in the schools had withdrawn their help in the face of the Bantu Education Act, stating that they did not want to be party to such a system. But the movement as such continued to grow. Dr Frantz Auerbach, representing the view of those that stayed said, "It was more important to educate people than to solve your conscience" (56)

In 1955 the Native Affairs Department took over the administration of grants for African adult education, and insisted that all classes should register irrespective of whether or not they were subsidised. The actual numbers involved at this time are summarised below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRE</th>
<th>CONTROLLED BY</th>
<th>NO OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>ENROLMENT</th>
<th>NO OF SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>J4Cs</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>Cape Non-Europeans</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Night School Assoc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Province Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Durban City Council</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg City</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schools were also being conducted in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London, as well as throughout the country by various church groups although exact details of these are difficult to find.

In 1957 the 'crunch' came with the publication of Government Notice 1414. It was entitled "Regulations for Night Schools and Continuation Classes for Bantu Pupils in European areas", (58) with which a night school was defined as: "a Bantu School for Pupils above the age of sixteen who are bona Fide employees and who receive primary education" (59). The definition of continuation classes differed only in so far as the education provided was at secondary level. These definitions automatically excluded young people, the unemployed and those employed in the informal sector. Also it linked the type of education to be provided with that given to children in the formal sector. All such schools or classes were compelled to register before 1st January, 1958, or else be closed. In European areas applications for registration had to be accompanied by permits from the Group Areas Board.
These schools were to be conducted only during normal school terms and were to be held in official school buildings unless permission to the contrary was given by the Director of Bantu Education. All teachers appointments were made subject to the Director's approval which could be withdrawn at 24 hour's notice without any reason being given. Furthermore schools had to be open at all times to departmental inspection. In 'white' areas registration had to be renewed annually, and in all areas except "Bantu reserves" no pupil could be admitted unless he or she was both over 16 and able to prove that he/she was resident in the area of employment. As regards control in 'European' areas the Notice said:

3(1) Any night school or continuation class in a European area shall be controlled and administered as a private school by the proprietor or his representative who shall be a European.

(2) Where the Director (of Bantu Education) .. deems it necessary an advisory board shall be appointed to assist the manager in an advisory capacity. (which shall consist of Europeans only) (60)

In the African urban residential areas or African rural areas schools could only be conducted by African School boards or committees. Private organisations conducting such classes were required to hand over control, with all their assets and liabilities by 1st January, 1958.

As a consequence of the difficulties, both financial and administrative, arising from the new measures, all the Durban night schools were closed. The Cape Non-European Night Schools Association was forced to hand over four schools to African school committees, and conduct the remainder without subsidy. Eight schools in Pretoria were closed due to transport problems. For the adults who attended, primarily those in domestic service, there were some who found it impractical to set out to the townships to attend classes. Many other schools are also reported to have closed at this time and the remaining schools in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London were handed over to the Department of Bantu Education. (61)

The 1957 measure made J4C's continued existence as a co-ordinating body impossible as each school had to be controlled by its own white manager or African school board. The spirit of co-operation was lost as it was usually impossible to get sympathetic people to act as nominal managers in Municipal areas or compounds and it was certainly difficult to influence school boards. About ten of the original schools continued, mainly in the Industrial areas, but they lacked cohesion and the sense of a movement was broken. (62)

Those schools which survived were in fact granted Group Areas permits and official registration in 1958, but for the seven years after that, although annual applications for registration were submitted in terms of the regulations, no replies were received. In the interim those schools receiving subsidies found that the amount granted was steadily decreased, and by 1963/4 the subsidies dried up altogether. (63)

An amendment to the 1957 Government Notice was gazetted in 1962 (5/1/62). (64) This was in essence no different to its predecessor except that in addition to the official documents required from the Group Areas Board, the owner of the building in which the school was conducted was required to endorse the application, a locality sketch of all the buildings in the block plus a list of all the owners was required to accompany the application.
This was a prohibitive task given the usual hostility of European property owners who were afraid they would infringe one of the multitudes of Group Area regulations.

The degree to which these two decrees were successful in stifling the night schools can be gauged by the statistics given by the Minister of Bantu Education in the House of Assembly in 1962 (65). In that year there were a total of 33 night schools and 19 continuation classes in South Africa with a combined enrolment of 2218. Before the new system there had been over ten thousand students all over the country.

Although, as has been stated, annual applications had been made to the Department for registration and Group Area Permits, no replies at all were received until 1966. The letter which Dr Auerbach (acting manager of one of the original J4C schools) received was typical of those sent throughout the country, and it read:

"Ministerial approval in terms of section 9(7) (e) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act No 25 of 1945) is hereby conveyed for the conducting of the above mentioned school (Mayibuye Bantu Evening School) until the 31st December, 1967.

Kindly note that any complication for the extension of the above mentioned period will not be entertained under any circumstances,

Yours faithfully
Bantu Affairs Commissioner, JHB (Dated 29-7-66) (66)

And thus ended the possibility of any night school movement in the 'white' areas of South Africa. As has already been noted schools in the black areas were not made illegal in the same way, but they did suffer as the school boards to which they were tied had little interest and no experience in night schools, and were in any case taken up with their own day-school work.

Beyond publicly expressing their condemnation of the measure in the press (67), there was nothing that could be done by the organisers and there was certainly no organisational basis on which the adults who had attended could react - as the real 'movement' had been broken in 1953 and by this time the schools were in any case isolated units.

The reason for the government acting how and when it did can only be understood by looking at the wider context. These were not isolated acts of malice - South Africa of the 'sixties was very different to South Africa of the 'forties. The power bloc was significantly more stable, and the foundations of a stable economy were well laid in the post-war boom. From that position of strength the legislation of the 'fifties was enforced and Apartheid was made a reality. For example, a degree of independence was afforded to the first 'Bantu Homeland', the Transkei. By the same token, resistance was ruthlessly suppressed, most drastically by the killing of pass law protesters at Sharpville in 1960.

The Apartheid system was not irrational in the economic sphere. Rather it served to promote the interests of Capital in general by applying the policy of migrancy or contact labour to the sphere of secondary industry with considerable success.
For while it insisted on labourers being based in their tribal 'homelands' it simultaneously made it easier for Africans to return to the same job in urban areas year after year. (68) Thus Apartheid promoted job continuity and allowed limited skill training to occur. Further, while the government was against large settlements of blacks in the urban areas, and hence controlled the development of industry in these areas, they compensated by providing a package of incentives and legislative whips which encouraged industry, particularly labour intensive industries, to expand in the 'border areas' (eg those bordering on the Bantu Homelands) (69) Simultaneously, laws were passed which weakened the position of African labourers in town, their organisations, such as the ANC and the breakaway Pan African Congress (PAC) were banned in 1960. Also the labour recruiting agencies under the centrally directed Labour Bureaux vigilantly policed the coming and going of labourers. Later, in 1967, when the Bureaux were relocated in the 'homelands', they served as a blocking mechanism at the roots of the tide. In this general climate the closing of the night schools were just one more way of curtailing rights and privileges in the urban areas.

Throughout this period the literacy and language work of the Institute of Race Relations continued. By 1956 they judged that they had amassed sufficient expertise and equipment, (both to teach vernacular literacy and to offer courses in the two official languages), to graduate into a full-time independent activity. On 1st October, 1956, encouraged by the recommendations of both the Eiselen Report and the Tomlinson Report (70), and interim committee was set up to establish the 'Bureaux of Literacy and Literature'. The aims of the Bureaux were defined as follows:

"To foster literacy by training personnel in the techniques which had and were being evolved to make adults literate in the shortest possible time, to provide the basic literature required for this, and, primarily through missionary societies and other bodies, to foster the distribution of Christian and other healthy and useful literature". (71)

Once the Bureau was initiated it applied for registration as an "Association not for Gain", under Section 21 of the Companies Act. After a long delay, this was granted in 1964.

When the government ceased to subsidise night schools in the 'sixties the Bureau was affected as well. In an effort to solve its financial difficulties it embarked on a campaign to increase literacy work on the mine compounds. The mining houses responded favourably to the drive, and gave a per capita grant to the Bureau to train teachers to teach in the compounds. This involved a large number of people and to the present day constitutes the largest source of income for the Bureau. (72)

The reason why mining houses in particular, and other industrial and commercial concerns more generally, were prepared to concern themselves with literacy was both social and economic. On the social level literacy work, which is commonly understood to include courses in the official languages, was seen as a way to improve relations between black miners and white supervisors in the workplace. This was based on the assumption that lack of communication was what caused labour unrest rather than starvation wages or dangerous working conditions. On the economic level, it became increasingly possible over time and within the limits of the colour bar to advance blacks to more responsible positions.
But in order to facilitate this mobility a certain minimal education was required. Another possible factor, both political and economic, was the desire to provide social welfare services to the men who lived in the prison-like bachelor compounds for nine months of the year and who were understandably restless. (73)

CONCLUSION

The carefully orchestrated attacks made by the state on the night school movement were, it has been argued, part of a total strategy to implement Apartheid. The Mayibuye movement was broken because it depended on independent urban-based organisation, whereas the Bureau prospered because it operated through employers and promoted a religious view of the word.

LITERACY IN THE 'SEVENTIES

For literacy and language teaching movements, 1967 marked both an end and a beginning. The tradition of a tightly organised, urban-based movement was broken. In its place there developed on the one hand, several organisations modelled on the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, and on the other attempts were made by radical black students to set up community learning groups. The former tradition organised from above, primarily through employers and allowed for only limited initiative on the part of the would-be learners. The latter was a short-lived attempt to once again unite language with broader political issues - related though to the broad aims of black Consciousness rather than those of any particular party. Again, these developments need to see against the political and economic changes of the times.

During the 'sixties the economy expanded at an unprecedented rate (74). This recovery of the economy was due not only to gold mining, but also to the broadening base and increasing sophistication of South African industrialisation. But few of the advantages reached the blacks, for whom on average, the per capita share of the GNP was 1, as against 14,5 received by a white (75). During this period inflation spiralled and black wages fell even further behind those of other race groups. In response, there was a wave of strikes between October 1972 and January 1974 involving tens of thousands of black workers (76). These resulted in substantial wage increases in many sectors of industry.

Employers, faced with more expensive labour, attempted to cut costs by retrenching workers and demanding higher productivity from those who remained. This together with recessive economic trends contributed to a situation of critical shortage in certain categories of jobs (skilled work was still reserved mainly for whites) and rising rates of unemployment in general. One reason for the shortage of white skilled labour was the drying up of the supply of under-employed whites: whites who could be transferred from unskilled to skilled or supervisory work. Furthermore, the traditional source of recruitment of white labours, namely, from other countries, was not growing sufficiently fast to meet demand. This helped to further promote the belief that greater stress needed to be placed on internal labour supplies (77). Exacerbating this trend was the fact that 'white collar' occupations were expected to grow from 16% of the labour
force in 1970 to over 20% (78) Even Afrikaans businessmen, who during the 'sixties had sheltered very closely under the Apartheid umbrella, were joining in the chorus for liberalisation of labour laws. For example, the President of the Johannesburg Handelsinstituut told the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer in 1971 that African labour would have to be used more productively and that more effort was needed to ensure adequate levels of education for blacks (79).

Politically, a taut calm had been achieved in South Africa in the mid 'sixties by repressive means. However, in the late 'sixties, after nearly a decade of quiet, black resistance again emerged, in the form of the Black Consciousness Movement. The movement began in 1968 on the campuses of the black universities under the auspices of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) (80). The object was to foster pride and community awareness of black capabilities and achievements. This it was argued, was an essential preliminary if blacks and whites were eventually to come together on a basis of equality. In 1972 the Black People's Convention (BPC) was inaugurated, in an attempt to broaden the base of Black Consciousness.

While this movement was growing very important changes taking place just beyond South Africa's northern border in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, where armed resistance to the white colonial powers had emerged. These changes were taking place within the wider context of the Africa Revolution. Prior to 1974 South Africa had a buffer-zone between itself and black African States. But in April 1974 the situation was dramatically changed when Portugal was forced to surrender her colonies to the liberation movements she had been fighting for nearly two decades. This was a dual blow for South Africa. It lost its stable boarders and was at the same time faced by internal repercussions. The lessons were not lost within the country to young blacks who identified with these national liberation struggles.

These then were some of the political forces which influenced the June 1976 student protest throughout the country, which although triggered off by the Afrikaans language issue in schools, soon became generalised expression of opposition to Apartheid.

LITERACY AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

a. SASO

In the climate of radicalism which grew up in the black universities, much debate focussed on broadening the appeal of Black Consciousness. Around 1970, Rev. Colin Collins of the radical University Christian Movement (UCM) began receiving and circulating the works of Paulo Freire which were just emerging in English translation. To black students the ideas excited the students who felt they had suffered from the 'banking' type of education which Freire described and the material offered concrete alternatives. Freire's work was banned in South Africa but before UCM was itself banned in 1972, over 500 copies of Freire's work were made and circulated. Courses which aimed to inform fellow black students of Freire's ideas were run informally at the black universities and some students became involved in compiling community surveys to clarify critical areas for later discussion. (81)
As a result some literacy (vernacular) teaching was done in centres throughout the country but in a dispersed fashion with no reliable records now available of the extent of this work. As with earlier radical programmes, this work was linked to a wider programme in this case community health centres and other self-help projects under the auspices of the Black Community Programmes. (BCP)

This work was not allowed to continue. Due to SASO's involvement in the Soweto '76 demonstrations, SASO, (BPC, BCP) and other related organisations were banned on 19th October 1977 and many of those who had been involved were detained by Security Police, the most famous being Steve Biko, who subsequently died in police detention.

b. 'BUREAU - TYPE' LITERACY AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES

Responding primarily to the economic crisis (no longer containable as had been the case in the 'forties), a completely separate set of organisations developed - modelled on the Bureau of Literacy and Literature. At the centre of this response was the view that literacy and language training "should be instituted, because the pay-off would be much quicker than waiting for school children to grow up" (82)

Reaction against labour militancy was also influential in stimulating this initiative as can be deduced from the aims of 'Communication in Industry'. This organisation started in 1969 in Pietermaritzburg was concerned to promote good labour relation by "teaching black workers - through the medium of English"

1. To understand what is said to him in the work situation
2. To make his wants known
3. To read simple instructions and reports
4. To write simple sentences" (83)

The methods of teaching adopted by "Communication Industry" were based on those evolved in the 'English Through Activity' (ETA) method "walks, games, rhymes, tours of the factory area, stories and plays as teaching devices" (84). Similar devices were developed for South African black primary schools-devices which were recently evaluated by J.V Rodsoth for the Institute for the Study of English in Africa. He concluded:

"These points help to isolate a fallacy upon which ETA appears in part to be based. This is that pupils should be involved physically in language - learning activities. Physical involvement is of course no guarantee that mental involvement will exist. Many "chanting-and-doing" exercises are echoic and call for an extremely small degree of mental concentration." (85)

Yet in spite of this fallacy, the method and the organisation which sells it, have expanded rapidly. By 1974 165 instructors had been trained, mainly in Natal where the first centre was established. Today the list of firms using ETA is much longer.

c) 'OPERATION UPGRADE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA' (UPGRADE)

The third of the 'Big Three' literacy organisations functioning at present in South Africa is 'Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa' (Upgrade) which like the Bureau, uses the Laubach method but in a different form.
The project was pioneered in 1966 when Dr F. Laubach himself worked for a while in Durban with a local organisor. Although religious in orientation, Upgrade was responsive to the economic climate as is evidenced by the frequent statements of Mr D'Oliveira, the Director. More interesting though is the degree to which Upgrade acquired government legitimacy by accepting and working within Apartheid Structures. This is illustrated from the organisation's official magazine:

"Because the Government has come to realise the need for intelligent manpower on a national basis, and because of its need to make Bantu-stans viable, it has given tremendous support to Operation Upgrade. The Minister of the Interior, Mr Theo Gerdener, is the organisation's patron". (87)

Over the years the relationship between Upgrade and the state has grown to a point where Upgrade can be seen as THE literacy and language organisation which meets state-perceived needs. Most recently this has been shown by the fact that Upgrade, rather than any of the other organisations, was requested to teach teachers to man government Adult Education Centres throughout the country (88), (the formation of these centres is discussed below).

The method itself is based on the stimulus-response/Skinnerian behaviourist theory of learning. Lessons are characterised by chiming responses to visual stimuli. Some preliminary evaluation (89) suggests that the popularity of this approach is based on the degree of assistance (total) given to the teachers and learners by means of manuals and charts—no real preparation is required once one has learnt the set moves. The theory of learning on which this method is based has now been widely criticized, although the actual effect of this criterion on the worth of Upgrade still needs careful evaluation.

d. PROGRAMME OTHER THAN 'THE BIG THREE'

In the climate of political and economic upheaval of 1976, the Anglo-American Corporation, the biggest gold producers in South Africa, allocated R700 000 for the development of its own English language course. This relatively huge budget was granted when the government started making substantial moves in regard to the dismantling of significant job-reservation restrictions (90).

The course, designed by Dr Ken Baucom, was planned in such a way as to include information needed on the mines, such as what procedures to adopt for dealing with grievances. More general topics like safety procedures and the types of protective clothing available were written into the course at every stage, as were production home-truths eg. 'I must not be late', and censures like 'he is a lazy worker'. (91). The course, television-based, is essentially programmed instruction. The materials are self-contained and the teachers need merely to manipulate the technology and read instructions from a manual. The mines train their own teachers on short in-service training sessions. The teachers themselves come from that group of employees who have at least a matriculation certificate. They are paid overtime for their services. The students, black miners, volunteer to join the group, which are conducted in their own time on mine premises.
Contrasting with this highly structured approach is the approach of 'Learn and Teach' (L&T). The organisations already described primarily, although not exclusively, depend on employers to initiate literacy classes. In contrast, L&T which started as a small pilot project in 1974, places the emphasis on the community to initiate the classes (92). This difference in orientation and emphasis is not merely theoretical but can be seen both in the material that is provided (these are primarily compilation of learner's writing about their experiences) and the method of learning used (discussion-based).

**THE STATE RESPONSE**

The state's response to the crisis of the 'seventies was to scrutinize the position of urban-dwelling blacks in almost every sphere including education and employment. One particularly important piece of legislation at this time was the 1976 Bantu Employees' In-service Training Act (Act No 86, 1976) which aimed to encourage the establishment of training establishments at the place of work by offering substantial tax incentives to employers. Certain other industrial training centres were attached to secondary schools and private industrial training centres were also established.

Literacy (including the official language) was seen to have an important preparatory role in relation to the above scheme. The Bantu Education Journal of November 1975 stated:

"There is no need to labour the point that (illiteracy) is one of the main brakes on personal, social and economic development. It has been spotlighted in the last two years as industry has endeavoured to upgrade the black worker: the man with the industrial skill has not always had the communication skills to function at a higher level. Whatever the reason, we have to do here with a handicap which prevents the full realisation of his potential."

On 1375 the Department created a new section dealing with adult education, concentrating on literacy and night schools (34). A steering committee consisting of three members was given the task of "determining what is already being done and how instruction can be properly planned, controlled and financed." (95). In particular, "the Human Science Research Council was approached for assistance with regard to the evaluation of literacy programmes." (95)

While the question of method was still under consideration the Department went ahead with planning 'Adult Education Centres', all situated in high density industrial centres. By the end of 1977 twenty centres were operating throughout the country, offering courses at the primary level, and also secondary courses leading to form III and form V certificates. The Department also began certain in-service teacher training refresher courses. A total of 6068 adults were being taught at the lower level, while the majority were receiving instruction at the higher levels, altogether these centres were catering for 15 580 learners in 1977. (97)

At the primary or elementary level literacy is taught. Initially Operation Upgrade was invited to train teachers for these courses, and this practice has continued (98). However, the Department (now labelled the Department of Education and Training - as the Soweto students expressed such distaste at the label 'Bantu') has also initiated its own courses which are still in the experimental stage.
Further indications of state involvement in basic adult education have appeared in the Bantu Education Annual Report. For example, in 1976:

"Existing regulations governing State centres, night schools and continuation classes are being revised at present with a view to adaption to the present stage of development of adult education." (99)

In the remainder of the report proposed changes were given. The most immediate difference from earlier regulations was the raising of the minimum age for enrolment from 16 to 18. This is significant in terms of the student militancy - the Department was clearly determined that these centres should not become an alternative for radical students expelled from regular day schools. Further it made it clear that the Department was in no way changing its fundamental belief in 'separate development' - the requirement that any person who wished to enrol should either be fully and legally employed or, if female, have full residence rights was in no way qualified. This was underlined by the fact that 'homeland' centres were to be encouraged. One major departure was the setting up of a local "Governing Council and a Student Liaison Committee at each of the State Centres" (100) - control was no longer simply to be left to inexperienced school boards.

Other statements made by Government policy makers suggest that the changes will go further. In particular when opening a conference convened by the HSRC for all persons involved in literacy and language teaching in 1978, the Minister of Education and Training had the following to say:

"...the adult literacy programmes should fit in with the existing school programmes on the one hand, and programmes for continuing the education on the other hand. Any literacy programme which is divorced from the normal school system can only lead to frustration." (101)

He then went on to explain that any literacy group wishing to obtain registration in order to continue functioning will have to furnish proof that they do not deviate from this 'school' principle. Once this proof has been given they will be allowed to function "subject to certain conditions laid down by the department". But any expansion of this work will have to again be referred to the Department before it can be instituted. In essence therefore it can be seen that what appeared to apply to state centres is to be a national policy.

More disturbing though is what the Minister had to say about methodologies:

"However, there is a further important task, which should receive urgent attention. During the course of this conference, various teachers will elaborate on the literacy work they are doing. I accept that literacy programmes can vary in their methods and aims, but I think that we can ill afford and expansion in the range of programme techniques offered by so many different parties. It is in this regard that one hopes that the assistance of the HSRC as an independent research organisation will act as a type of clearing house which will evaluate the techniques used and that the HSRC will help to determine the norms to be set for success to be achieved in the literacy programme...It is doubtful whether a single type of literacy programme will meet the needs of the various interests within the community. The Department may have to accept responsibility for developing a literacy programme which could serve as the basis for further study." (102)
Interestingly, these statements have not in fact inhibited research, which has been started (in 1980) at the University of Natal, Durban, and at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in response to the very great demands being expressed. No doubt the situation will be clarified once legislation is passed and implemented. But some significant compromises have been made, for example the state has accepted the need to support adult education financially.

Whether this is at the cost of such freedoms as existed before, for example methodological research and development, remains to be seen. Certainly the State has made it clear that it will not countenance such radical options as were provided for example by SASO. There seems therefore to be both a liberalisation and a renewed element of control in these recent moves. This strategy can be called 'state-sponsored liberalisation', and has been evident in other areas as well. For example, in 1977 the Minister of Labour, Mr S.P. Botha, announced the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the country's labour legislation. This has subsequently led to very limited trade union recognition being afforded to blacks.

In general terms it is not difficult to understand this policy. For the country is facing sanctions from the West, and has insecure borders with neighbouring countries. In the government's terms, if there is a realistic chance of survival, it is based on being able to maintain stability internally. Every possible area of conflict is being brought under state control. 'Deviants' are ruthlessly dealt with. Success however, also depends on maintaining a healthy self-reliant economy, hence, the pursuit of policies which aim at allowing blacks to fill skilled labour shortages. A by-product of this will supposedly be the emergence of an increasingly large group of blacks with a vested interest in the status quo. But the contradiction of having economic power with little or no political power remains.

FOOTNOTES

1. cf Coward R and Ellis J. Language and Materialism (London 1977)
3. For a full discussion see Kress G. and Hodge R., Language as Ideology (London, 1979)
6. Eiselen Report, 1951, paragraph 235 p 43
12. Roux (1948) p 163
14. These related to legislation, proposed by Hertzog, which aimed to divest Africans of all political rights, even those few they had enjoyed in the Cape since 1854, and to restrict for all time the amount of land available to blacks to 13%. These Bills were finally passed in 1936.
15. Roux (1948) p 225
17. Roux (1948) p 346
19. see Roux (1970 p 141 - 2 Also see issues March 1937, p 1 and October/November 1937 p 5
20. Roux E., "Adult Education for Africans in Cape Town", Document in Rheinallt Jones Collection, AD 843 B 82 (a) (updated) p 1
21. Interview with F Auerbach, July 1978 (of 24 below) Johannesburg
22. Interview by E. Webster and J. Lewis with F. Kleeneman, 23/6/78
23. Interview F Kleeneman
25. Roux, "Adult Education for Africans in Cape Town", p 1
27. The name "Mayibuye' was taken from the slogan of the ANC, and literally meant "Let is come back" -"it" meaning Africa. Roux while working in Cape Town made up a song, together with J.N. Tantsi, of the ANC, song to the tune of Clementine: (in translation)
Let it come back! (Mayibuye) Let it return, let it return
'We brown people bless Africa Let Africa return to us!
Which was taken from our fathers Down with passes
28. Document: "Night Schools for Adult African" History of African College and Mayibuye Night Schools in Rheinallt Jones Collection, AD 343, B 82 (a), Misc. 73/41 p 4-5
29 Interview with Maida Lipshutz, ex-teacher at African College (London September 1978)
30. Interview with Maida Lipshutz
31. Document: "Night Schools for Adult African" p 11
32. see "Memorandum to the Municipality of Johannesburg" p 4-5
33. see "Night School for Natives 1938 - 47", p 2, For extent of this activity see Eiselen Report, paragraph 345, p 56
34. Horrell M., Bantu Education to 1963 (Johannesburg 1968) p 112
35. see "Night School for Natives 1938-1947" p 1
36. see " Night School for Adult Africans" p 1
37. Document: "Memorandum to be submitted to the Adult Education Commission by the Federal Committee for African Adult Education" Rheinallt Jones Collection B54(b), 1944, p 6
38. Lewin (1943), p 9
39. see "Night School for Natives 1938-1947", p 2
41. Document: "Adult Education: What is it?" from SAIRR conference in Cape Town, January 1947, Rheinallt Jones Collection AD 843 B82 (a), p 3
43. Document: "Adult Education for Non-Europeans" by Quintin Whyte, SAIRR document RR 35/46, p 6

44. Document in Rheinallt Jones Collection, AD 483 B50 (a)

45. Report of the Committee of Enquiry into union Adult Education (L.C. 5258) published 1946

46. Eiselen Report, paragraph 368,370

47. Eiselen Report, paragraph 80, p 40

48. Whyte M., "Report in Brief in respect of 5 years experiment in Literacy 1.4.47 - 30.3.52", SAIRR 326: 374 (68) Box 25(A), p 1

49. Lauwach F & R: Toward World Literacy, The Each One Teach One Way (Syracuse University Press, 1981)

50. Eiselen Report, Annexure P., "Bantu Adult Education", paragraph 5, p 213, also paragraph 371, p 68

51. Whyte "Report in Brief", p 2

52. Interview with F. Auerbach


54. Lewis J., African Trade Unions

55. Act No. 47 of 1953, Statutes of the Union of South Africa (Cape Town 1953)

56. Interview with Auerbach

57. Compiled from information given by Auerbach interview and also Horrel (1968) p 19


59. G.N. No. 1414, ibid definitions 1

60. G.N. No. 1414, section 3(1) and (2), in ibid p 450


62. Interview with Auerbach

63. Horrel (1968) p 112 and interview with Auerbach


65. A Survey of Race Relations SAIRR (Johannesburg 1963) p 187

66. In the possession of DR F Auerbach. Kindly shown to the author

67. Interview with M Lipshutz also see The Cape Argus 3.10.1967, p 2

68. Legassick (1974) p 24

69. In particular see "Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act" No 58 of 1967


71. Horrel (1968) p 119-120

72. A total of 22000 out of 36000 claimed learners were miners according to a document entitled: "The Bureau of Literacy and Literature: Aims and Scope of Present Activities" (Johannesburg 14 April, 1977) p 2

73. The provision of social services for compound dwelling miners, in the form of language classes, was by Dr Ken Bauram (then of the Anglo American Corporation English teaching project(July 1978) as one reason for developing their project.


75. Johnson (1977) p 84

76. Johnson (1977) p 86

77. A Survey of Race Relations, 1972 SAIRR (Johannesburg 1973) p 261

78. A Survey of Race Relations 1977 SAIRR (Johannesburg 1978) p 229

79. SAIRR (1972) p 261

80. A Survey of Race Relations 1970 SAIRR (Johannesburg 1971) p 245
82. SAIRR Survey (1977) p 230
84. Ibid p 2
86. Upgrade Magazine, November 1, June 1972 see p 1
88. Transvaal Post, Thursday, July 6, 1978: "A teachers' literacy course in launched".
89. Interview with teachers using this method
90. Interview with Dr Ken Baucau, July 1978, then working for the Anglo American Corporation (AAC) as writer and director of their English teacher project
91. See AAC-CCTV English Course (AAC Johannesburg 1979)
92. For a account of Learn and Teach, see Link, Bulletin of the Enviromental and Development Agency, No. 6, February 1978, pp 16-22
94. IBID
98. Transvaal Post, Thursday, July 6, 1978
99. RP. 27/1977, p 75
100. RP. 27/1977, p 77
101. Mr W.A. Crywagen, Minister of the Department of Education and Training Inaugural Speech at HSRC conference "Literacy '78" held at the Rand Afrikaans University, 11-13 July 1978
102. Ibid.

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