THE AFRICAN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN THE WESTERN CAPE
FROM 1945 TO 1967
IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

A dissertation
presented in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

DAPHNE MAY WILSON

SEPTEMBER 1988
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ABSTRACT

At the end of World War II, volunteers from the University of Cape Town began literacy and post-literacy evening classes for African adults near the Blouville squatter settlement in Retreat. From this small beginning a significant voluntary adult education movement developed until, at the peak of its expansion, there were night schools located at fourteen different sites in the Cape Peninsula from Sea Point to Simonstown. The thesis studies the twenty-three year lifespan of this movement which provided tuition at both primary and secondary level and from 1950 called itself the "Cape Non-European Night Schools Association" (CNENSA). The history of the organisation deals chronologically with three distinct periods: (1) 1945-1948, the opening phase, when in the aftermath of a Commission of Enquiry into adult education, volunteer groups undertaking adult night classes were encouraged and were granted small subsidies; (2) 1949-1957, a period of continuing and rapid expansion; (3) 1958-1967, the years in which the government reduced, restricted and finally eliminated all the CNENSA's schools.

While the movement is studied with regard to its educational programme, choice of subjects, curricula, text-books and general organisation, much of the central interest derives from an examination of its origin and operation in relation to the political and socio-economic developments in the country. The study is thus concerned with the causes of African poverty and illiteracy and the continuous backdrop of major external events during the existence of the Association. In the inter-relatedness of the two historical themes thus pursued, the participants in the education movement, both teachers and pupils, are seen to reflect the wider society, and the study in its broad survey refers to many events of profound historical significance: these include the setting up of Bantu Education and the other pillars of apartheid, the development of major protest organisations and trade unions, the staging of the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the Congress of the People, the events at Sharpeville and in Langa in 1960 and the eventual emergence of underground movements and armed resistance.
There is a strong focus on the motives and attitudes of both the learners and teachers in the movement and on their perceptions of their times and of each other. In this respect an interesting liberal-radical continuum is seen running right through the history of the Association.

In the concluding chapters, to question the evidence from an alternative viewpoint before final evaluations are made, the work of the CNENSA is examined in the light of a Paulo Freirian perspective.
I wish to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Professor Clive Millar, Head of the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, firstly for launching me on a fascinating research project and secondly for providing unfailing patience, encouragement and advice in my execution of the task. I acknowledge with appreciation too, the support I received in the initial stages from his colleague, Mr Tony Morphet.

It is a pleasure to record the friendly and helpful co-operation I received from the staffs of libraries in the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, York, Sussex, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and particularly in the Department of African Studies and the Archives of the library of the University of Cape Town.

Finally I thank in particular my husband, Leslie, not only for his constant support and encouragement throughout the sustained research period, but particularly in the final stages for his assistance and advice in the production process.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For ease of reference the following abbreviations which occur in the text are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAC</td>
<td>All-African Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEM</td>
<td>African Education Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMWU</td>
<td>African Mine Workers Union</td>
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANC(WC)</td>
<td>African National Congress (Western Cape)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANCYL</td>
<td>African National Congress Youth League</td>
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<tr>
<td>APDUSA</td>
<td>African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>APO</td>
<td>African People's Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARM</td>
<td>African Resistance Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCP</td>
<td>Black Community Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>BED</td>
<td>Bantu Education Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPC</td>
<td>Black People's Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CADET</td>
<td>Committee for Adult Educational Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAFDA</td>
<td>Cape Flats Distress Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>CATA</td>
<td>Cape African Teachers Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>CATU</td>
<td>Cape African Teachers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Christian Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COD</td>
<td>Congress of Democrats</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNENSA</td>
<td>Cape Non-European Night Schools Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>CINETU</td>
<td>Council for Non-European Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPIA</td>
<td>Cape Provincial Indian Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPSA</td>
<td>Communist Party of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPSU</td>
<td>Cape Peninsula Students Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CYL</td>
<td>Congress Youth League</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNA</td>
<td>Department of Native Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOFATUSA</td>
<td>Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRAC</td>
<td>Franchise Action Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>FSAM</td>
<td>Federation of South African Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICFTU</td>
<td>International Confederation of Free Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDAMF</td>
<td>Inter-Denominational African Ministers Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISL</td>
<td>International Socialist League</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>IUS</td>
<td>International Union of Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>J4C's</td>
<td>Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCW</td>
<td>National Council of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEUM</td>
<td>Non-European Unity Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>National Liberation Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>Natives Representative Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUSAS</td>
<td>National Union of South African Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pan-Africanist Congress</td>
</tr>
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<td>SAAWU</td>
<td>South African Allied Workers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACC</td>
<td>South African Council of Churches</td>
</tr>
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<td>SACHED</td>
<td>South African Committee for Higher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACP</td>
<td>South African Communist Party</td>
</tr>
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<td>SACPO</td>
<td>South African Coloured People's Organisation</td>
</tr>
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<td>SACTU</td>
<td>South African Congress of Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAIC</td>
<td>South African Indian Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAIRR</td>
<td>South African Institute of Race Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAR</td>
<td>South African Railways</td>
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<tr>
<td>SASO</td>
<td>South African Students' Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAT&amp;LC</td>
<td>South African Trades and Labour Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHAWCO</td>
<td>Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHAWCO EMC</td>
<td>SHAWCO Education Management Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOYA</td>
<td>Society of Young Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spro-Cas</td>
<td>Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spro-Cas 2</td>
<td>Special Programme for Christian Action in Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLSA</td>
<td>Teachers' League of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUCSA</td>
<td>Trade Union Council of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCM</td>
<td>University Christian Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCT</td>
<td>University of Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDF</td>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMSA</td>
<td>Unity Movement of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNISA</td>
<td>University of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEA</td>
<td>Workers Educational Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEDICATION

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

1.1 The Origins and Aims of the Study

1.2 The Method of the Study

CHAPTER 2 A broad survey of the socio-economic, educational and political situation of Africans in the Western Cape as a background to the Adult Education movement started in this region in 1945

2.1 Introduction

2.2 African population and living conditions in the Western Cape

2.2.1 The emergence of a sizeable African population in Western Cape prior to 1945

2.2.2 A massive increase in the African population in the Western Cape during the Second World War

2.2.3 The African population in the vicinity of Retreat

2.2.4 Housing conditions in the nineteen-forties

2.2.5 Segregation, migratory labour and the pass laws

2.2.6 "Temporary sojourners" or permanent urban residents?

2.3 Occupations

2.3.1 Statistical data

2.3.2 Wages of unskilled workers

2.3.3 Certain legislative factors that had contributed to the socio-economic plight of Africans in the 1940's
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1</td>
<td>Broad outline of the provision of education for Africans</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>The financing of education for Africans</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3</td>
<td>The depression years. Coalition between Smuts and Hertzog. Education for subservience. Foretastes of Bantu Education</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4</td>
<td>The high rate of illiteracy among Africans</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>The political scene</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>Abrogation of African political rights</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2</td>
<td>An overview of Black political protest in the Western Cape over the three decades prior to 1950</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3</td>
<td>Growth of Africanism</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4</td>
<td>Disenchantment with the liberals</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.5</td>
<td>Other local instances of African political awareness in the 1940's in Cape Town</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 3**

The historical background to African adult education in South Africa and the development of the Cape night schools movement during 1945-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Formative influences in the background to the development of the African adult education movement in the Western Cape</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1</td>
<td>The Radical tradition</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2</td>
<td>The Liberal tradition</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Night Schools in Cape Town and environs prior to the Ruys project</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>The Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education, 1943-1945</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>The thrust and influence of the Majority Report on African Adult Education</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>Opposition to the Majority Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 The early years under Kuys and Brodie and the beginning of a Cape Town African adult education movement

3.4.1 Kuys's background and attitudes

3.4.2 The first school at Retreat

3.4.3 Subsidization of night schools for Africans

3.4.4 Expansion into an African Night Schools Association

3.4.5 The first Constitution of 1949

3.4.6 Student attitudes and the formalizing of instruction

3.4.7 The Memorandum of the Cape African Night Schools Association in 1950 to the 1949-1951 Commission on Native Education

3.5 The Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951

CHAPTER 4 The expansive years of the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association from 1950 to the end of 1957, its participants and its programme

4.1 Backdrop of UCT student politics in the beginning of the 1950's

4.2 The shift from UCT student control and an overview of the attitudes of white volunteer teachers in the Night Schools in the period 1950-1957

4.3 African teachers; paid and volunteer, 1950-1957

4.3.1 Emergence of African teachers in the running of the Association

4.4 Growth of the CNENSA during the period 1950-1957

4.4.1 Sub-primary, primary and secondary classes and the respective sizes of the fourteen night schools

4.5 Major characteristics of the pupil body

4.5.1 CNENSA's post-night school students

4.6 Internal organisation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7.1</td>
<td>Books for teaching English in the sub-standards and junior classes</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7.2</td>
<td>Text-books, syllabi, subjects and methods at secondary level</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Financing of the Association</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maintaining the volunteer teacher basis of the CNENSA</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 5**

Relationships with the government 1950-1957 and a broad outline of the political, socio-economic background to this period

5.1 An examination of gradual government impingement on the affairs of the Association 1950-1956

5.2 Government adult education legislation of 1957 - a turning point in the history of the Association

5.3 A brief overview of the political, socio-economic situation (with special reference to Cape Town) during 1950-1957 as a backdrop to the development of the Cape night schools

5.3.1 An appraisal of the CNENSA against the background of the 1952 Defiance Campaign and the 1955 Bantu Education Campaigns in the Western Cape

5.3.2 The Congress of the People 1955; the strengthening of new alignments and the deepening of old divisions in the protest movement

5.3.3 Increasing restrictions on African labour and the development of African trade unionism in the 1950's

5.4 Conclusion

**CHAPTER 6**

The Cape African night schools from mid 1958 to the end of 1967 and their collision course with government policy, with particular reference to the
impact of the major political socio-economic developments of these years on their existence, teachers and pupils

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Brief chronological outline of the steps taken in the elimination of the Association's schools after 1957

6.3 Pupil attendances 1958–1967 at the remaining CNENSA staffed and operated schools

6.3.1 Sea Point School
6.3.2 Green Street
6.3.3 The Docks Night School
6.3.4 Windermere
6.3.5 St Marks
6.3.6 Retreat Night School

6.4 Pupil Attendances 1958–1967 at the Langa and Nyanga Night Schools

6.5 Tuition offered

6.6 The school closures in the context of government policy and relevant events

6.6.1 The involvement of the Contact Liberals with the PAC and the Transkei
6.6.2 The involvement of NUSAS
6.6.3 Liberation Theology and Black Consciousness
6.6.4 Further developments in Trade Unionism
6.6.5 The radicalizing of liberals and the emergence of saboteurs

6.7 The last round in the struggle for survival—1966–1967

CHAPTER 7 The work of the CNENSA as might be seen from a Freirian perspective
7.1 A brief review of the literacy and adult education principles of Paulo Freire 283
7.2 Examining the CNENSA in the light of the Freirian perspective 285

**CHAPTER 6 Conclusions** 296

8.1 The liberal-radical continuum 296
8.2 An assessment of the achievements 300
8.3 A link to the present and the future 305

**REFERENCES** 310
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1
THE ORIGINS AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

In 1984 Professor Clive Millar discussed with me the gap in research material concerning what had taken place in African adult education in the Western Cape prior to more recent developments in this field in the 1970's. In particular there seemed to be very little on record concerning the sizeable volunteer adult education movement for Africans that had existed in this area from 1945 to 1967. Because I had been actively involved in this movement as a teacher and an organiser in the final eleven years of its existence and was currently engaged in a senior secondary enrichment programme at the St Francis Adult Education Centre in Langa, it was felt I might be able to formulate and carry out an appropriate programme of research in this field.

The factors that caused my immediate interest in the proposal were the strong influence that the night school experience had exerted on my life, the possibility for moving from educational activity into a period of meaningful reflection and research and the realization that I still had safely within my keeping most of the records of the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association (CNENSA) following upon its closure by the government in 1967.

The existing literature on the proposed subject was virtually non-existent. Adrienne Bird (1984) in a short study had outlined the history and structures of adult education for blacks on the Witwatersrand for the period 1920-1980 and in the process had referred briefly to the CNENSA. There were also occasional brief references to the latter in the "South African Outlook" and in various Surveys of the South African Institute of Race Relations at crucial stages in the history of the night schools, but apart from these records there appeared to be no other published material on these particular educational activities in the Cape Town region.
This thesis is intended to fill the gap. A basic feature therefore will be tracing the history of the movement, how it arose and developed, and the scope and nature of its programme. However, inextricably bound up with the theme will be an examination also of the interaction between the movement and its contextual history and a focus on the roles and attitudes of its main participants. With such wide parameters the cohesiveness of the study will depend very largely on its structural framework.

'The field of education, particularly as it affects the black communities in South Africa, has become the site of open youth rebellion in which educational injustice is seen as but one aspect of the total denial to blacks of democratic rights by a racially exclusive and economically privileged white minority. In the context of increasing polarisation and radicalism and the counter-hegemonic operations of new mass organisations, adult education, particularly for people living in conditions of exploitation, is an area of great significance. In undertaking a historical survey then of an African adult education movement and its contemporaneity over more than two decades with the societal circumstances that have led to today's violence and confrontations, how should I best proceed in order to seek insights from the past that could be relevant to the prevailing discourse? The first assumption is that in approaching the past it is essential to bear in mind the burden of the present. As Carr (1964: 55) put it in defining history:

"The past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past. To enable man to understand the society of the past, and to increase his mastery over the society of the present, is the dual function of history."

I believe all the above considerations must be taken into account in framing the central aims and questions and in choosing appropriate methods.

The thesis will be based on the following three aims:

(1) to trace the development of the CNENSA in terms of its
educational agenda and the participation of its teachers and learners.

(2) to examine the movement in its relationship to its socio-economic and political background.

(3) after confronting the thesis from an antithetical perspective to synthesize the findings in evaluative judgements and conclusions.

AIM ONE

Central in the thesis will be an examination of the nature, the scope and the value of the educational transaction that engaged learners and teachers so extensively for twenty-three years. What was the modus operandi of the Association? What was its programme? How deep was the commitment of the volunteer teachers and what lay behind this commitment? From what backgrounds did both teachers and learners come? What induced pupil participation? What influences did both categories of participants have on each other? The underlying questions generated under this heading are indeed numerous and will give the study a considerable sociological cast.

AIM TWO

Research into formative influences and origins and into the relationship between the movement and its socio-economic and political background will require a study of historical events prior to, as well as during the life-span of the Night Schools Association. These aspects of the research will query the Association's relationship to the dominant ideology, its role, if any, in shaping political and social awareness, its conduct in times of tension, protest and oppression and in general, the extent to which it mirrored and reacted to the complex society in which it operated.

AIM THREE

Coincidentally soon after the closure of the night schools, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) introduced revolutionary new concepts in adult education before these too were suppressed. Before drawing final conclusions the CNENSA will be viewed from this very
different perspective. To what extent did these new ideas contrast with and refute the work and values of the CNENSA and signal the beginning of a new epoch in adult education in black communities? Was the modus operandi of the CNENSA in the context of its times justifiable or not? Could it be viewed as having been in any way detrimental to the learners? After thus confronting the hypothesis with an antithesis all the evidence will finally be examined particularly in trying to discern what the movement could be seen to have achieved. In thus making final evaluations and judgements the aim will be to reach a final synthesis.

1.2 THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

Because up till now no research has been undertaken on the African adult education movement in the Western Cape, one of the prior tasks in embarking on this study, will be to place its history on record. Therefore the sheer handling of extensive research material for a lengthy period both concerning the movement’s existence and its contextual background, will necessarily impose its own constraints on the style and the manner in which the thesis is written. Whichever way the material is examined, selected and organised there will clearly be a constant need for compression and pace in the use of narrative techniques.

What have been the salient ideas directing my search for appropriate methods in writing history? It is clear that I shall be dealing with an extensive range of human actions and views in/policies, events and practices and will come up against issues deeply contested in contemporary ideological discourse. It is also clear that I come to the task not only from a liberal background but also as one who for part of the movement’s history was involved in it. And yet notwithstanding these many subjective factors my whole inclination is to approach the research heuristically with an open mind knowing that the truth one sets out to discover may well surprise and topple preconceived assumptions.

Before I sum up the method I shall use, I will refer to some of the thinking in the literature on historiography and to a certain extent
on philosophy, that influenced me in structuring the thesis. In so doing I shall follow a route by selecting certain key concepts.

First, in the rejection of the subject-object dichotomy, there is the central belief in the mutuality between human beings and the world, the inseparable relationship between thought and action and the prime importance of human consciousness. Carr and Elphick, both in general support of these ideas, comment on the contribution to the philosophy of history in this regard by Collingwood. Elphick (1983: 4) refers to the latter's belief in the need to re-enact thought which is knowable only through action and Carr (1964: 24) speaks of his call for imaginative understanding of the minds of the people with whom the historian is dealing. Elphick (1983: 5) describes the Collingwoodian Doctrine of Re-enactment as "methodological idealism", a method that he whole-heartedly supports.

This subjective humanist approach is central in the philosophy of the phenomenologists and enters controversially into much of the thinking of certain Marxists such as Gramsci and the historian, E.P. Thompson. A corollary of this approach is that in the social sciences such as history, where the researcher is concerned with man in his relationships to his world, a scientific analytical method is not suitable.

Femia (1987) in his research on the political thought of Gramsci and on the latter's significant and innovative theoretical contribution to the Marxist discourse, substantiates his claim concerning Gramsci's rejection of the positivist dogma, his stress on the "active voluntarist side of Marxist theory", and his desire to restore to it the subjective dimension with its recognition of the central role played by human actors (ibid: 76-77). Femia reveals Gramsci as ridicule all attempts to conceive the superstructure in Marxist theory as a mere reflection of the means of production and exchange (ibid: 74) and maintains that in considering the suitability of methods in research he "posits a cleavage between the domain of natural science and the world of human activity" (ibid: 75). Developing this line of thought in Gramsci's writings on the role of consciousness and the need to understand the greater part of our common experience "in terms of purposes, motives, acts of will,
thoughts, hopes, fears" etc., Femia wrote:

"problems of meaning and purpose are central to human relations, and cannot be dealt with using the same procedures by which natural science explains the movement of a piece of matter. Thus... to try to explain human behaviour in mechanistic terms is to misconstrue the distinctive characteristics of the human condition. As Gramsci declares roundly, (and here Femia quotes from the Italian's work on Machiavelli), 'if one excludes all voluntarist elements... one mutilates reality itself.' If man can be clearly distinguished from the physical world by his possession of independent powers of reason, subjective elements must always be central rather than peripheral to social science inquiry. Social life must be understood, in large part, through the various concepts and categories, the modes of feeling and expression, embodied in concrete institutional behaviour. Social analysis involves not simply - not even mainly - the methodical application of technical rules and procedures but also the inner perception of understanding, the recovery of subjective meanings and conscious intentions."

(ibid: 75-76)

In a further exposure of Gramsci's thought on social change and historical development Femia refers to the latter's respect for the "sui generis" of every historical epoch and shows that in the philosophy of praxis experience cannot be schematized and that "cut and dried formulae and scientific techniques must, by definition, fail to embrace complex, contradictory and changing situations" (ibid: 77).

I found too, much analogous thinking in the historian Thompson. The latter, in opposing both "Althusser's idealist structuralism" and "Popper's weak empiricism", saw both of these philosophers on their separate paths, theoretical practice on the one hand and "vigilant logic" on the other, ending up "not at the fountain of thought" but in "the same bondage of things" (Thompson, 1978: 227). In stressing the need to delve beneath external appearances, he stated: "We have to fracture old categories and to make new ones before we can
'explain' the evidence that has always been there" (ibid: 228). And "this is not a matter of theoretical invention"; it is a matter of "the arduous nature of the engagement between thought and its objective materials: the dialogue (whether as praxis or in more self-conscious intellectual disciplines) out of which all knowledge is won" (ibid: 228 & 229). In what appears to me even greater affinity to some of the central tenets of phenomenology, he advocates, in the interrogation of primary historical evidence, that minds should be "trained in a discipline of attentive disbelief" and that the primary sources be interrogated "at the level of their own appearance or apparent self-disclosure, but within terms of a disciplined historical enquiry" (ibid: 220).

In the assumption that man unconsciously or consciously reflects the society into which he was born and to which he belongs, philosophers such as Collingwood show that the facts of history will inevitably be "refracted through the mind of the recorder" (Carr, 1964: 22). This accentuates of course the vulnerable view of history as interpretation and queries its ability to be in any way objective.

Thompson provides answers to these problems through his methodological theory on the discipline of what he calls "historical logic". This allows for necessary subjective judgements based on a choice of values "not just in history but in ourselves as simultaneously valuing and rational beings" but in doing so he points to the fact that the finished processes of historical change are "not an aggregation of discrete histories but a unitary sum of human behaviour" (defined as "historical process") which, however intricately caused, "actually occurred"; therefore no matter what new questions are put to the evidence, however causal relationships are interpreted or what differing evaluative judgements are formed in the effort to determine that history's truth, these differing perspectives cannot "in the least degree modify the past's ontological status" (Thompson, 1978: 232).

In a brief reference to Thompson's historical logic I cannot here attempt to do justice to the full implications of his method but I will touch on a few other significant aspects which find acceptance from a wide range of modern historiographers. He stresses the need
for a logic "appropriate to phenomena which are always in movement", that "evince contradictory manifestations" and that in their flux and contrariness would disrupt "any procedure of analytic logic". The inevitable disagreements that will arise in the search for meaning "could remain as mere exchanges of attitude, or exercises of ideology, unless it is agreed that they are conducted within a common discipline whose pursuit is objective knowledge". This discipline involves a "dialogue between concept and evidence, a dialogue conducted by successive hypotheses, on the one hand, and empirical research on the other", a holding of one's own values in abeyance until the history has been recovered (whereupon one is free to offer judgement upon it) and respect for the "determinate properties of the object". In terms of these procedural safeguards he stresses the importance of subjective attributions of "meaning" because "the historian is examining individual lives and choices, and not only historical eventuation" (i.e. "historical process") (ibid: 230-234).

"Our vote will change nothing. And yet in another sense, it may change everything. For we are saying that these values, and not those other values, are the ones which make this history meaningful to us, and that these are the values which we intend to enlarge and sustain in our own present."

( Ibid: 234)

Carr, basing his belief on the absolute in history being "something in the future ... which begins to take shape only as we move towards it" (Carr, 1964: 121), goes beyond past and present relationships, necessary as they are, to the importance of a vision of the future.

"When we call a historian objective, we mean I think two things. First of all, we mean that he has a capacity to rise above the limited vision of his own situation in society and in history - a capacity which ... is partly dependent on his capacity to recognize the extent of his involvement in that situation, to recognize, that is to say, the impossibility of total objectivity. Secondly, we mean that he has the capacity to project his vision into the future in such a way as to give him a more profound and more lasting insight into the past than
can be attained by those historians whose outlook is entirely bounded by their own immediate situation... these are the historians who have what I may call a long-term vision over the past and over the future. The historian of the past can make an approach towards objectivity only as he approaches towards the understanding of the future."

(ibid: 123)

These ideas bear comparison with the picture that the existential phenomenologist, Heidegger, presents of man as an "authentic" human arriving from a past, moving into a future and deciding in the present what he is to become.

"The authentic time of human existence is a unique, qualitative time in which past and future are always co-present... The resolute Dasein (human being) thus achieves or wins his authenticity when he takes over his unique past, anticipates his unique future, and chooses in such a manner that his past and future are integrated. The past is held in memory, the future is courageously faced, and the moment is creatively affirmed as the 'opportune time' for decisive action."

(Magill, 1968: 894-895)

Intrinsic in the broad phenomenological movement are many of the features incorporated in the methods for historical research as have been already mentioned such as interrogating primary evidence at the level of its own self-evidence, temporarily suspending judgement until the evidence has been uncovered, embarking on careful empirical research and testing the evidence dialectically (through what Thompson calls vigilant exchanges "with other knowledges and theories" [Thompson, 1978: 239]). In my reading of relevant literature on phenomenology, Natanson (1969), Sukale (1976), Gurwitsch (1969), Chapman (1969) and Magill (1968), I was attracted to "the spirit if not the letter" of much of this philosophical approach to the study of human consciousness and its strong emphasis on getting back to the data of immediate experience.

I must add to this theoretical framework, the use of participant observation in the latter part of the study when I shall be dealing
with matters with which I was personally involved. This method will call for wariness in exploiting its advantages while at the same time controlling its weaknesses. The major problem to face in this method is possible interpretative bias. Quoting from a work on adult education by Ruddock, Morphet (1984: 22) wrote:

"participant observation is heavily dependent on the skills and personality of the researcher. Its findings cannot claim to be valid in the same sense as can those of some surveys, or as reliable as experimental methods because a different participant observer might come back with a quite different account of events. Nevertheless, it is generally claimed to be truer to the social realities under investigation than other methods. Its immediacy, flexibility and comprehensiveness far outreach the possibilities open to measurement and experiment".

Faced with the problems of using this method himself, Morphet (ibid: 22-23) refers to the safeguard in contextualizing both the data and the researcher within an historical dimension and justifies the use of its advantages in a study which aims "to be explanatory and illuminative first and only secondarily to be evaluative". Both of these aspects apply to this thesis. The educational movement, its participants and in due course the researcher, will be seen in the context of the times; moreover as mentioned in the beginning, the prime need of putting on record what actually happened, (Thompson's "eventuation" or "historical process") will constitute this thesis in the first place as an historical narrative; an evaluation will eventually be made but only at the end of the narrative process. I also trust that use of the checks and balances in the theoretical framework I have outlined, will offer further safeguards against possible distortion through the participatory observer method.

CONCLUSION

In outlining some of the concepts held by a number of historians and philosophers I have indicated guide-lines and challenges in what I consider to be a cohesive historical method. These concepts constitute the gist of what has largely influenced me in my approach to the study of the African adult education movement in the Western
Cape in its broad social context. There will be arduous work and many pitfalls along the way in trying to uncover the truth; the night school minutes, correspondence and other records are extensive; there will be a need to look into government legislation and in general to consult much primary as well as secondary material. As an essential adjunct to the narration I shall be much concerned with understanding the principal actors and to this end, wherever feasible, I shall make use of personal interviews. The study will be based on subjective, qualitative and empirical research and hopefully, by employing the framework of ideas as outlined above in guiding it, the past will be fairly revealed and, in the final analysis, valid assessments made.
CHAPTER TWO

A BROAD SURVEY OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION OF AFRICANS IN THE WESTERN CAPE AS A BACKGROUND TO THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT STARTED IN THIS REGION IN 1945.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The first newsletter concerning the beginning of the Retreat Night School in the Cape Peninsula in June 1945, was issued in April 1946. It was written by its founder, Oliver A. Kuys, the honorary "secretary" of the Retreat Adult African Night School and commences as follows:

"Ten months ago the school started with thirty African pupils and a handful of University students as teachers. There were four classes, held on two evenings every week.

"To-day we have over eighty pupils on our register, the school is open on four evenings a week, and there are eight classes, going as far as J.C.

"This advance has not been easy. Money was needed to obtain books and stationery, supplementary books had to be written to meet the particular needs of adults, and the staff had to be considerably increased.

"Apart from a Government Night School at Langa location which only teaches as far as Std 4, this is the only institution of its kind in the Peninsula. It is estimated that there are about sixty thousand Africans in the Peninsula, most of them illiterate, and having but a scant knowledge of English or Afrikaans. It is not surprising that the school draws its pupils from as far as Sea Point and Simonstown. Many of them pay as much as ten or fifteen shillings a month for their train fares, this out of an average wage of seven pounds a month."
"Attendance at the school is free, books and stationery included. Classes are held in two halls off Fifth Ave., Retreat, loaned by the Presbyterian Church. Six classes are held in the large hall, and two in the small one. Desks and blackboards installed in the day school are used by permission of the Education Department."

(Kuys, 1946)

Harry Brodie, a law student at the University of Cape Town in 1945 and likewise a founder member of the Retreat Night School, succeeded Oliver Kuys as honorary secretary in 1947 when the latter moved to Bloemfontein. Concerning the early beginnings of the Cape Night Schools association in Retreat in 1945 he wrote of the adults cramming themselves into tiny desks used by the kindergarten pupils in the daytime, and stated:

"In the beginning finance presented our most serious problem as we were determined to give our pupils an entirely free education, including text-books, pencils, exercise books, etc., but at the beginning of 1946 this problem was temporarily solved by a grant of £75 per annum from the Union Education Department, and a promise of a regular donation of £5 per month from an anonymous well-wisher..."

(Brodie, 1950b: 1)

The above extracts serve to provide the basic facts about the emergence of a voluntary undertaking in African Adult Education in 1945 in the Western Cape that later evidence will show, expanded and influenced many thousands of lives. They also evoke a wide range of questions about the society which gave rise to this development and which need to be addressed before the movement itself can be considered.

In this chapter, to pave the way for a clearer understanding of the growth of the night schools, the following more fundamental questions arising from the above-quoted extracts will be attended to. How big was the African population in the Western Cape? How and where were Africans housed? What were their occupations and why were they so poor? What were their prospects in life? Why were so many illiterate?
What political rights for redress of their grievances did they have? How did African leaders react to the situation? In a modern, industrial country what sort of circumstances could keep such numbers of people in a state of such backwardness? These questions will be related to the Western Cape only (particularly the Cape Peninsula) except where local situations must be viewed in the context of national policies and dictates.

2.2
AFRICAN POPULATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

2.2.1

The Emergence of a sizeable African population in the Western Cape prior to 1945.

Africans who began to settle in the Western Cape from the middle of the nineteenth century, did not stem from the original indigenous people of this particular area: they were largely Xhosa-speaking people of the major Nguni ethnic group inhabiting the Eastern Cape south of the Zulu-speaking territories. In the nineteenth century they were still largely peasants farming communal lands under Chiefs in the tribal system; however increasingly, as wars were waged on the Eastern Cape frontier, as their lands became reduced in size and overgrazed, and as cheap labour became more in demand on the farms of whites, in the towns and later in the fast developing mines of the Witwatersrand, so their independence as farmers became steadily eroded. Increasingly too large tracts of land were given to white colonists after frontier conflicts and as Chiefs and Headmen with their people came under colonial rule.

Measures were taken to recruit labour for the fast developing urban areas and although the majority of African males seeking cash to pay taxes and support families, went as migrant workers to the Transvaal, an increasing number began to enter the Western Cape. Many gained employment on roads in this area from the 1840's onwards (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963: 1) and by 1879 it was estimated there were as many as 3 778 Xhosas (including 1 164 women and 1 472 children) living in the Western Cape (ibid., 1)
The arrival of single African men in the Cape Town area as migrant workers became a practice soon after this, particularly for specific occupations or industries. In 1890 for instance, a private "Docks Contractor", McKenzie, brought in African migrant labourers to replace convict labour in the Docks and by 1902 when the Table Bay Harbour Board had assumed responsibility for the employment of Dock labourers, the Superintendent, Mr. Neason Lowe, spoke of there being an average of 1,800 Africans in the Docks location per year (Lagden, 1905: 105).

There were 1,100 labourers employed in the Somerset West De Beers' Explosive Works of whom it was reported in 1903, "nine-tenths are pure natives" (Lagden, 1905: 269) whilst an overall figure that same year was given by John X Merriman when he stated that there were some 12,000 Africans in Cape Town (ibid: 396). However the official figure in greater Cape Town in 1904 was given as 7,492 (Batson, 1941: 18).

It is true that following in the wake of twentieth century industrialisation there was a general population exodus from country to town all over the world but the percentage increase of Africans in Cape Town during the period 1921-1926 was 36.51% whereas for whites it was only 9.66% (Holloway, 1932: 61). The 1913 Land Act which ear-marked for Africans limited "reserves" and literally deprived African pastoralists of farming occupations (on leased or owned land) everywhere else except as servants to whites, undoubtedly contributed to this situation but there were a number of other factors, to some of which reference has already been made.

Thus it was that African people not only came into the Western Cape as migrants before and during the turn of the century but many began to settle permanently in the vicinity of Cape Town; and in the process, from the early nineteen hundreds, a clear pattern of segregation developed. In 1901 with the outbreak of the Plague, Africans who had been collectively renting houses in scattered areas in Cape Town, were for the most part obliged to move to a special segregated location in Njabeni, on the outskirts of the town, and in 1923 a new African township, Langa, was begun and this was officially opened in 1927.
A massive increase in the African population in the Western Cape during the Second World War.

However, it was during the early nineteen forties that a major increase in the African population in the Western Cape took place. During these years extreme poverty in the African reserves (Lodge, 1983: 3) combined with the growth of war-time industries, the development of military installations and the maintenance of the busy strategic ports of Cape Town and Simonstown (Britten, 1943: 22) had caused a major influx of Africans into this area. In addition, Africans found that on a par with coloured labourers in the Cape Peninsula, they could obtain better wages than elsewhere in the country, and there was a marked tendency for many employers to show preference for their labour in many occupations, particularly where these were of a heavier nature (Smit, 1944: 23).

By 1943 the population of Langa had virtually doubled, thousands of illegal squatters had established shacks at Windermere and others had spread into Blaauwvlei, Hardevlei, Vrygrond, Grassy Park and Philippi. The African population of the Cape Division was then estimated to be 30 000 of whom approximately one-third were living on the Cape Flats outside the Municipality of Cape Town (Britten, 1943: 6).

Before any official census figures were available, the overall estimate of the total number of Africans living in the Cape Peninsula by 1945 was set at 60 000 (Mears W.J.G. 194: 85). The population in Windermere alone (which was included in the Cape Town Municipality as from 1st May 1943) had risen from 2 156 in 1941 to 19 000 in 1943 (Slarke, 1943: 61).

2.2.3

The African population in the vicinity of Retreat.

Retreat, the Cape Flats suburb where Oliver Kuys decided to open up his experimental night school for adults in 1945, although not densely populated as was Windermere, had nevertheless become a growing centre for African settlement. It was an area where Africans,
employed by the Admiralty in Simonstown during the war, could find
ground for dwellings and it provided accessible suburban railway
transport for commuters (and for the first night school teachers)
from the southern half of the Cape Peninsula. About 450 to 500
Africans, residing for the most part in shacks at Blaauwvlei in
Retreat, were working in the Dockyard or on contractor works in
Simonstown in 1943 (Slarke, 1943: 46). As a result of this situation,
the Committee of Enquiry in its report in January 1943 on conditions
on the Cape Flats, recommended the building of a new location for
Africans in Retreat, as well as extending the existing location in
Langa, but the City Council suspended such plans for the duration of
the war (Britten, 1943: 22).

In 1945, at the end of the war, there were only two existing African
"locations", one in Langa, controlled by the Cape Town Municipality,
and the other in Simonstown, controlled by the Simonstown
Municipality. However plans were afoot, in continuation of the
segregationist policy, to establish four new locations. Three of
these were to be erected and maintained by the Divisional Council, in
an area near Bellville South, in Philippi (the Nyanga Village) and
near Fish Hoek. The fourth, as already planned by the Cape Town City
Council in 1942, was to be set up in Retreat. Here the land had been
acquired but it was reported that "the negotiations have been
protracted and the position is complicated by considerations of
drainage which have delayed the scheme" (Mears, W.J.G. 1946: 86).
(Flooding in the area was so bad in the winter that Kuys (1946)
reported that students were given hot cocoa on arrival at the night
school). However whatever the reasons may have been, the Retreat
location designed to accommodate 1,000 males in hostels and 500
families (Mears, W.J.G. 1946: 86) did not materialize but for the
next fifteen years this area had a significant African settlement.

The above gives a general picture of the size and spread of the
African population in the Cape Peninsula by 1945; from this scattered
population men and women were to flock in large numbers to literacy
and other night classes, first in Retreat then also, over the years
to come, in many other appropriate centres such as the Cape Town
Docks, Simonstown, Windermere, Langa, Nyanga, District Six, Sea Point
and in Green Street in the city of Cape Town itself.
2.2.4

Housing Conditions in the nineteen-forties.

Contemporary records testify to appalling conditions. Even prior to the industrial expansion in the Western Cape during the war years, the backlog in housing had been great. In the 1940's it was so totally inadequate that gross overcrowding and squatter developments proliferated. The situation was aggravated by curbs of various kinds, particularly those of the Urban Areas Act of 1923 which laid down that accommodation must be provided for Africans solely by the Municipality in a location or a Native Village. Inevitably under such a restrictive, segregationist system the development of municipal housing did not keep pace with the population. Despite warnings (Smit, 1942: 8, 13) the housing situation continually deteriorated.

In April 1943 the Chief Inspector of Native Urban Area locations stated in an official report that approved accommodation existed for only 8,738 out of an estimated male labour force of 23,000 in the Peninsula (Slarke, 1943: 6). This report also stated that all other authorised non-municipal accommodation for Africans was fully occupied, namely in the Docks Compound for Railway employees (900 males), in St. Columbus Home, Cape Town, in the Cape Marine Suburbs Compound in Camps Bay and in an assortment of other smaller forms of accommodation under 22 special licences. The total thus housed legally in "non-municipal" accommodation was 1,204 (ibid: 6).

A far more alarming assessment of the housing shortages and general situation was given in October 1943 by local African leaders in a Memorandum. They had this to say about housing for an estimated population of 60,000 in the Cape Peninsula:

"Legal housing exists for about 13,000 Africans, including the Municipal areas of both Cape Town and Simonstown. The balance of the population resides under technically illegal conditions in the urban and peri-urban areas and are the subject of rack-renting, filthy slum conditions, absence (in many cases) of ordinary civic amenities and spasmodic prosecutions and persecution."

(Ndunyaya et al., 1943: 4-5)
Municipal housing provided a considerable proportion of its accommodation in the form of single quarters. The oldest of the latter (and the worst) were the Main Barracks and the North Barracks built in Langa in 1927 and only replaced in the eighties.

True to their name these large impersonal blocks consisted of large identical rooms each to provide for the entire day and night living needs of 24 to 26 men. The following graphic description of 1977 makes quite clear the kind of "home" life the unfortunate inhabitants of these barracks endured:

"A coal stove, encased in concrete, stands in the centre of each room and, when working, provides heat and is also used for cooking. What heat there is rapidly dissipates through the bare brick floor and the corrugated iron roof which lacks a ceiling. Even during the day the light from the high windows is dim, while at night a single, bare bulb is the only source of illumination.

"The bunks are made of solid boards fixed to brick supporting walls. No mattresses are included, nor are there any lockers for clothes or personal belongings. All the men's possessions are therefore kept under or on the bunks, or hanging from lines across the room.

"In the quadrangle, separate ablution blocks house the washing facilities, each block serving over 500 men. These consist solely of eight cold water showers in a general shower area, and a communal toilet area. There are no separate, individual toilets, only a few timber rails for personal support with water running continuously in open channels beneath them. Despite being hosed down regularly, conditions in these "toilets" are most unsanitary."

(Granelli & Levitan, 1977: 64)

Most of the family houses that were built in Langa at this time were the one or two-roomed matchbox style of houses that even in the 1980's continue to characterize African urban township housing all over South Africa. The small size greatly exacerbated the acute
overcrowded situation and had it not been for the specific withdrawal of Native locations from the purview of the Slums Act, would have been defined as slums from the very first day of occupation. (Smit, 1942: 8). Commenting on the limited space in 1946, A.W.G. Champion, (who had become Natal President of the African National Congress in 1945 and was a member of the Natives Representative Council) reported:

"Last night I was in Langa in a place where you could not even welcome your guests. There was one room, a sort of sitting-room, and one room, a sort of bedroom, where you had to squeeze yourself into a sort of watertight compartment. That is the way our people have to live..."

(NRC, April 1946: 35-36)

There was no provision for ownership of land although in 1943 the Committee of Enquiry into conditions on the Cape Flats had recommended a site being made available for Africans to own property in this peri-urban area (Britten, 1943: 22).

Inevitably, as a result of the appalling housing situation, the "pondokkie" on the Cape Flats became the typical dwelling of thousands of Coloured people as well as of Africans.

"Its conception is determined entirely by the scraps of material which go into its structures, pieces of corrugated iron, old tins, and drums, rough boughs, sacking, anything which can possibly offer protection against the weather... There are no windows, ceilings and very often no door. Sanitation is non-existent. Many of these hovels would do a disservice to animals."

(Britten, 1943: 14)

A factor which greatly aggravated the housing shortage was the industrial/colour bar which prevented Africans from becoming masons, bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters or plumbers. In September 1945, the Minister of Native Affairs, P.V.G. Van der Byl, speaking in Germiston, went so far as to say:
"If Native houses in Native locations are to be built by European labour, and only the completely unskilled work done by the Native, then I think we should frankly admit to the world and to the Native that never in our lifetime can more than a token percentage of Natives ever hope to be housed." (Van der Byl, 1945)

Among the problems caused by these shocking housing conditions was an alarming increase of tuberculosis among urban Africans. The Director of the newly formed National War Memorial Health Foundation, Dr F.A. Donnelly, speaking in Johannesburg in 1947 stated that no amount of extra hospitals would solve the tuberculosis problem "because tuberculosis comes out of poverty and unhappiness, lack of laughter and lack of food." He verbally castigated the privileged minority in South Africa who allowed such abject conditions of poverty to exist and prophesied that if the upper 600,000 did not give the ten million other people "a fair break with regard to the ordinary amenities of life, the country will commit national suicide." (Donnelly, 1947)

These then were the "home" conditions of most of the adult African students who began to attend the Retreat Night Classes three or four nights a week in 1945.

2.2.5 Segregation, Migratory Labour and the Pass Laws.

Just before Oliver Kuys opened his classes for African adults in Retreat in the winter of 1945, the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act was assented to in Parliament on 30 May 1945. This Act replaced with even more stringent restrictions, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1923 and also various sections of subsequent similar legislation in 1930, 1937 and 1944. Although many times amended since then, it remained for many years the cornerstone in administrative policies regarding Africans, being deeply rooted in segregationist ideology. In effect, while purporting to provide for improved conditions of residence, its dominant purpose was to check the influx of Africans into urban areas and to extend the hated Pass Laws.
The official year book of 1946, referring to this Act of 1945, stated:

"Subject to certain exemptions the Act contains provisions for the compulsory residence in native locations, villages, or hostels, of all natives residing within an urban area. This is in accordance with the policy of segregation of natives adopted by the Government...

"The Act makes further provision for the prohibition of entry into an urban area of natives not employed therein, and for the removal therefrom, at the cost of the Government, and for settlement in areas acquired by the South African Native Trust, of natives who are surplus to the labour requirements of such an area as ascertained by means of a biennial census, and also of natives unlawfully within any such area, as well as idle and dissolute natives."

(South Africa, 1947: 35)

The government seemingly congratulated itself on the steps taken and the Secretary for Native Affairs, W.J.G. (Gordon) Mears, found it to be "proving a great boon to all those concerned with Urban Native Administration." (Mears W.J.G. 1946: 86)

For Africans the Act was anathema. It fuelled the spirit of rebellion and protest against the pass laws. It had been preceded in 1944 by the Natives Laws Amendment Act No 36. The latter, as a proposed Bill had been considered in detail by a Select Committee of the Natives Representative Council (NRC), consisting of such prominent leaders as Z.K. Matthews, L.P. Msomi, R.V. Selope Thema, R.H. Godlo, P.R. Mosaka and G. Sakwe. They published their conclusions in a special Report in December 1943 and in the Preamble to this Report, in well-reasoned, carefully considered statements, expressed on behalf of their African constituencies, an unequivocal rejection of the Bill (NRC, Dec. 1943: Annexure C).

In 1945 when the Consolidated Urban Areas Act became law without the NRC having been consulted, the Council expressed its shock and indignation at being thus bypassed (NRC, Aug. 1945: 5) and referred
again to its report as a "lucid and unequivocal statement", strongly criticising "the basic principle underlying the present trend of urban native legislation": it called for the repeal of the new Act which was seen as a means not only for enforcing the pass laws but of now extending them into the Cape Town area (ibid: 5).

Champion speaking in the Natives Representative Council convened in Cape Town in April 1946, expressed the African viewpoint in the following words:

"We feel that this Act, with all its amendments (two in 1945) constitutes a blot on the Native Administration of this land. The pass system is a blot, and the effect of the whole system is to stir the employee up against the employer. It is a blot which has caused more bloodshed in this country than any other Acts placed on the Statute Book to control the natives."

(NRC, April 1946: 37)

Africans who had hoped for a new deal after the war, in line with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, found in this legislation against freedom of movement, against the right to sell one's labour to the highest bidder, and in its denial of the right to own urban property, "the negation of these elementary rights" (ibid: 37).

Among the many angry and eloquent speeches on these issues, but that continued to be ignored by the authorities, the following extract from a speech by Godlo will serve as another example to indicate the depth of resentment at the treatment that was being meted out to Africans:

"He (the African) must always be regarded as a temporary dweller in the locations, as a person who has no right there and can only be there on sufferance although there to minister to the needs of the European or the Town, and we roundly condemn any legislat designed to keep a race in perpetual servitude, a race of people who cannot rise"
2.3

OCCUPATIONS.

From the foregoing it could be presumed that the students who started to attend night classes in the Cape Peninsula after the second World War would have been largely male migrants from lower paid labouring occupations. Evidence will be brought forward presently to substantiate this. But first one must ask, what indeed was the range of occupations for Africans in the Western Cape during the middle 1940's? Fortunately a census taken in 1946 provides the answer.

2.3.1

Statistical data

The 1946 Census records the total African population in the Cape Province as being 2,327,099. Of this figure 67% were officially domiciled in the Transkei and the Ciskei (South Africa, 1947: 1).

Tables 13 & 14 of Volume 5 of the Census Report (South Africa, 1955: 194-218) include a detailed record of the occupations of Africans over the age of 10 years in "Cape Town and suburbs" and show in this category an "official" local population of 22,172 African males and 8,694 females. How these totals are spread among various occupations is shown in Tables 1 and 2 for males and females respectively.

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<td>Domestic servants 3 705</td>
<td>4 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>Railway labourers, Messengers, delivery men, newspaper 'boys' 950</td>
<td>3 089</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dock labourers 913</td>
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<td></td>
<td>620</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 483</td>
<td>3 089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Other &amp; undefined workers</td>
<td>Students 874</td>
<td>2 643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disabled 81</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>955</td>
<td>999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dependents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agricultural Occupations</td>
<td>Labourers on farms 600</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labourers in forests 104</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dairy assistants 112</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'Peasants' 43</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>859</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Professional</td>
<td>Policemen 116</td>
<td>337</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hospital orderlies 53</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Native doctors, herbalist 31</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>314</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Commercial &amp; Financial</td>
<td>Hawkers 58</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shop assistants 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merchants 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clerks 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Independents</td>
<td>Old age pensioners 27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Mining Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL MALES (over 10 years)** 22 172
again to its report as a "lucid and unequivocal statement", strongly criticising "the basic principle underlying the present trend of urban native legislation"; it called for the repeal of the new Act which was seen as a means not only for enforcing the pass laws but of now extending them into the Cape Town area (ibid: 5).

Champion, speaking in the Natives Representative Council convened in Cape Town in April 1946, expressed the African viewpoint in the following words:

"We feel that this Act, with all its amendments (two in 1945) constitutes a blot on the Native Administration of this land. The pass system is a blot, and the effect of the whole system is to stir the employee up against the employer. It is a blot which has caused more bloodshed in this country than any other Acts placed on the Statute Book to control the natives."

(NRC, April 1946: 37)

Africans who had hoped for a new deal after the war, in line with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, found in this legislation against freedom of movement, against the right to sell one's labour to the highest bidder, and in its denial of the right to own urban property, "the negation of these elementary rights"(ibid: 37).

Among the many angry and eloquent speeches on these issues, but that continued to be ignored by the authorities, the following extract from a speech by Godlo will serve as another example to indicate the depth of resentment at the treatment that was being meted out to Africans:

"He (the African) must always be regarded as a temporary dweller in the locations, as a person who has no right to be there and can only be there on sufferance although he is there to minister to the needs of the European community of the Town, and we roundly condemn any legislation which is designed to keep a race in perpetual servitude, a race of servants, a race of people who cannot rise to any level of
Opposition also came from white liberals. As part of the protest against the draft regulations to force the Cape Town City Council to introduce the Pass Law system into Cape Town, a deputation representing 23 organisations and local authorities by such men as Dr J. Simons and Bishop Lavis, obtained an interview with the Minister of Native Affairs, Major P.V.G. van der Byl, on 23 October 1945. Among the outspoken delegates was the Chairman of the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu, W.G.A. (Walter) Mears, a prominent educationalist in Cape Town. (W.J.G. [Gordon] Mears, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was his brother.) Walter Mears described the proposals as "incomprehensible", "vicious" and "restrictive" and said their enforcement would require more than double the present number of police and double the size of prisons. "This is a matter which the Native Affairs Department is thrusting upon us", he said: "how can we be asked to back regulations so damaging to individual liberty?" (Mears W.G.A. 1945: 183)

It is of particular relevance to note this expression of the point of view of a white liberal of that period such as Walter Mears; as Principal of the Rondebosch Boys High School and the son of an Eastern Cape missionary, Mears inculcated in many of his pupils a broad all-encompassing social awareness; Oliver Kuys, who passed through his hands in the senior History classes, has spoken of this influence (among others) in stirring up his personal concern in the plight of Africans (Kuys, 1985b). Also to be noted in passing is that Walter Mears, in his retirement in the 1960's, gave dedicated voluntary teaching service for several years at the same Retreat Night School that his ex-pupil had launched so successfully two decades previously.

2.2.6

"Temporary Sojourners" or Permanent Urban Residents?

Despite the legislation of 1945 reinforcing the policy of segregation
and influx control, in some government and other circles, the
deplorable conditions under which so many thousands of urban African
workers were compelled to live, raised with renewed vigour, the
debate on the permanency or otherwise of the new urban residents.

In the early 1940's there was a new recognition of the role of the
African in urban industries, and in some cases, a cogent, albeit
cautious argument favouring a needed transition from the concept of
migratory labour for Africans to that of a permanent, settled,
urbanised population. The debate did have an influence on the
post-war period. In 1943, the Inspector of Urban locations in the
Cape Peninsula, C.W. Slarke, admitted: "It is impossible to escape
the conclusion that the present industrial activity will continue and
expand, that the demand for native labour will increase as time goes
on and that the Native has come to stay." (Slarke, 1943: 13)

A tentative movement towards recognising Africans as an integral part
of the new industrial economy began to manifest itself in government
reports. The Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the year
1944-1945 expressed recognition of African labour as one of the
country's most important assets enabling it to expand its war-time
industrial activity and to take its place with other industrially
developing countries (Mears W.J.G. 1946: 2).

The Board of Trade and Industries drew attention to Africans
supplying by far the biggest reserve of unskilled and semi-skilled
labour in the country: they also stated that these workers were now
being employed more or less on a permanent basis and were rapidly
forming African Trade Unions, although these lacked statutory
recognition (ibid: 1,2).

Ways of avoiding "large scale migrations of African workers to the
towns were however still sought after. In Report No. 5, August 1944,
of the Social and Economic Planning Council on Regional and Town
Planning, there are suggestions for decentralisation in industrial
development and "urbanisation of Reserve natives in or near the
Native areas" as a means for limiting "unnecessary dependence on
migrant labour from the Reserves and the farms" (Van Eck, 1944: 18).
However in a later report (No 9) from the same Council, from a
"long-term point of view" there emerged a frank condemnation of the entire system of migratory labour with all its concomitant evils resulting from the breakdown of family life (Van Eck, 1946: 47, 48).

This fundamental issue of migratory labour was treated at considerable length in the Report of the Native Laws Commission functioning from 1946 to 1948, and the new trend in thinking was carried further, bringing the long-existing policy restricting the lives of Africans under more critical review. Under the chairmanship of Mr Justice H.A. Fagan, this commission recognised as factual and irreversible that there was a settled African urban population and believed there could be no stopping the inevitable movement from country to town in search of work. It admitted that the policy of regarding Africans as temporary migrants had been proved to be wrong and that it was incumbent on the Commission to find a new formula (Fagan, 1948: 19).

However after reviewing the considerable amount of evidence set before it by all interested parties, including strong representations from Africans, the Fagan Commission compromised to a large extent in its findings, and its final pronouncement on the "temporary sojourner" issue concluded that although the migratory labour policy was wrong the most that could be done was not to prohibit it by law but to encourage workers to settle with their families in towns where they worked (ibid: 46).

The Commission was equally indecisive over the matter of passes and the registration of service contracts, seeking again to accommodate different viewpoints and to introduce greater leniency in the system. How far these compromises would have led South Africa towards any significant change in its policies if the Nationalists had not come into power in 1948, is a matter for speculation but they need to be borne in mind in the socio-economic backdrop to the early years of the Adult education movement in Cape Town, when Government policy was at least favourable towards subsidizing mass literacy programmes and efforts made by organisations of all kinds throughout the country to raise the educational standards of African adults.
From the foregoing it could be presumed that the students who started to attend night classes in the Cape Peninsula after the second World War would have been largely male migrants from lower paid labouring occupations. Evidence will be brought forward presently to substantiate this. But first one must ask, what indeed was the range of occupations for Africans in the Western Cape during the middle 1940's? Fortunately a census taken in 1946 provides the answer.

2.3.1 Statistical data

The 1946 Census records the total African population in the Cape Province as being 2,327,099. Of this figure 67% were officially domiciled in the Transkei and the Ciskei (South Africa, 1947: 1).

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<td></td>
<td>Dock labourers 620</td>
<td>2 483</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disabled 81</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
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<td>5. Dependants</td>
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TOTAL MALES (over 10 years) 22 172
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<th>EMPLOYEE TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dependants</td>
<td>Housewives: 3,532 Students: 925</td>
<td>4,457 4,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other &amp; undefined workers</td>
<td>Out of work: 383 Cleaner, charwoman: 26 Occupation unspecified: 478</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Industrial Occupations</td>
<td>General labourers: 49 Factory hands: 8 Laundry workers: 7 Dressmakers: 6</td>
<td>70 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Professional</td>
<td>Nurses: 32 Teachers: 28 Midwives: 4</td>
<td>64 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Independent</td>
<td>Old age pensioners: 15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Commercial &amp; Financial</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Agricultural Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Transport &amp; Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL FEMALES</strong> (over 10 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,694</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the University of Cape Town in May 1952 among a sample number of adult students (94,4% Africans) in five schools run by the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association and published on 16 November 1952, revealed a very similar picture to that of the official census with regard to the employment and occupations of Africans in the Cape Town area. This Survey found that among students questioned, "no-one was found to have any really skilled occupations" (NUSAS, 1952: 11).

The 145 students to whom a questionnaire was submitted simultaneously on one investigation night at each of five night schools, (selection of students by taking every second name on that night's attendance registers), revealed the statistics on occupations given in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Semi-skilled</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(masons, chauffeurs, chefs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardeners)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unskilled Labourers</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers, garage hands,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office/factory 'boys' etc.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not given</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>145</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(NUSAS, 1952: 11)

The NUSAS Survey also claimed: "The result... enabled us to show, above all...that we were dealing with a migratory population, having its main points of departure in the Eastern Province (Ciskei) and the Transkeian Territories. The average age of the pupils was found to be 27 years; 89,6% of them were males, and about two-thirds of them (viz 66,2%) were unmarried."(Nusas, 1952: 4-5)

2.3.2
Wages of Unskilled Workers.

In the extract from the first Cape Night School newsletter by Kuys in
in 1947, reference was made to an average worker's wage in the Cape Town region of £7 a month. This is confirmed by other contemporary records (Ndunyaya et al, 1943:3-4). The Wage Board had fixed the basic minimum wage in Cape Town in a number of industries at £6 10s per month which with a cost of living allowance amounted to £6 18s (Smit, 1942: 3). Although this rate was higher in the Cape Town area than in most other parts of South Africa, medical records and social surveys reveal how abysmally/inadequate it was in meeting the needs of an average size family.

It was a poverty datum line wage, not a civilised one; as such it could not provide a nourishing diet adequate to ward off disease and sustain energy. Furthermore out of the unskilled worker's monthly wage nothing at all could be spent on "amusement, sport, medicine, education, saving, hire purchase, holidays, bus rides, newspapers, stationery, tobacco, sweets, hobbies, gifts, pocket money, or replacements" (Lavis, 1942: 66).

The African unskilled worker was unprotected. He had no official Trade Union; he worked long hours for minimal wages (often 84 hours a week for dairy workers [ibid: 71]) and in many cases of outdoor work such as in the building trade, could lose twelve weeks of work out of the fifty-two through "wet weather, stoppage and shortage of work and time spent on looking for work" (ibid: 72).

2.3.3
Certain legislative factors that had contributed to the socio-economic plight of Africans in the 1940's.

Behind the harsh picture that has now emerged of Africans in the Cape Peninsula in the 1940's being predominantly unskilled, ill-housed and poorly paid migrants, there is the inter-mesh of a wide range of contributive social and economic legislation. Some of this has already been mentioned and I will now refer to a few other acts that also adversely affected the lives of the Africans with whom this study is concerned.

The 1913 Land Act was particularly devastating in its effect. All over the country it forced Africans off the land into service or into
limited "proclaimed" areas; poverty increased in these limited reserves as serious "over-stocking" and artificial "desert" conditions on unviable, small individual holdings developed (Holloway, 1932: 10-11).

The situation in the reserves was aggravated by the imposition of a general or Poll tax of £1-0-0 per head on each black male over 18 years of age as this tax (as intended by the legislators looking for an increasing supply of cheap labour) obliged rural Africans to seek work for part of each year in towns or on European farms (ibid: 174). This contributed a vicious spiral of increasing poverty and deterioration in the reserves as the fittest of the male inhabitants were constantly obliged to leave their families to raise money for the tax.

In the urban areas themselves, the various 'Colour Bar' Acts, (e.g. the Mines & Works Amendment Act of 1926) or "civilised" labour Acts, then systematically excluded Africans, on the grounds of colour, from most semi-skilled or skilled occupations, confining them almost entirely to unskilled labour. Only the very few who managed to achieve educational qualifications were able to escape into the limited number of professional openings available for Africans. Perhaps more and more it must have seemed to struggling African adults that education held the key to the opening up of more opportunities in life. Certainly the records of the adult education movement in Cape Town were to show an insatiable determination to achieve a better education.

2.4 EDUCATION

The 1946 Census revealed appalling figures of illiteracy among Africans; however before this situation of the mid-forties is presented in any detail it is again necessary to look at the background. What were the main features behind the dire state of African education? Only through an awareness of them can one hope to understand the challenges of the time and the attitudes and policies of all concerned with the development of the Cape Night Schools.
2.4.1 Broad outline of the provision of education for Africans.

The first school for Africans had been opened in 1799 in King William's Town by Dr van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society. Over the next few decades other mission schools developed and after 1839 a number of these then came under the nominal direction of the first Superintendent-General of Education, J Rose Innes.

The "big three" of the missionary bodies working among Africans in the Cape Colony were the Wesleyan Church, the Church of England and the Glasgow Missionary Society, the latter opening the multi-racial Lovedale Seminary in 1841. By 1935 these three main mission societies controlled over 90% of the aided African schools in the Cape Province, whilst the Dutch Reformed Church, (working in white and coloured communities) took practically no part in missionary or educational work among the Cape Africans (Welsh, 1936: 9). This could have been part of the reason why census figures of 1951, regarding knowledge of languages, revealed that only approximately 3½% (567 persons) of the African population in the Cape Magisterial District of 15,700 who were over the age of ten, could speak Afrikaans in addition to an African language, whereas approximately 42% (6,543) could speak English as well as an African language.

Another significant strand in the early history of mission schools for Africans was their multi-racial nature. It was estimated in 1890 that at least one-third of the total school enrolment in the Colony was enrolled in the mixed race mission schools (Welsh, 1936: 10). However by the end of the 19th Century there were forces at work to prevent this racial admixture and in 1893, following upon complaints in a report of 1890 by Dr Thomas Muir, "4th class public schools" (poor schools) were created from 1893 onwards by the new Superintendent-General (Dr Muir) for the benefit of white children among the poorer classes (ibid: 10).

From a report by Dr Dale in 1891, it is clear that the 25,000 African school children in the Cape Colony represented "a very small proportion of children of school-going age among the tribes resident in the frontier districts and in the Native territories beyond the
Kei" and that the Department encouraged Africans to believe that schools were a privilege, not a right, for which they must be prepared to make some sacrifice (ibid: 13).

Earlier in a report from 1868, Dr Dale had stated that lack of job opportunities was the biggest hindrance to the higher education of the African, but noted that "an intense desire for progress is rising in the Kaffir mind, which will force a way into the ordinary channels of social employments" (ibid: 12). This fact began to loom in the minds of many colonials as a major problem. They began to fear the outcome of educating Africans to expect employment opportunities other than those of labourers.

The Superintendent-General, Dr Dale himself, wrote in 1891:

"If some system of obligatory school-attendance were introduced and thousands of Kaffirs were leaving school year by year with sufficient school-instruction to set them loose from tribal customs and modes of savage life, what would you do with them? What agencies could be devised to direct teeming thousands into the various channels of Colonial industries? Labour, especially agricultural, is wanted; but will the educated Native leave his home and take service, especially in the western districts? If not, the crowding together of educated natives, living without a trade or regular habits of daily employment, must tend to mischief and social disturbances."

(Welsh, 1936: 13)

The 1903-1905 S.A. Native Affairs Commission, throughout its report, reflects this rising fear of losing the African menial labour supply through the provision of too much education. With the replacement of Dr. Dale by Dr Thomas Muir as Superintendent-General in 1892, education for Africans had received a new impetus and certain improvements had been made. For example, the qualifications of African teachers had been raised. To be admitted to a course of teacher training, African candidates in 1894 needed to have passed Std 4; (instead of Std 3 or even Std 2); in 1899 this was stepped up to Std 5 and in 1901 to Std 6 (Welsh, 1936: 16). But the 1903-1905
Commission was suspicious of too high a standard. Clearly Std 4 was considered to be the highest standard to be aimed at for the rank and file of African pupils, and schools that taught pupils beyond Std 4 were bringing on these children, in the words of the Commissioners "to an abnormally high standard" (Lagden, 1905: 151).

With fears similar to those expressed by Dr Dale, there was likewise a body of opinion which saw the risk of "flooding the country with a lot of technically trained natives" if industrial training of Africans, commenced at this time by the churches, were to increase (ibid: 153).

Against this background, it should be noted that Dr Dale's successor, Dr Muir, although he too supported the introduction of manual training into the school syllabus, (but for white pupils too), nevertheless believed in secondary education being available for any Africans who could make use of it, that the state should be responsible for supporting education for Africans "quite to the same extent as for any other citizen" and that, provided the community concerned was in agreement, compulsory school education should be introduced for black pupils as well as for white children (ibid: 155).

Throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century, although the mission schools were subsidized to a limited extent by the state, education for Africans remained very largely the preserve of the missionaries. An exception arose in 1903 when there was one experimental, purely government school near Maitland, started when Africans began to settle in the Ndabeni "location" (ibid: 152-153).

In the Cape Colony, before Union, the only provision of education for Africans beyond the ordinary three R's was at Lovedale (ibid: 163) and although a few who had achieved a secondary education were going over to America to continue their studies, segregation was so much part of South African colonial life that there was no contemplation of African pupils obtaining a secondary education at white schools in the colony. Yet in Cape Town, before the turn of the century, there had been a considerable demand from local African parents for facilities for educating their children beyond Std 4 and as a body
(accompanied by Archdeacon Lightfoot) they approached the Superintendent-General of Education, Dr Muir, for assistance in setting up a secondary school. He replied that if they could raise a "guarantee fund" there was nothing to prevent such a school being started but needless to say, the parents were unable to find this private funding (ibid: 159).

The founding of institutions at Zonnebloem and Healdtown in the Cape and later at Adams in Natal and St Peters in Johannesburg did little to raise the overall low standard of education of those Africans who did attend school and the dearth of secondary schooling persisted to the extent that by 1930 only 0.5% of African pupils studied beyond Std 6 (Holloway, 1932: 90).

2.4.2 The Financing of education for Africans

The system of levying taxes to contribute towards the cost of African education after Union in 1910 became a source of contention and provided inadequate funding. Although African education was placed under the control of the Provincial Councils, after 1922, when the Central Government took over the levying of direct taxation from Africans, an arrangement developed in which £340 000 from the Provinces was for many years the block amount paid into the Native Development Account plus a percentage of the Native poll tax. This plan, despite periodic increases of the percentage of the native poll tax, soon proved completely inadequate, even for the limited educational facilities provided, and involved a very serious drop in income during the depression years of 1930-1934 (Wollheim, 1943: 38).

The result of this for the African population was to aggravate drastically the existing retardation in the provision of education.

In 1930 there was a total of only 283 150 African scholars in the Union, 18 515 attending private schools and 264 635 at Government and Government-aided schools (Holloway, 1932: 90). The level of school-learning attained by these scholars was drastically low. In 1930, 57.2% were in the sub-standards, 69.2% in the sub-standards and Std 1, 77.5% in the sub-standards and Std 2 and, as already mentioned, only 0.5% were above Std 6 (ibid: 90). "Less than a third
reach Std 2," it was stated. "In actual practice this means that the great majority only learn to read simple words and to do simple sums" (ibid: 89).

2.4.3
The Depression years. Coalition between Smuts and Hertzog. Education for subservience. Foretastes of Bantu Education.

The Report of the Native Economic Commission of 1930-1932 shows the continuation of the influences already referred to, to manipulate education to produce a servile African population. There was a prevailing belief on the part of the Commissioners (with the exception of Mr Lucas and Dr Roberts who filed minority reports) in the threat occasioned by growing numbers of better educated and more civilised Africans to the labour market hitherto monopolised by whites; the solution sought by the Commissioners was to dwell heavily on the need for a different type of education of the "raw" native that would cut down on book-learning, orientate him towards the economic upliftment of the reserves and cut down on the flow of Africans to the towns.

Here in 1930-1932 were laid down recommendations that were to impede the development of African education (until a limited break-through in 1945 with a fundamental change in financing African education), and which seemingly paved the way for the Bantu Education Act of 1953 after the promoters of such policies came to unrestricted power in 1948.

This Commission of the early thirties reiterated that concern that was uppermost in the minds of the 1903-1905 Commissioners, namely that African educational institutions were producing "a number of candidates for non-manual work" and stated that teachers' training colleges and high schools were producing claimants for occupations then manned by whites (Holloway, 1932: 86-89). These Commissioners advocated a new division in the education provided for Africans; one was a new broad foundation of "social" education which instead of laying stress on the three R's and "the Native achieving European 'accomplishments', must aim at transforming his whole outlook on
life", make him realize he had to work harder, rid himself of animism and witchcraft, proceed from the foundations of his own native society, take a pride in his own people and make the educated Native a missionary to his people in developing the African reserves.

For the other aspect of education, the more formal, they conceded that for the "few thousands of individuals" that must be trained as teachers, clerks, interpreters, medical practitioners and nurses etc., "a superstructure of school education must be erected on this foundation of social education" (ibid: 92).

The Commission declined to deal with the financial details of their recommendations (ibid: 93) beyond that they would require more money, but the clear indication was that the Native Development Fund must be enabled to carry out the priority development of the Reserves, and that provision of buildings and equipment, long shouldered by the Missions "would have to be met either by the Natives themselves or by the Government" (ibid: 90). But, stated the Commission:

"It is manifestly impossible and even if it were possible, undesirable, for the European population of the Union to shoulder the material burden of raising to a civilised level, a Native population outnumbering them by three to one."

(Holloway, 1932: 15)

The minority reports of Mr Lucas and Dr Roberts in the Report of the Native Economic Commission of 1930-1932, reflect the emergence of liberal thought, but still powerless to stem the white fear of competition and the manoeuvring to keep the black "in his place." These two men warned of "the great economic danger in the Union to European civilisation arising from the wide divergence between European and Native standards of living" (ibid: 95) and urged a major new thrust in providing wide educational facilities for Africans over and above "hygiene and agricultural methods." They pointed to the complete inadequacy of the existing financial arrangements and, as many African leaders were doing, took to task the concept that Africans, "a poor section of the population, must pay directly for all the services they receive, though no such rule is applied to any other poor section" (ibid: 96).
Concurrently strong views were being clearly enunciated by African leaders in bodies like the African National Congress, the All Africa Convention (after 1935), the Cape African Teachers' Association and the Industrial and Commercial Union.

The "per capita" system for financing African Education was recommended (by F.H.M. Zwidi) at both the Cape Teachers' Association in 1932 and at the National European-Bantu Conference in 1933. In Bloemfontein at the latter Conference, the whole system of "native taxation" was criticised strongly by Dr A.B. Xuma whilst Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (former President-General of the African National Congress) articulated the irate feelings of most politically aware Africans in the nineteen-thirties. He quoted the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Annual Convention of the ANC in 1929 to sum up the clear cut demands of the African people regarding direct representation, full and equal citizenship and the right "to the same educational facilities as those enjoyed by the children of other races of the land" (Mahabane, 1933: 31).

The general worsening economic situation in the years of depression led to a coalition between the National Party (in power since 1924) and the Smuts party in 1933 with Hertzog remaining as Prime Minister until the outbreak of the War in 1939. In 1935, two years after the start of the coalition government, the severe crisis in African education led to the appointment of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education under the chairmanship of W.T. Welsh. This Committee developed the liberal lines of thought represented by the minority reports of Dr Roberts and Mr Lucas in the 1930-1932 Native Economic Commission Report and put forward further varied and telling arguments why Africans, the poorest section in the community, should not be burdened with the impossible task of paying for their education (Welsh, 1936: 45).

As Dr Xuma had done in 1933 (Xuma, 1933: 156-166), the Welsh Committee attacked the entire principle of expecting a section of people to be responsible for its education through the direct taxation levied upon it. It stated:

"It is not usual in treatises on Public Finance to consider
taxation and public expenditure from the point of view of any one class of persons; the expenditure which the state considers necessary, is regarded as a charge against the whole community and it is the task of the Government to distribute this equitably among the various classes of persons who constitute the state."

(Welsh, 1936: 46)

(For many African farm workers, for whom the average cash wage at that time was £6 per annum, the £1-0-0 per annum poll tax represented a startling percentage deduction from their meagre, abysmally low cash earnings [SAIRR, 1933: 44]).

Dr Oscar Wollheim, in 1943, referred to the Welsh Report as "one of the most valuable documents ever to have been produced in the field of Native education" (Wollheim, 1943: 38), but although attempts were made to implement some of its recommendations in the following years, (e.g. in 1943 all of the African poll tax was finally handed over to African education) no general consensus could be reached between the existing involved bodies, provinces, state, missionaries and teachers.

Thus the desperate situation continued. By 1939 out of almost 450 000 African school children, 310 000 were in standards below Std. 2. By 1943, Dr Wollheim estimated, "the current expenditure on Native education alone would have to be multiplied by 36 to place native education on the same basis as European education" (ibid: 39).

During these years, in African and liberal debates on the subject, a strong demand arose for compulsory education. The Council of the S.A.Institute of Race Relations in 1942 passed a resolution in favour of free and compulsory education for all "Non-European children" between the ages of 7 and 14, beginning with the urban areas. (SAIRR 13th Annual Report, 1942: 11). Then in November 1945 the following resolution was moved by Dr Moroka and Prof. Z.K. Matthews in the Natives Representative Council and was passed unanimously:

"That in order to combat malnutrition, juvenile delinquency and illiteracy among the Africans in South Africa, this
Council strongly recommends that compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy, be immediately applied."

(NRC, Nov. 1945: 97)

(Primary education for whites was already compulsory but in this same year a plea for compulsory education for whites up to Std 8 was put forward by the South African Teachers' Association as "the first consideration in any scheme of post-war reconstruction" [SA Teachers' Assoc. 1945: 2]).

Such aims for blacks were indeed far from being achieved; however a small milestone was passed at the end of the second world war when the Native Education Finance Act of 1945 was passed. Under this, African education was to be provided for by the Government's Consolidated Revenue Account and was no longer to be a charge against the South African Native Trust. In addition this Act provided for the establishment of a Union Advisory Board on Native education with the Secretary for Native Affairs as Chairman and including two representatives from the Natives Representative Council. By April 1946, the whole of African education was placed under the control of the Central Union Education Department, a step that had long been urged by African leaders in the NRC. However, although funds were now on a better footing they were still utterly inadequate for the huge task and were still a very long way short of those expended on white pupils.

2.4.4
The high rate of illiteracy among Africans.

The dire state of African education throughout South Africa, was confirmed statistically by a Census held in 1946. Prior to this in 1943 it was the view of the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education that approximately 80% of the total African population in South Africa was illiterate. This estimate was indeed close to the truth.

The total African population in the rural regions of the Union was
given as 6 142 862, that is to say 78.4% of the then total African population of 7 831 915 (South Africa, 1953: 46). Of this large rural African population, 81.2% were illiterate in an African language, 92.6% were illiterate in English and 95.7% were illiterate in Afrikaans (ibid: 149).

As far as Cape Town and its suburbs were concerned, among the "official" population of 35 197 Africans recorded in the Census, the following table reveals still significant illiteracy but not nearly to the same extent as in the rural areas:

| TABLE 4 |

CAPE TOWN AND SUBURBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>ILLITERATE IN AN AFRICAN LANG.</th>
<th>ILLITERATE IN ENGLISH</th>
<th>ILLITERATE IN AFRIKAANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males:</td>
<td>24 293</td>
<td>8 342</td>
<td>12 752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females:</td>
<td>10 904</td>
<td>3 521</td>
<td>4 778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>35 197</td>
<td>11 863</td>
<td>17 530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Derived from the 1946 Census [South Africa, 1953: 152])

The improvement in the state of rudimentary literacy over the situation in the rural areas was a feature of urban areas in general and one noted by Dr E. Roux in his experience of night school activities in Johannesburg and Durban (Roux, 1948: 344). Table 4 also serves to confirm the preponderance of males over females in Cape Town, (more than double the number) as did the NUSAS random survey among African pupils at five of the Cape Town Night Schools in 1952.
2.5
THE POLITICAL SCENE

2.5.1
Abrogation of African political rights

What political rights of redress for their grievances did Africans have? How did Africans and their leaders react politically to a situation in which the vast majority of the people were destined to being mere labour drudges, unable to improve the quality of their lives? In considering these questions a brief reference must first be made to the political manoeuvring which was designed to preserve white minority rule and prevent the black majority from gaining political ascendancy or even some political clout.

In the mid-Victorian era in the old Cape Colony, African males inherited from the British system full franchise rights equal to those of all male citizens in the Colony. As more Africans became registered as voters however, the fear of the black vote swamping that of the whites led to a general raising of qualifications required for the franchise. With the Act of Union and the coming together of the liberal Cape with its more conservative neighbours, a further major curtailment of the Cape African franchise rights occurred. Despite petitions and a protesting delegation even to Westminster, it was enacted that although Africans in the Cape were to remain on the common roll, only white males were in future to be eligible for election to the Parliamentary legislature and provision was made for the possibility of future disenfranchisement.

Some two decades later, the notorious 'Hertzog Bills, waiting in the wings for many years, were finally passed by Parliament in 1936, heralding the demise of the last vestige of any real power through the ballot box to force the government to come to terms with African demands. Under this legislation four whites were to represent Africans in the Senate, whilst Africans in the Cape Province only were to elect three whites to the House of Assembly and two whites to the Provincial Council. In addition a 23 member Natives Representative Council (NRC) was created. This consisted of seven senior officers of the Department of Native affairs, twelve elected
Africans and four Africans nominated by the government. The NRC was purely an advisory body. Some of the leading members of the ANC were elected to it and tried to make it effective by strongly articulating the acute problems of the African people but their voices were disregarded. After the Miners' Strike of 1946 and as a gesture of their pent-up frustration the members adjourned this Council that same year. It did not reconvene again until 1949 when the new Nationalist government announced its intention of bringing it to an end.

2.5.2
An overview of Black political protest in the Western Cape over the three decades prior to 1950

Both teachers and pupils in the night schools movement were themselves to an inevitable extent products of their differing political and socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore before one can comment on how these persons from both privileged and oppressed groups came together for a common cause one must take some note of the political pressures to which both groups were exposed in their different environments and in which their views were influenced or shaped.

In the early years (1945-1948) the teachers were almost entirely white university students who had grown up in their impressionable adolescent years under a Smuts United Party war-time and post-war government. From comfortable middle class homes, they would have been used to the "opposition" being Malan's "purified" Nationalist Party, an opposition reinforced at the beginning of the war by Hertzog and his followers. They were the children of a white minority ruling clique that still preserved white privilege and in spite of a growing expression of white liberal and more radical misgivings in the country, paid scant attention to the appeals and warnings of all the leading black leaders who were still essentially moderate.

On the other hand, most of the African students in the Night Schools were migrants from tribal rural backgrounds. They would have still been facing the deep psychological shocks and problems of a transition to a totally different style of life. No longer rural
pastoralists self-confident in the inherited wisdom and traditions of home and forefathers, they had now to adjust to lives as ill-equipped, poorly paid wage-earners, away from wives and families for eleven months in the year and faced with all the complexities of an urban environment and a foreign culture. What, one must ask, was their level of political awareness in these new confusing circumstances? By the very nature of the structure of the Cape Night Schools organisation this was not manifested in the classroom where in any case blacks uncertain of themselves and accustomed to the suppression of their egos in the presence of whites, would in those days have certainly masked whatever political leanings they might have had.

In the outer community however, among educated Africans, teachers and workers, the evidence in the Western Cape points to growing African political involvement during these years.

The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa (ICU) started by Clements Kadalie initially among black Docks workers in Cape Town in 1919, was an organisation which had significant mass appeal among black workers. Indeed in its heyday it was to achieve in Cape Town alone, a membership of 6 000. (Kingwill, 1977: 19). For a variety of reasons it petered out in the 1930's. On the other hand the African National Congress, founded in 1912 to articulate African aspirations, attracted the support and participation of mostly the African elite in its early years and to the exclusion of a powerful mass following.

Because of the racial admixture of the population the growth of black political awareness in the Western Cape inevitably began to reflect the gradual overlapping of African and Coloured frustrations as both of these communities, in varying degrees of hardship, experienced the restrictions imposed on them by segregatory policies and white exclusiveness.

The Cape Western ANC in the 1920's emerged as a separate and very radically minded "Provincial" Congress, inheriting both the grievances of the former Cape Town based ICU and those of new members from among the Communists who had been expelled from the ICU in 1926
"Professor" James Thaele, an exponent of Garveyism (Africa for the Africans) assumed control in the late twenties until he was finally expelled from his Presidency in 1938.

For a variety of reasons, but perhaps mainly because of competition in leadership, Thaele broke with the Communists whose leaders, Ndobe and Tonjeni failed to supplant him in 1930 and who in fact established their own short-lived independent ANC in the Western Cape (Roux, 1964: 237-243). The two latter men had a considerable following, particularly among rural workers around Worcester and further afield but following upon a mass demonstration in Cape Town the government banished Ndobe to Basutoland and Tonjeni to the Eastern Cape in 1930 under the Riotous Assemblies Act (Kingwill, 1977: 25).

However communist beliefs continued to take root and spread in a number of local organisations; the 1930's became a period of active 'trade unionism in the Western Cape and through this a certain breaking down of the divisions between African and coloured workers occurred. The two communist trade unionists, James la Guma and John Gomas, hoping to attract mass African support, founded the National Liberation League in 1935 with a branch in Langa. A few African radicals such as William Ndunyaya (Chairman of the Langa Vigilance Association) and Oscar Mpetha, a trade unionist, identified with this group (ibid: 27-28). At the same time Ray Alexander helped to organise at least a dozen new unions on an interracial basis with many of them consisting of "predominantly Non-Europeans" and having in many cases coloured and African organisers. Then in 1936 the "Non-European Railway and Harbour Worker's Union" was founded in Cape Town, and by 1943 was able to claim a national membership of over 20 000 (Roux, 1964: 330).

The interaction between Coloured and African trade unionists in the Western Cape was a major political influence among workers and in 1938 certain events materially increased organisation and radicalisation among them in the Cape region. These were the removal of reactionary Thaele from office in the ANC(WC), the transfer of the headquarters of the Communist Party to Cape Town and the move to the
city of trade unionist, Moses Kotane, who was a member of both the CPSA and of the ANC (Kingwill, 1977: 34).

There were at this time crippling restrictions on African workers. A war measure in 1942 detailed these restrictions and made all strikes of all African workers in all circumstances illegal, but despite these difficulties a great deal of organisation was achieved (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 55). By 1945 figures quoted in a SAIRR bulletin of that year recorded that there were ten unions in Cape Town nominally affiliated to the "Non-European Trade Union Council" and with a combined membership of 10 000 African workers (Roux, 1964: 333). (That same year this Council claimed a national total of 119 unions with 158 000 members who were mostly African but included some coloured members [Karis & Gerhart: 55]). Two years later, in 1947 Ray Alexander's Food and Canning Worker's Union, by far the largest and most active union in the Western Cape with its 23 branches and 4 000 members, decided to establish a separate African Union to serve an increasing number of Africans employed in this growing Western Cape industry.

Nationally by the middle thirties the ANC had become almost moribund. However in 1936 with the appointment of the Cape African Congress President, the Rev James Calata, as the national secretary-general and no doubt spurred on by the formation of the All African Convention in 1935, the Congress was revived. Calata was a hard-working moderate as was Dr Xuma who became President in 1940. Under the reigning influence of these two men, despite the introduction in 1943 of the dynamic Africanist ideas of the newly formed Congress Youth League (CYL), the ANC leadership in the 1940's remained basically committed to the old policy of deputations and petitions in the fond hope of achieving full citizenship for all. Progress was made organisationally but by 1949 the ANC was still a long way from being a "strong mass organisation" (Karis, 1973: 82-83 & 71). Concerning the Cape Town branch of the ANC, in 1948 a visiting organiser described its member situation as "very disappointing" (Kingwill, 1977: 47).

In 1935, to marshal African dismay and protest against the threatening Hertzog Bills, 400 delegates rallied to an All African
Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein; here veteran of former "Non-European Conferences", Prof D.D.T. Jabavu was elected President, and 37 year old Dr A.B. Xuma, newly returned from medical studies overseas (and destined to assume the ANC Presidency in 1940) became Vice-President of the on-going Convention. In the face of defeat the following year in preventing the enactment of these Bills, participation tactics in the Hertzog advisory structures was agreed upon "while maintaining the ideals proclaimed in defending the Cape franchise and opposing the Land Act" (Walshe, 1971: 114-124). All the major African organisations and the CPSA decided to try using the Parliamentary positions and the NRC as a means for demanding a universal franchise and full citizenship. Only a left wing group, consisting of Trotskyites who were later to found the NEUM, clamoured for boycott (Roux, 1964: 293-294).

There was however great uneasiness in the compromise. The ANC set about strengthening its membership and resisted efforts now being made, particularly by leaders of the Coloured and Indian groups, to make the AAC the dominant group or a sort of national front in which they could identify with the aspirations of the Africans but not be dominated by them (Kingwill, 1977: 30). Building on the hopes aroused by the Atlantic Charter and the ideals of allies fighting against fascism, Xuma headed an ANC "Charter Committee" in December 1943 and the following year the resultant ANC pamphlet "African Claims" was submitted to the Prime Minister, General Smuts. The complete rejection by Smuts of this broad statement of reforms sought by the ANC towards the end of the war was to be an important step in stiffening a new brand of Africanism soon to surface among the youth members of the ANC with the formation in April 1944 of the ANC Congress Youth League (Walshe, 1971: 272-279).

2.5.3 Growth of Africanism

Meantime, in 1943 prior to the work being commenced on "African Claims", Isaac Tabata, one of the delegates at the founding of the All African Convention, and an ex-Fort Hare University student who worked as a truck driver in Cape Town, became a prime mover in precipitating a separate Africanist development. As Chairman of the
Cape Western Committee of the AAC, having brought together the S.A. Indian Congress and the new Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) movement in the 1943 AAC Congress, he helped to set up the resultant off-shoot, the new "Non-European Unity Movement" (NEUM), later to be called the "Unity Movement of South Africa" (UMSA) (Kingwill, 1977: 30).

NEUM under Tabata brought forward a Ten-Point Programme formulating a policy of non-collaboration with oppressors, of boycotting "all political institutions created for an inferior race" and demanding full democratic rights for all the inhabitants of the country. Some years later in a statement from Lusaka the AAC claimed to be "the first organisation that united all the existing organisations amongst the African people including the African National Congress" into one federal body and NEUM, in the same statement, claimed to be seen "as a threat to white domination by the whole South African herrenvolk, the Verwoerdian (Nationalist) wing, the General Smuts (United Party) wing and the Liberal wing alike" (AAC & UMSA, undated).

NEUM's main supporters were among the Coloured professionals such as teachers and had Trotskyist leanings. Later the group was to have as affiliates the Cape Peninsula Students Union (CPSU), the Society of Young Africa (SOYA), and the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA) of which one of the founders, Isaac Tabata, became the first President (AAC & UMSA, undated). Both Mary Benson (1966: 122) and Eddie Roux (1964: 405) recording the history of this era put forward the view of the political cynics that NEUM made a lot of noise but in fact achieved very little.

Whatever the effective status of the AAC/NEUM group turned out to be, one clearly discernible influence of these bodies (that increasingly were at variance with the leadership of the ANC) lay in their hold over the Cape African Teacher's Association in the middle forties and early fifties. Peteni (1979: 30) records that the following resolution became a hardy annual at the Cape African Teachers' Conferences:

"CATA resolves that it is in the best interests that its struggles be co-ordinated with those of the masses, and to this
end considers that this can best be effected by the affiliation of CATA with the AAC."

After many stormy Conferences in the middle forties debating the pros and cons of joining a political organisation, CATA at its Queenstown Conference in June 1948, decided by 32 to 30 votes to affiliate with the AAC (ibid: 32). The consequence was predictable. In 1951 the Cape Education Department refused to recognize CATA any longer as an official teachers' organisation. However the extent to which members of this teacher body were prepared to be outspoken in condemnation of the government and of the new ethnic plans for African education belongs to a review of the fifties and will be referred to in a later chapter.

While the NEUM non-collaboration movement was developing in the Cape, to the North in the Transvaal and within the ANC what was to become a far stronger Africanist group was brought into existence by three very gifted young intellectuals, Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda and Jordan Ngubane. These young radicals put forward a militant ideology of African Nationalism and a policy of mass protests and boycotts for the creation of mass support. Their Congress Youth League Manifesto was approved by the President, Dr Xuma, and at an inaugural gathering of some 200 persons involving amongst others Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, the Youth League was launched (Walshe, 1971: 352).

At this stage the ANC Youth League (CYL) regarded its overall African Nationalism as moderate in its demands. Walshe (1971: 357) quotes the following extract from CYL's "Basic Policy":

"We of the CYL take account of a concrete situation and realise that the different racial groups should stay. But we insist that a condition for inter-racial peace and progress is the abandonment of white domination and that the basic structure of South African society should be such that those relations that breed exploitation and human misery disappear."

There was much initial and bitter resistance by ANCYL to the growing influence and "take-over" habits of the Communists within the ANC in
the early 1940's as was clearly revealed in resolutions placed before the Transvaal Congress in 1945 and again in 1947 (Walshe, 1971: 357). However over the years these tensions lessened and accommodation with certain Marxist ideas developed. Tom Lodge (1983: 20) considered that the gradual strengthening of the relationship between the Congress and the Communist Party was one of the two most significant developments in African politics in the 1940's, the other being the emergence of the Congress Youth League as outlined above.*

By the end of the forties, many members of the Youth League had taken up positions on the Executive of the ANC and when in 1948 the white nationalists came to power the time was ripe in 1949 for the ANC to adopt the CYL's more radical "Programme of Action" which had been circulating among ANC leaders since 1947. This propounded a strategy of boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience as the means for achieving liberation and planned for white nationalism to be met by an emerging and positive black nationalism (Lodge, 1983: 26).

The two strands of Africanism in NEUM and CYL did not converge. The ANC remained firmly an independent and unitary structure and its policy differed both ideologically and tactically with that of the Trotskyist NEUM.

2.5.4 Disenchantment with the Liberals.

Isaac Tabata in the conclusion of an AAC pamphlet first published in 1950 (1974: 123) and reflecting on the moderate leadership in the ANC during the forties and on African leaders in general during this

* Albert Luthuli (Benson, 1963: 31) commenting on communist "infiltration" into Congress, is recorded as having said: "I don't deny that some might have ulterior motives, but all I am concerned about is that they came to assist me fight racial oppression, and they have no trace of racialism or being patronising, just no trace at all." Benson (1976: 18) likewise records in connection with the ideological ideas of some of CYL's leaders that Mandela was an admirer of the "Parliamentary system of the West", of the Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights.
period, considered that these older men had been conned into thinking the liberals' method of deputations and conferences could free Africans from oppression and for this reason they had seen their organisation, the ANC, not as a necessary mass movement but as a means of reinforcing their appeals and petitions. In his opinion (Tabata, 1974: 24-25), these leaders had been deceived into thinking that English-speaking liberals who championed the African cause for more and better education were prompted by purely humanitarian principles as against the Afrikaner who thwarted such moves; he explained the difference in these white attitudes in terms of a historical comparison between, on the one hand, the old feudal concepts of the Dutch boers who as European products of a pre-Industrial Revolution era, took for granted the existence of uneducated serf or slave labour tied to the land, and on the other hand, the new capitalist forces at work among the newer English arrivals among whom, in an industrialized society, literate wage-earners were required instead of the illiterate feudal serfs.

However extensive were the elements of truth in this theory the facts were that the "opposition" approaches along the old liberal lines had failed, the work of liberals came to be suspect and with increasing Africanisation and more radical ideological thinking, the transition from the forties into the fifties was to be marked by increasing polarisation between white and black.

While Kuys was starting up his schools in Retreat and Langa, this period of disillusionment among Africans concerning South African liberalism and its power for ushering in a new order was rapidly mounting. There was a decline in African participation in both the Joint Councils and among African members of the SAIRR. SAIRR African membership dropped from 710 in 1944 to 389 in 1947 and out of the former five African members on the ten-man executive of the SAIRR only Mtinkulu, Headmaster of Adams High School in Natal remained after December 1945 (Walshe, 1971: 348). After the ruthless suppression of the Miners' Strike of 1946 and the subsequent adjournment of the NRC, the SAIRR warned: 'We feel bound to issue a warning that if this situation in the field of race relations is allowed to deteriorate
further, it will before long reach a stage in which the voice of reason will not be heeded... In South Africa the period is drawing to a close in which honourable compromise is possible between the claims of various races that compose our community."

(SAIRR 17th Annual Report, 1946: 31)

2.5.5 Other local instances of African political awareness in the 1940's in Cape Town.

Apart from the direct politicising work among Africans in the Western Cape of the 'Trade Unions, the Communist Party, the ANC, the AAC and other smaller organisations in the 1940's, a certain amount of political activity must have been generated around the actual elections to the NRC and to the Houses of Parliament. The liberal Adv. D.B. Molteno, an African representative in the House of Assembly for the "Cape Western Electoral Circle" from June 1937 to November 1948 (Scher, 1979: 2), used the ANC office in Cape Town for the purpose of registering votes even when for tactical reasons (Kingwill, 1977: 42), the ANC withdrew official participation in these elections.

Certainly there were many instances of overt political protest during the 1940's in the Cape Peninsula. Selope Thema, who had played a prominent part in the anti-pass campaign in 1919 (Roux, 1964: 297) now at the head of the National Anti-Pass Council was arrested with Dadoo for leading an illegal procession on to Cape Town's Grand Parade in 1945 (Walsh, 1971: 313). In the same year the local Anti-Pass Committee (formed by the CPSA and the ANC(WC)) organised a pass burning demonstration in Langa; after this event four of the leaders, including Moses Kotane and two members of the Langa Vigilance Association, Jellicoe Ntshinga and Lucas Phillips of Athlone, were arrested for entering Langa without permits! (Kingwill, 1977: 45). The following year, after the 1946 Mine Workers Strike, the head office of the Communist Party in Cape Town was raided on August 16 by the CID who removed seventy files of documents (Roux, 1964: 341); and a few months later Moses Kotane and Lucas Phillips were again arrested in Cape Town, this time along with other members...
of the National Executive of the Communist Party on the more serious charge of sedition. These charges were withdrawn in October 1948
(ibid: 53.)

L.S. Phillips of Athlone, an ANC African leader in his community who was subjected between 1946 and 1948 to two years of legal proceedings, wrote at this time of the growing determination of "enlightened and politically conscious Africans" to boycott all elections held under the Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936. He referred to "the sham representation" in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council, as also in the NRC where "representations have been treated with contempt by both the Government and the Union Parliament (Phillips, 1947).

Other local African leaders emerged to become prominent in the struggle against oppression during the following decade. Among these were two women, Annie Silinga of Langa who joined the Langa Vigilance Committee and refused all her life to carry a pass, and Dora Tamana. The latter, living in the shanty area of Blouvlei (near the Retreat Night School), headed the ANC Women's League in the area, and began to demonstrate the political leadership that was to make her a national figure in the 1950's (Gerhart & Karis, 1977: 141,151). (As will be shown later one of the outstanding students at the Retreat Night School had at one time worked with Tamana in this women's ANC League.)

In 1948 fresh defiance occurred when attempts were made to defy the new segregatory seating arrangements of Cape suburban trains in Cape Town by a "Train Apartheid Resistance Committee". Although this organisation (led largely by members of NEUM) faded when its dissatisfied CPSA members withdrew, Kingwill (1977: 57) considered that "its initial stages proved that the potential for mass demonstration and defiance existed among the Black population of Cape Town." (This was twelve years before some 30 000 Africans marched into central Cape Town behind PAC leader Kgosana in 1960.)

1948 was the year in which the Nationalists took over the Government with a slender majority of five seats. By then the growing black resolve to boycott institutions powerless to effect their demands was
growing. Adv. Donald Molteno (probably sensitive to this attitude) announced that he would not seek re-election and his place as "Native Representative" for the Cape Western was taken by Sam Kahn, a member of the CPSA (Roux, 1964: 378).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to revealing in broad perspective, the contextual background to the lives of both the African pupils and white teachers in the Cape Night Schools that developed in the second half of the nineteen forties. Research often gives a wholeness of view not so easily available to contemporaries living too close to events and the depth of real awareness of the participants of what was taking place around them would have varied considerably depending on the individuals concerned. However the juxtaposition of the political socio-economic environment and the adult education movement poses many questions about the project and its participants which can only be properly examined when the whole story has been told. The next chapter will assess more precisely the ideological background to the movement and will trace the development of the schools up to 1950 within the context just described.
CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAPE NIGHT SCHOOLS MOVEMENT DURING 1945-1950

3.1

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES IN THE BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN THE WESTERN CAPE

The school started by Oliver Kuys and student colleagues in Retreat in 1945 began in a climate of general and growing interest in the combating of illiteracy. In fact by the middle forties the concept of mass education had begun to exercise the minds of nations across the globe, particularly in the euphoria of the post-war era with its plans for reconstructing a better world and with its ideals embodied in the Atlantic Charter and later in the Declaration of Human Rights. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), finally established in November 1945, had among its main objectives the elimination of educational inequality among nations, "an attack on illiteracy and the provision of special forms of education especially among adults" (Roberts, 1947: 6). Prior to this, in 1943, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies had published its views on "Mass Education in African Society" and in South Africa itself, the Government in 1943 had set up a Committee to enquire extensively into all aspects of adult education.

3.1.1

The Radical Tradition.

Two distinct lines of descent can be seen behind the sudden proliferation of African night schools in South Africa in the nineteen forties. One of these two antecedents was the politicizing night school work of the radical left. Roux (1964: 129-134) gives an account of the circumstances surrounding the earliest recorded night school for Africans started by the socialist David Jones in Johannesburg during the first world war under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of Africa. The latter organisation (which did not
survive very long) had been recently founded by Jones and by Sidney Bunting with the help of the International Socialist League (ISL). The ISL was the forerunner of the Communist Party of South Africa which was established in 1921. At that time, Jones, Bunting and others, in their concern for including the black worker in the struggle against capitalism, were the exceptions in a socialist body of predominantly militant white miners and workers. This was only too clearly evidenced in the "red revolt" of white miners in 1922 and in the expedient coalition between white nationalism and the Labour Party (supported by the Communist Party!) for an election victory in 1924 (Roux, 1964: 198).

Jones died in Moscow in 1920 but the foundation for spreading the socialist ideology among illiterate urban black workers had been laid and was extended by T.W. Thibedi, Roux and others in a school set up in Ferreirastown (ibid: 202) in 1924. The emphasis was on the training of leaders rather than on formal education but people had to be taught to read and write. Many prominent leaders of later years, such as Moses Kotane and Thomas Moeki received formative influences in this way (Bird, 1984: 195). The school went into a decline in the late twenties and early thirties when purges of right wing elements within the Communist Party (e.g. Sidney Bunting and Solly Sachs) began to alienate African Trade Unions and other organisations (Roux, 1964: 346). This also led to the disillusionment and the resignation from the Communist Party in 1936 of Edward Roux (Roux, 1964: XI) who had taught for many years in the night schools in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. However a four year old communist night school still existed in 1946 in 2nd Street, Johannesburg, catering for an average of 40 students and teaching English, Arithmetic and History (Fanaroff and Lester, 1945: 3). Morphet (1984: 81) thought it was probable that this night school might have helped train Union leaders.

Roux brought the direct benefit of his long experience in literacy training to Cape Town when he moved to this city in 1936. Soon afterwards, in conjunction with Moses Kotane, he started an educational newspaper employing the "Basic English" of 850 words of C.K. Ogden of the London Orthological Institute. The paper was called "The African Defender", ("Umvekele-Thebe") (Roux, 1938?: 9 and Bird,
In 1938 he again became involved in night classes for Africans, this time in those started two years previously by the "People's Club". This night school, held in the St Philip's Anglican Church School in Chapel Street, District Six was "adopted" by the Peninsula "Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu" in 1938. Classes were offered in literacy, English, practical Arithmetic and general knowledge at primary levels but in 1939 "in response to persistent demands", the night school started a large and extremely popular Junior Certificate class (Roux, 1941?).

3.1.2
The Liberal Tradition.

Adrienne Bird maintains that this school in District Six "subsequently developed into the Cape Town liberal night school movement, offering formal examination courses" (Bird, 1984: 197), and she notes that "those who later initiated other night schools in Johannesburg still looked to Roux as having started the movement" (Bird, 1984: 197).

Regarding the Cape Town movement started by Kuys and of which little is as yet recorded, the Roux influences will be examined as the development of the movement itself is reviewed. At this stage however it can be noted that Roux's involvement with the liberal "Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu" after his resignation from the Communist Party in 1936 and the "adoption" of the former "People's College" at St Philip's that same year by this Joint Council must have led to a certain twinning of experience in African Adult Education between the liberal and radical traditions. Also although the school in Chapel Street faded out of existence during the war years when it became impossible to obtain teachers in the evenings (Roux, 1964: 346), and although Kuys in after years could not recollect having heard of Roux (Kuys, 1985b), it will be shown later that there were a number of clear and tangible links between the new Kuys Cape Town movement and the "liberal" Johannesburg movement that owed so much of its impetus to Roux's pioneering work.

In Johannesburg many new night schools had mushroomed into existence in the forties and there was an effort at co-ordination when the
"Witwatersrand Federation for Non-European Adult Education" was formed early in 1945 (Fanaroff & Lester, 1945?: 2). This Federation consisted of 17 different schools set up by various organisations including student bodies, teachers and certain high schools (ibid: 3-4). Only one of these schools was run by the Communist Party so apart from the war-time and post-war universal and national interest in fighting illiteracy as already mentioned, what were the origins in South Africa of the other major influence in developing adult education, that of the liberal tradition?

This liberal tradition began almost at the same time as that of the Socialists, with the establishment of the Workers Educational Association (WEA) (another import from Britain) in 1914 in the Transvaal (Ballinger W.G. 1935: 59), and in 1916 in Durban (Hopewell, 1935: 55). It was also referred to by Prof. M.A. Reyburn in 1919 in Cape Town in a public lecture on "University Education and the Working Class" (Morphet, 1984: 70-71). Morphet states:

"The immediate interest of these two (i.e. radical and liberal) all but simultaneous beginnings is the manner in which they represent in South Africa, in form and approach virtually unchanged, the two traditions which formed the basis of British worker education."

Both traditions came face to face of course with very different indigenous conditions and for a while both exhibited, to a greater or lesser degree the narrow and sectional self-interests of the white worker immigrants from Europe. So just as at first white socialists, fearing competition and undercutting in wages from blacks, excluded them from their labour movement and white workers scabbed on African strikers (Roux, 1964: 155) so the Workers Educational Association, designed specifically as an association of workers recruited initially from the ranks of trade unions, saw nothing inconsistent in restricting their membership to whites only.

The early formation and active programme of the WEA in Durban coincided in 1919 with the formation in Cape Town for black workers of The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa (ICU) brought into being by Clements Kadalie. The ICU thereafter "spread
from Cape Town like a veld fire over the Union of South Africa" in its mass representation of black workers' rights, and by 1928 reached a peak of nearly a quarter of a million members (ibid: 156 & 167). However under the Nationalist-Labour Pact government and in the climate of increasing segregation of the races, the staid, conservative approach to white workers only, of the WEA, appeared to remain unshaken until signs appeared of a new awareness of the adult educational needs of blacks within this organisation in 1935.

In 1935 the WEA held a third Conference on Adult Education, the first two smaller ones being in 1922 and 1925 (Narbeth, 1943: 5). Papers at this conference such as those on libraries, film and radio were clearly written with white adults only in mind. However a new note was struck at least by W.G. Ballinger, an executive member of the WEA in the Transvaal. (Ballinger's presence in South Africa arose from his being sent out as an advisory British trade unionist in 1928 by a group of labour sympathizers to assist Clements Kadalie in the African "Industrial and Commercial Workers Union" [Roux, 1964: 178]).

In his report on the Transvaal Workers' Association, Ballinger commented: "We have to meet the not well-grounded criticism that the 'WEA is an adjunct of capitalism and a weapon used by the bourgeoisie to confuse the proletariat'." Then he concluded his report by saying:

"In the meantime, the whole field of non-European adult education in South Africa remains almost untouched. It offers boundless opportunities for adult education experimental work through the spoken word of the wireless and film. It may well be that one day it will be the major field of adult education work in Southern Africa, making its contribution to racial understanding through the dissemination of well-grounded historical-economic facts and the cultural attainments of mankind".

(Ballinger W.G. 1935: 62)

Ballinger's vision was still in line with the WEA's tradition of general culture and interest lectures that were later to develop into the popular University "Summer Schools", and did not refer to the pressing needs of black illiterates.
Eight years later however, when the WEA was invited to give evidence to the Government's Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education, Maurice Webb, well-grounded in the work of the WEA and as the Regional Representative of the SA Institute of Race Relations in Durban, submitted an eight page Memorandum that indicated a serious readjustment of WEA ideas. In this report Webb (1943: 1,7) stated: "The first aim of adult education should be an assault on illiteracy" and later, "It is encouraging to know of the work voluntarily undertaken by members of the Transvaal Teachers' Association in the Native Night Schools." He also made the following admission:

"The attempt to transplant the WEA from the England of the first quarter of the century into the South Africa of the second quarter has not been successful. The virtual exclusion of all but Europeans from the student body makes the use of "worker" in the name an anomaly. The Trade Unions have been elusive throughout. The result has been that the WEA has for a number of years offered courses...to students drawn, for the most part, from the lower professional ranks, teachers, clerks and public servants."

(ibid: 7)

(It should be noted that in Durban and in Pietermaritzburg since 1929 there had been night schools for Africans, teaching mother tongue literacy, and run by the respective Municipalities on the proceeds obtained from municipal beerhalls [Roux, 1964: 348]. Roux [1938?: 10] while disapproving the system for financing these schools, commented, "Pressure should be brought on other municipalities to adopt similar schemes." In 1945 there were 19 such literacy schools in Durban with an enrolment of 1190 students and 43 teachers, and seven night schools in Pietermaritzburg with 481 students and 21 teachers [Dent, 1945: 45]. There was still no provision for other similar municipal-run night schools in other towns and cities in South Africa, a matter of regret in the opinion of L.P. Msomi, a Natal member of the Natives Representative Council [NRC, Nov. 1945: 54]).

'A second "liberal" development that was eventually to play a major role in the mushrooming night school development of the forties came
through the formation in the twenties of the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, and in 1928, of the Institute of Race Relations with Prof. Alfred Hoernle as Chairman (Roux, 1964: 166). The work of the Joint Councils continued under the aegis of the SAIRR into the forties. Prominent liberals of the era such as J.D. Rheinallt Jones and his wife, Leo Marquard, Howard Pim and Quinton and Maida Whyte, through these bodies, were to play leading roles in the struggle against illiteracy, in the publishing of reading material, in experimenting with teaching methods such as the Laubach method, and convening meetings and national conferences on the urgent need for African adult education.

The Institute's office bearers were also elected to government educational bodies. Prof. R.F.A. Hoernle, Chairman of the SAIRR was one of the five members of the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education until his death and then his place was taken by the adviser to the Institute, J.D. Rheinallt Jones until ill-health forced the latter to withdraw in 1944 (SAIRR 14th Annual Report, 1943: 17). The SAIRR likewise had Executive members on the new "Advisory Board on African Education" established in 1945. These were Ds. J. Reyneke, Chairman of the General Purposes Committee of the SAIRR and Z.K. Matthews in his capacity as a nominee of the Native Representative Council (SAIRR 16th Annual Report, 1945: 17). However Matthews resigned from the SAIRR National Executive in 1945. Of the five Africans on that ten person executive only Mtinkulu remained after 1945 (Walshe, 1971: 348).

Roux (1964: 162) maintained that the appearance of the sudden broad liberal manifestation of interest in the plight of Africans, and in particular where it extended to providing moderating influences in the powerful, political ICU, resulted to a considerable extent from a desire to counteract the strong following being built up by the Communist Party among black workers. Certainly with the participation of the Peninsula Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu in the Cape Town District Six Night School in 1938, with the launching in Johannesburg of the student run "African College" and then the "Mayibuye" Night School in 1940 (Bird, 1984: 198), there was an overall change of direction from the former political approach of the early communist night schools.
The injection of the major involvement thereafter of the Transvaal Teachers Association and the SAIRR in Johannesburg in the adult educational movement consolidated this new change of emphasis: one of the stated aims of the African College was "to help the pupils to adapt to and understand their present cultural environment" (ibid: 199), a view on adaptation espoused by the Van Eck Report of 1946 (Van Eck, 1946: 41) and supported by a black leader of the stature of Z. K. Matthews to the extent that adult education could help to bring African social life "into line with modern conditions" (Matthews, 1946: 140).

Bird saw this new emphasis as embodying "a liberal reformist and not a revolutionary programme" (ibid: 199). From an interview she had had with a former teacher at the African College, Maida Lipschitz, (later influential for several years in the Cape Night Schools Association) she was given to understand that "teachers were expected to remain silent on politics."

Certainly a new blended tradition had started with an overall liberal stamp and Roux, so influential in the work of the early night schools in Johannesburg and Cape Town, in formally resigning from the Communist Party in 1936, no doubt had inadvertently helped to draw together to a certain extent the two streams of influence. For his school at St Philip's in District Six he obtained the backing of the "Joint Council of Europeans and Africans" in 1938 and his advice was constantly sought by a number of night school organisations. In September 1945 at a meeting convened under the Chairmanship of Leo Marquard at the University of the Witwatersrand to discuss Mass Education for Africans, Rheinelt Jones suggested that Dr Roux or Julian Rollnick (who published Roux's adult literacy readers in Cape Town) be asked to compile a list of available material for literates (SAIRR, 1945). In his tireless concern for bringing literacy and knowledge to African adults over many years and through his experience of the many problems involved, there is no doubt that Roux left his mark on the future development of the whole adult education movement. The fact that in his biographical writings he made no mention of the "Cape Non-European Night Schools Association" could perhaps be attributed to the fact that at the end of the war in 1945, he returned to lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, and
back in the field of Botany, and later under banning orders, remained in the Johannesburg area until his death in 1966.

For the men and women in the S.A. Defence Force who were about to return to civilian life in the mid 1940's there was also an interesting liberal influence at work in an Army Education Scheme. This had been initiated at a conference in September 1940 at the University of the Witwatersrand under the aegis of Prof. R.F.A. Hoernle and was further developed by Lt. Col. Leo Marquard (the 1929 founder of NUSAS) who became its chief education officer. An Army Education Handbook of 1943 used as a manual for supplying lecture material to Information officers, clearly reveals a liberal point of view (Durrant: undated).

3.2 NIGHT SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN AND ENVIRONS PRIOR TO THE KUYS PROJECT

In the historical context it is to be noted that although not on the same scale as the rash of night schools in Johannesburg, certain night schools in Cape Town sprang up simultaneously. Whilst Dr Roux was laying the foundations of the night school at St. Philip's in District Six (Cape Times? 16/8/1938), and while in Johannesburg Witwatersrand University students were starting their first night classes in the "African College", in Cape Town that same year, "a novel experiment at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, in the form of night classes for native domestic servants" gained publicity. (Cape Times? 28/11/1938). The liberal connection can again be seen, for the Night School was addressed by a Bishops "old boy", D.B. Molteno, then a Native's Representative in Parliament and it was announced that Prof. Hoernle (Chairman of the SAIRR), "is enthusiastic about it and is passing on the information to other schools in the Union in the hope that they might try similar experiments." Six years later other schools in Johannesburg did follow in the footsteps of "Bishops" when first King Edward VII High School in 1944, Parktown High in 1945 and later Jeppe High, Highlands North and Forest High, opened night schools for African adults (SAIRR 1947b).

In Cape Town, the night classes started by the boys of Bishops in 1938 became affiliated to the Cape Non-European Night Schools
Association in 1955 and continued into the sixties until closed by the government. An overseas visiting professor, Sir Reginald Coupland, recalling his impression of this Diocesan College in 1946, stated some years later: "I think I shall always remember breaking in at one of the native evening classes and watching the keenness with which Bishops boys were teaching adult natives, and the keenness with which they were learning... They were doing a work of quite immeasurable value for the future of South Africa" (Times, 1949).

There were other African night Schools in Cape Town in the thirties. Two of them were in the Langa location, one under the management of Father Savage on behalf of the St Cyprian's Anglican Church and the other started later, about 1938, by the Methodist Church (Cape Times? Father Savage other started 1938b). The teacher at the St Cyprian's night class, with a nightly attendance of about 12-15, received a salary from the Education Department (Roux, 19417: 2).

There is also evidence of other activity in adult education work during the early forties from Ray Alexander, Secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union in Cape Town. She presented a Memorandum on behalf of her Union to the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education in 1943. Speaking on behalf of mainly Coloured and African workers, (but some whites) she said: "Illiterates would respond to efforts to help them on a large scale. There is an urge among workers today for education." After referring to Dr Roux's overfull classes for Africans in District Six, she mentioned a night school functioning in Claremont run by volunteer student teachers and consisting of about 60 completely illiterate people, mainly Coloured women and added, "Facilities are insufficient for the demand that has already been tested" (Alexander & Podbrey, 1943: 4).

Ray Alexander, (a member of the Communist Party of South Africa who in 1954 when elected as a native representative, was debarred from taking her seat in Parliament) said "it was more difficult to explain the business of the union to the illiterates than to the literates" and gave a number of suggestions to the Committee for the educating of adult workers. She emphasized that workers would first need to be instructed on "trade union principles and practice, the history and development of machinery and on their relevant industries. Cultural
subjects could follow later. She described the adult educational work already embarked on by the Journal of the Food and Canning Workers' Union in its articles on home economics, hygiene and the harm of drunkenness etc, and mentioned the lunch-hour discussions that were based on these articles.

Ray Alexander's belief in the necessity of adult education was such that she thought that workers should be given 'time off to attend classes, and that such attendance should be compulsory. Moreover, she recorded, her Union "would like to see the Department take over the educational work and would be prepared to co-operate in any scheme of carrying on adult education among the workers by encouraging members" (Alexander & Podbrey, 1943: 4).

There were stirrings towards adult education in King William's Town too. A few months before Kuys opened his school in Retreat in 1945, an attempt was made by the Rev. J. Jojo of the Methodist Church to start a night school in this town. However his applications for a subsidy, first to the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria and then to the Provincial Department of Education in Cape Town were both turned down. (Night School subsidies began in 1946 after the Committee on Adult Education had published its report.) With much disappointment, Jojo wrote to Prof. Z. K. Matthews, urging him to take up this cause among his fellow Councillors on the NRC "until victory is won" (Jojo, 1945).

Prof. Z. K. Matthews, a leading African educationalist, a member of the NRC and a prominent member of the ANC, came out openly in support of the majority report of the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education when it appeared in 1946 and is on record as stating:

"Side by side with this (compulsory education) must be developed a proper system of adult education for Africans. Only by doing this shall we be able to overtake and reduce the number of adults who, never having received any education themselves, are not in position to see in proper perspective the need for the education of their children or for the many reforms needed in African social life in order to bring it into line with modern conditions. In this connection I hope
that all members of this conference will read and support the recommendations of the Report of the Committee on Adult Education in South Africa. The excellent recommendations of that Committee must not be allowed to go by default because the Government is not prepared to provide the necessary funds for the scheme proposed by the Majority Report."

(Matthews, 1946: 140)

3.3
THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO ADULT EDUCATION, 1943-1945.

3.3.1
The Thrust and Influence of the Majority Report on African Adult Education.

The Committee of Enquiry under the chairmanship of Dr G.W. Eybers conducted exhaustive research over three years from 1943 to 1945 into all facets of adult education, issuing numbers of questionnaires and considering the evidence of over 400 organisations or individuals. Although the massive task was completed by 18 August 1945, the actual report was only finally published in 1946.

The witnesses who appeared before the Committee included representatives of educational institutions at all levels, existing night school agencies, municipalities, the Natives Representative Council, teacher organisations, industrial and commercial associations, trade unions, welfare bodies, churches, youth and women's associations and men and women of all races from many walks in life. Reference has already been made to some of the evidence submitted, and to the "liberal" representation on the five-strong Committee, first by Prof. Hoernle and then by J.D. Rheinallt Jones from the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. The liberal influence reflected in the final recommendations regarding adult education for blacks was strong and was indeed to lay the groundwork for nearly a decade of continuing expansion in night classes despite the early jolt in 1948 caused by the change to a Nationalist government.

The Report recommended the setting up of a large representative National Council for Adult Education with a wide range of
sub-committees. The Council was to be responsible to the Minister of Education and its decisions were to be carried out by a Director of Adult Education assisted by an Inspectorate, an administrative section and area organisers. The activities were to range widely across all forms of adult cultural and educational pursuits among all races (Eybers 1946: 136-143).

For the immediate purposes of the African night classes, the direct effect of the Committee of Enquiry was to ensure a sympathetic and encouraging government attitude to all voluntary adult educational efforts and to subsidisation of such efforts. It was fortunate for Oliver Kuy's project launched in June 1945 that the Committee had completed its work by August of that year and this together with spade work done by subsidy-seeking night schools in Johannesburg would account for the immediate success of Kuy's application for a subsidy in 1946, which as has already been noted, amounted to £75 per annum.

Kuy, a young university civil engineering graduate aged twenty-one at the end of 1944, was in fact oblivious of the existence of this Adult Education Enquiry Committee either then or subsequently, and he only came to hear of the possibility of a government subsidy through the advice of his friends (Kuy, 1985b). However because the influence of this Committee on the Department of Education and on African adult education was important in the background of the forties and was to remain relevant for some years to come, it is worth noting some of the candid "liberal" views of G.W. Eybers, the Committee Chairman who subsequently became "Director of Adult Education."

In January 1947, in an opening address to a Cape Town national Conference on Adult Education convened by the SAIRR, Eybers summed up the background to the social, economic and political bankruptcy of blacks in the following surprisingly blunt fashion:

"As we cannot deal with the education of a people in a vacuum, it becomes necessary to consider the economic, social and political state in which the people find themselves. For much of the instruction and the reading connected with adult
education has to deal with nothing else than these three matters.

"These matters are still largely decided for the Bantu by the attitude of the Europeans towards them."

After then outlining the growth of capitalism in South Africa with its use of "partial segregation" for Africans to provide a supply of cheap labour, the resultant urbanisation, industrialisation and detribalisation of the "economically useful group" and the gross neglect of the remainder, he continued:

"Capitalism was interested only in the results of the labour of the Bantu. Culturally nothing was done for them for a long, long time. Politically nothing was done for them. Bantu institutions were ignored and citizenship was neglected. They were not given a place in the political life of the state. They were not taught to be good citizens or to love and serve the country in which they lived. Consequently they probably have no feeling for a South African nationality, for South African institutions, for South African law and justice."... (and concerning vocational education) "Bantu labour became the whole foundation of our economic system, and yet little was done to industrialize the slight Bantu education that did arise. We have done next to nothing to improve the quality of Bantu labour. We consider it only quantitatively."

(Eybers, 1947: 3)

Presumably there were limits within which Eybers as a servant of the state could express his views and such a frank admission of blame cannot of course be taken to typify government policy at this time. The contemporary and mounting frustration and anger among black protest groups under the post-war Smuts government has already been noted. However Eybers' more liberal attitude (albeit tempered with prevailing touches of 'paternalism') could be ranked with similar attitudes already referred to in the Fagan Report and glimpsed in the van Eck Social and Economic Planning Council Reports of this same period and just prior to the Nationalist Party take-over in 1948.
Then with the entrenchment of the segregationist ideology and the build-up of white support for increasing political, economic and social isolation of the black section of South Africa's population, it is not surprising such views were very soon suppressed or eclipsed in the governing institutions of the land.

3.3.2
Opposition to the Majority Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education.

On the other side of the coin the minority report of the above-mentioned Committee of Enquiry was presented by Dr S.H. Skaife. He found the proposals of the main report "far too complicated, cumbersome and costly." He described it as "tackling the problem at the wrong end." He wished to see illiteracy tackled among all children as a priority and only after primary, secondary and tertiary needs of children were attended to, could "such a comprehensive scheme of adult education as that outlined in this report be considered." Dr Skaife however recommended the appointment of an Organiser of Adult Education with a small staff and attached to the Union Education Department "to see that the fullest and best use is made of the agencies already to hand" (Eybers, 1946: 144). Some of Skaife's views were also reflected in a number of questions on adult education put to a Conference of School Inspectors in 1944 by Inspector de Villiers. One stated:

"It is feared that money might be spent on adult education which could and should be spent on primary school education for children. Do you agree with this? In other words, should we give up the illiterate non-European adults as a hopeless problem and concentrate on the children only?"

Another statement by de Villiers referred to the problem of giving free access to day school facilities to organisations "doing valuable work in certain aspects of adult education" (such as the Red Cross) but warned:

"Certain political organisations are actively engaged in
adult education, linked to a greater or lesser extent with political propaganda—e.g. the so-called Peoples' Colleges which are being established by the Communist Party. If the first-named organisations are allowed free access to the schools, the last-named might also claim similar facilities."

(de Villiers, 1944: 2-3)

Prof. G.H. Durrant of Natal University (and in the latter part of the War an Education Officer in the unusually free-thinking "Army Education Service" under Lt Col. (Prof.) E.G. Malherbe) openly supported Dr Skaife's minority report, arguing that the Committee's programme could be "made an excuse for neglecting the reforms that are needed in schools and universities." He therefore supported a programme of Adult Education only in terms of education for citizenship and to use the more mature receptivity of adults to receive education on political and economic matters. In the long run he saw this as taking "the necessary steps in the field of politics that will save us from racial conflict and international war."

Durrant, aware of propagandist dangers, believed in a "democratic way of teaching" and stated that his own view was:

"Education should aim at fostering a sceptical and independent curiosity rather than acquiescence in what one is told... Adult Education should, I believe, attempt to undo the harm that is done in schools where 'received authority' is imposed on young minds; and it can only do this if it works in such a way as to stimulate individual thought and foster a healthy scepticism. It must therefore be conducted as an exchange of information and of ideas, and not as the enlightenment of the masses by the enlightened."

(Durrant, Undated: 10)

These were refreshing points of view and in the light of later developments in South Africa, they were of prophetic significance. These ideas in fact, calling for a dialogical method and concern with political and economic matters anticipate some of the revolutionary ideas of the Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire, writing of his adult education experiments in the late sixties onwards. The
important Freire methods will be considered later but back in the middle forties, all the circumstances, such as the severe handicap of illiteracy, the widespread determination of blacks to remedy this and the zeal of those stirred to respond to these pressing needs, gave substantial backing to traditional teaching methods for achieving liberal goals.

3.4
THE EARLY YEARS UNDER KUYS AND BRODIE AND THE BEGINNING OF A CAPE TOWN AFRICAN ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

Just as Roux's background and beliefs set a stamp on the early development of night schools in Johannesburg and Cape Town, so did the background and philosophy of Oliver Kuys' serve to establish parameters for the burgeoning 1945 Cape Town night school movement despite the personal involvement of its founder being limited to only one and a half years. Those parameters, particularly affecting the deliberately neutral political attitude of the successive men and women in regard to running the schools, were in fact broadly to characterize the movement over the twenty-three years of its existence. What was the background then to the positive opinions of the young graduate who started that movement? The following assessment was made after an interview with Kuys in Vancouver in August 1985.

3.4.1
Kuys's background and attitudes.

Kuys was exposed to cosmopolitan influences at an early age. Born in Johannesburg in the twenties, he had a spell of primary schooling at St Andrews in Grahamstown before his magistrate father in an early retirement took his family to Europe for five years. During this period Kuys attended schools for significant periods in Germany, France and England. On his return to South Africa at the age of twelve he then attended Rondebosch Boys High for one year, Worcester High for Std IX (his choice to become fluent in Afrikaans) and then went back to matriculate at Rondebosch as top student at the age of fifteen. He was clearly a gifted boy whose frequent changes of school and wide travelling not only served to enhance his scholastic
attainments but in his formative years developed in him strong personal views that were to affect the development of the future night school movement.

A civil engineering course which Kuys eventually embarked on at UCT does not give its students much latitude for extra-mural activities. However, he was a keen member of the UCT mountain club and one year was top organiser of the Rag fund-raising effort to bring relief to the impoverished on the Cape Flats. His natural youthful idealism was probably augmented by his family background particularly by his Leipoldt mother whose father and grandfather had been missionaries in Worcester.

He developed a sceptical attitude about politics and did not take part in the war because, unconvinced then by the prevailing propaganda, he could not bring himself to take up arms against his former school mates in Germany. His cosmopolitan schooling had led him to see all sides of a question. He quotes as an example being taught the Napoleonic Wars at an impressionable age from the three totally different national standpoints of France, Britain and Germany! Then too his year in Worcester, allied to his Leipoldt family connections gave him an understanding of the Afrikaner's point of view and increased his distrust of politics. All this combined with the deliberate objective impartiality of two influential history teachers, Mears of Rondebosch and Beukes of Worcester, combined to convince him that education should not be slanted politically. Emphasizing this he stated: "The concept of anything to do with politics mixed with education was anathema to me" (Kuys, 1985b).

In retrospect forty years later and thinking back to 1945, Kuys recalled that politics "did not seem to relate to a clear-cut job of something that needed to be done; it was too many-sided and didn't seem to have a bearing. Here was a clear-cut situation that these people (the African night school students), needed to be able to help themselves, to be of more use in their community and to be able to get better jobs; it (the adult education situation) did not seem to have any political connotations at all. It was just a case of need" (Kuys, 1985b). His conservative streak was paramount.
His night school assistants whom he largely recruited from his contacts with students in the UCT Mountain Club, co-operated with him in keeping both politics and religion out of the classroom. On the rare occasion when a teacher used his position to propagate a specific political or religious viewpoint, Kuys who kept close contact with what went on, simply did not invite that person to teach again. (Later in 1951 [after Kuys had emigrated to Canada]) Harry Brodie his successor in running the Night Schools, can be seen to be preserving this general attitude. In a letter giving practical advice to teachers Brodie included a final comment: "Don't bring politics or religion into the classroom. It isn't fair on the pupils and can do positive harm to our Association" (Brodie: 1951a). By that time of course there had been a change of government and the project organisers could well have considered this policy regarding politics was now essential if their work was to be allowed to continue. As far as the religious aspect was concerned, it is to be recalled that in opposition quarters at this time there was gathering protest about the emergence of "Christian National Education." Could this have reinforced Kuys's original stricture on religious influences in the classroom? In the Minutes of 28 November 1952 in connection with an application from the Gardens' Presbyterian Church Night School for affiliation with the Association there is the entry: "no religious bias is permitted in the Association's schools."

With regard to Kuys's precaution against religious indoctrination creeping into his night school, he explained that a surfeit of three services a Sunday in Worcester, exposure to both Catholicism in France and Protestantism in Germany in his impressionable youth and the overheard expressions of intolerance towards Catholicism in the Schools andVarsities Camps he used to attend, made him rebel against narrow religious sectarian views. Also his teachers were drawn from all religious denominations including an increasing number from Judaism so he considered the matter of religion had no place in his school nor was it relevant to the matter in hand.

Despite his openness to ideas there was this cautious conservative streak in Kuys which made him in 1946 seek a government subsidy for his project as much for its being "a badge of respectability" (his own words) as for its financial benefit. When in 1946 he also started
classes in Langa for senior students, he viewed the use of the government day school premises as further proof of the government recognition that he valued (Kuys, 1985b). Was he looking over his shoulder at the risk of possible radical connections? Ironically however his direct contact with government personalities (ibid: 1985b) was confined to meeting and being encouraged by Margaret Ballinger, the liberal Natives' Representative in Parliament whom he had met socially along with another liberal, Alice Allan. (The latter, a teacher of senior secondary English, was a close friend of Eddie and Winifred Roux [Roux & Roux, 1972: 182] and later became active in the Cape Night Schools' Association).

A number of other factors combined to make him respect liberal attitudes and the fact that you simply could not "just gloss over blacks." These included the influence of his former history teacher, the liberal Walter Mears, his own shock at the poverty he witnessed cycling past Windermere (to attend war-time aviation training at Wingfield) and particularly, his illuminating experience early in 1945, when as a new young UCT graduate, he moved temporarily to Johannesburg hoping (in vain) to be employed in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

It was in Johannesburg through a chance introduction by a friend, that he taught as a volunteer once a week for two months in a small city night school for African adults run by Rudolph Matz. This first real encounter with Africans had a dynamic effect on him. He had had virtually no close encounters with them in the past. This experience was the "spark plug", as he put it, which gave him the enthusiasm for starting something similar in Cape Town when he returned there to work for a civil engineering firm. His enquiries and a visit in 1945 to a small night school run by the Communist Party "somewhere in the Gardens" convinced him there was nothing similar in Cape Town. This latter school, he told me, was "lacklustre and missing the mark of the need of the people among whom it was operating. I felt - well, that is absolutely no competition whatsoever for what I feel is needed in (African adult) education. The field is wide open in Cape Town. There is nothing that is here at present that is just for education" (Kuys, 1985b).
When asked if he had modelled the Retreat school on the same lines as Matz's school in Johannesburg, Kuys replied: "There was not a great variety of ways in which to teach the three R's, so to that extent, yes, it was similar. I would assume it must have been primarily modelled on what I had been teaching" (Kuys, 1985b).

In the months of preparation Kuys said he read up all he could discover on the subject but because he wanted to avoid the introduction of politics or religion he "tended to avoid contact with other organisations except where necessary" (Kuys, 1985a). He could not recall even an SAIRR connection but stated "we were just private persons responding to a need" (Kuys, 1985b).

To a large extent the influences to which Kuys was exposed typified those affecting many of the post-war generation of young whites in South Africa. His reactions were to start a process which in itself was to reflect the overall growth in white liberalism during the next two decades.

3.4.2
The first school at Retreat

Kuys obtained the use of a small Presbyterian building on the Cape Flats in Boundary Road, Retreat some ten minutes walking distance from the station. This "McNab Hall", built a few years previously as a school for infants, was in itself a clergyman's response to a touching display of interest in spreading literacy. Trudging through the heavy sand in the area, the minister had chanced upon a parishioner, an elderly African woman, trying to teach small eager children the alphabet by inscribing letters clumsily with a stick on the ground (Vallance, 1948). When Kuys's evening classes started in the hall built to accommodate her young pupils, this same enterprising teacher was herself the first to enrol among the beginners and she brought her own candle to supplement the light. Her teachers were then to discover that she was of royal blood, over eighty years of age and almost blind! (Vallance, 1948). (This was possibly Emily Gaika according to information given to me subsequently by a social worker, Mrs Grace Qunta.)
Kuys writing his first newsletter in April 1946, almost a year after launching his "Retreat Adult African Night School", has left a precise record of the early stages. Some of that information quoted in the last chapter, give rise to questions about "the political, socio-economic and educational background of his students and the attitudes of all those involved with adult education. The following will further reveal the foundations of the movement that endured in the pattern laid down by the founder long after he was to depart from the scene.

The three R's were the subjects taught at beginner and primary levels but once pupils had "mastered a sufficient vocabulary" normal school subjects were added to the curriculum. English was chosen as the principal medium of instruction "as a result of the demand of the majority of our students." Once the school was in full swing a staff of 40 teachers (mainly UCT University students) manned eight classes in the two rooms of the McNab Hall four nights a week, each teacher attending one night a week and each class having a weekly rotation of four teachers. (In the resultant crowded space all became adept at concentration!) Regular pupil attendance was noticeably improved with the extension of the number of weekly teaching nights from the initial two to four and in evidence of pupil enthusiasm Kuys cites one African domestic who although working fourteen hours a day at £5 a month managed to attend the second half of each evening (Kuys, 1946, :2).

It was a period of constant planning and organising for Kuys. As he recalled later for those two years he "had not climbed a mountain, read a book or had a date" (Kuys, 1985b). However he did not regard this as a sacrifice: during the whole period he was totally absorbed in the challenges of his self-appointed task and he drew around him some equally highly motivated assistants. One of these, a senior law student, Harry Brodie, became his right hand and eventual successor enabling him not only to maintain his exceptional level of voluntary input but towards the end of 1946, to start classes for African adults at secondary level in Langa in addition to Retreat. (Brodie moreover was destined to give continuity to the original character of the Kuys night schools for he remained loyal to those concepts and as late as 1957 was still being used as the "mentor and oracle" of the
Cape Night Schools movement [Lipshitz, 1957a]).

For Kuys the personal enjoyment and satisfaction in African adult education had sprung from his initial actual teaching experience and discovery of African individualism and "personality" through invigorating new contacts with African people both in Johannesburg and later at Retreat; however, as he found later, although it was so vital for the success of his project, the increased load of organisation work tended to remove him from that primary source of constant inspiration (Kuys 1985b).

The first major administrative task was to find suitable school books for adults. This was a problem currently being faced by the Johannesburg schools. In the junior classes Kuys first used "Basic English paper backs that had been developed in the war years" (Kuys, 1985a). These were possibly copies of the Mayibuye Reader which Raux wrote in 1938 while he was experimenting with C.K. Ogden's Basic English and which he had also used in the newspaper, "The African Defender" (Raux, 1938?: 9). After a few years Raux had admitted that Basic English involved too many circumlocutions through the exclusion of ordinary verbs and developed his own system of "Easy English" in which he wrote a number of Primers for adult Africans, some of them being the A B Adult Readers which he produced jointly with Laurence Lerner (Roux & Roux, 1972: 190-197).

Kuys was not satisfied with either the available arithmetic books that were too puerile in content, or with the "Basic English" books that in his opinion suffered from too many "short cuts to simplify verbs" and consequently with a few fellow enthusiasts he spent weekend after weekend developing primary work books suitable for adults and running them off on a loaned Gestetner machine to reduce costs (Kuys, 1985a). He does not appear to have made use of Roux's A B Adult Readers and said he had no recollection of either Roux or these books when interviewed in 1985. This seems strange as the first two of the series of four A B Adult Readers were in print by April 1945 (Letter: 10/4/1945, Rollnick). Moreover Laurence Lerner, co-author of the series, (decades later, Head of the Department of English at Sussex University, literary critic, poet and novelist) was a mountaineering friend of Kuys and was on his list of original
volunteer teachers (Kuys, 1985a).

There is no other specific record regarding this matter of material used for beginners in 1945-1946 but Brodie knew Roux and when the Langa and Nyanga Night schools were started in 1947 Roux's A B Adult Readers were regularly used (Brodie, 1986a). That year when Kuys left Cape Town, Sonia Rollnick,* (nee Krikler), helped Brodie and Mr. Hannah Rund to run the schools. In teaching absolute beginners in Nyanga, she used a combination of her own "intuitive approach", "look and say" and phonetic methods to supplement the first A B Adult Reader (S. Rollnick, 1987). There is yet another reference to these books in the Association's Memorandum to the Eise!en Commission in 1950 when after a complaint about the dearth of suitable material for teaching adults to read, it stated: - "The best series at present available is the A B Adult Reader (series) published by Pitman's and written by Roux and Lerner, but even this series is graded too steeply and takes too much for granted" (Brodie, 1950a: 7). (The co-operative efforts of Roux and Rollnick, the short existence of the "African Bookman", and the subsequent use of its publications in the CNENSA are examined in the next chapter.)

3.4.3
Subsidization of night schools for Africans.

Although Kuys and his young colleagues from UCT in an essentially 'voluntary enterprise did not at first appear to need much financial backing, it soon became apparent that money was needed to produce the text-books, to supply these and stationery to pupils who could not afford to pay for them, to provide cocoa on cold, wet nights to students in the badly drained area of Retreat and to make possible further expansion of facilities not only in Langa but also, as they began to hope, in the densely settled squatter community of

* Sonia Krikler had previously taught in Roux's school during the war in District Six, worked for the firm "African Bookman" publishing these books and in 1947 married the owner-publisher, Julian Rollnick. When she taught for the Association she regularly used to travel on her own at night the long journey by train and bus between her home in St James and the Nyanga School (Rollnick, S. 1987).
Windermere. Kuys indeed had found in the second year of his project that the £5 monthly donation from his mother was insufficient; he needed at least £15 a month. Accordingly he began to appeal for donations (Kuys, 1946). (His parents who did not themselves own a car, bought a second-hand one for the project to save women teachers from walking twenty minutes in the winter rains from the Retreat station to the school [Kuys, 1985a]).

Concurrently serious moves towards gaining government subsidies for African adult education in Johannesburg were occupying the time and energies of the "Witwatersrand Federation for Non-European Adult Education". After many meetings the "Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes" (the J 4 C's) was established and this body was granted state financial assistance. All this must have certainly paved the way for Kuys's own success when in 1946 the "Retreat African Night School Association" received its first government subsidy of £75 (Brodie, 1950b:1). Kuys reflecting on the matter in 1985 was adamant that there were no strings attached. I have found no local records of the transaction but a questionnaire put out that same year by the Federation of Night Schools in Johannesburg to all interested bodies in Johannesburg, throws light on the information the government of the day seemingly wanted in considering the granting of financial aid.

Details were required concerning names, ages, employment and educational attainments of pupils, numbers in classes, attendance registers, fees paid by students, remuneration paid to teachers, individual status of organizing "committee" members, sizes of existing revenues, venues and times for classes and detailed records of all expenses incurred in the running of schools. Notes incorporated in the questionnaire indicated that to meet the Department's requirements students were eligible for admission if they had passed Std IV irrespective of age or if they were over 16 years of age irrespective of standard. With regard to rates of remuneration (in line with the prevailing race discrimination of the time) it was stated: "Different rates of pay for Europeans and Non-Europeans are required by the Union Education Department" (Keen, 1946).
From the start there is to be noted a divergence of approach regarding subsidies between the Johannesburg movement and the one in Cape Town. By the beginning of 1946 when the voluntary organisers of night schools in the Transvaal Reef towns had prevailed on the Johannesburg Municipality to convene a meeting on the prospects for subsidizing adult education (Letter: 7/1/1946, Venables) these organisers had reached the conclusion that it was no longer possible for their night schools to continue on a largely voluntary basis. The following extract confirms this:

"Can voluntary effort meet the needs of Adult Education?

"Neither the Federal Committee nor any other purely voluntary body can do justice to the growing needs of Non-European Adult Education. The difficulties confronting those who are engaged in this work are increasing. The outlook for the coming year is very serious. It is becoming extremely difficult to enlist the voluntary assistance of qualified and even unqualified teachers, organisers and administrators. Finances are at a low ebb. Not only is there no expansion and development; there is the danger that the work at present being carried on will have to be curtailed to a large extent.

"And as yet only the surface of the problem has been scratched. The task of co-ordinating the activities of the various bodies engaged in this work,... and of undertaking the adequate financing of existing work, is far beyond the means of purely voluntary effort."

(Fanaroff & Lester, undated: 9)

Oliver Kuys on the other hand, although he soon realized that his scheme could not be self-perpetuating by means of the "taught" eventually giving one night of instruction in return for three nights of tuition as he had at first naively imagined, nevertheless only sought extra funds for his project so as to have better text books, classes and possibly a few paid teachers. He said:

"I felt that just as the students' rag had become a tradition for years and just as the students voluntarily worked to put
money into hospitals, so a voluntary organisation of this type could continue.... I was not anxious to see it (the night school) losing the input of the volunteer. I felt that this was an important part of it simply because in volunteer work there can be a level of enthusiasm and good-will that one doesn't find in paid work."

(Kuys, 1965b)

However in 1950 Brodie, imbued in most respects with the Kuys outlook as far as the schools were concerned, for a time held other very clear views. By then it had become apparent that university students could not maintain their teaching commitments when their own examination schedules caught up with them and more and more night school teachers were being recruited from outside the university student body. Then too, Brodie as voluntary organisational head of five busy night schools and 120 active volunteer teachers, had also begun to feel the strain, as had his earlier Johannesburg counterparts and in a speech to a Women's organisation had stated quite categorically:

"We do not look upon our work as being of a permanent nature. We feel that we are acting to a certain extent as pioneers, as a temporary stop-gap until we are replaced by a more efficient permanent organization under the control and direction of the Union Education Department. We admit quite freely that no matter how enthusiastic and active we are, we can never devote as much time to the problem of adult non-European education, as fully paid and permanent officials would be able to do, and the basis of our efforts is the laying of a foundation for a nation-wide adult non-European education scheme financed and controlled entirely by the Union Education Department."

(Brodie, 1950b: 3,4)

This same attitude as expressed in the last few lines was briefly represented in the first Constitution for the "African Night Schools Association" drawn up by Brodie and accepted with minor amendments at the Annual General Meeting in May 1949, in that one of the objects was "to lay the foundation for a Government Adult non-European
education scheme" (Brodie, 1949b). Nevertheless two years later, in 1952, as will be substantiated in the next chapter, Brodie had reconsidered his policy as just described and voluntary teaching with its corresponding independence of procedure, was firmly entrenched as a general rule in the Cape Night Schools Association. The reason for this decision, as will later be illustrated, stemmed directly from the inherent revulsion entertained by CNENSA participants for the deliberate apartheid ideology beginning to operate in the Department of Education after the Nationalists came to power in 1948.

3.4.4 Expansion into an African Night Schools Association

By April 1946 Kuys was calling his project "The Retreat Adult African Night School" (Kuys: 1946). By May 1949 Brodie, now heading an Association of five different schools, called it "The Retreat Adult African Night School Teachers' Association" (Brodie, 1949a: 1). The co-ordinating and general meetings were still being held in the Senior Mens' Common Room at the University of Cape Town (ibid: 1) and most of the 75 teachers by 1950 continued to be University students or recent graduates (Brodie, 1950a: 1). In fact a report in the Cape Times on 2 May 1949 referred to Brodie as "Principal of the NUSAS Night Schools".

A year before the Kuys/Brodie organisation opened up senior night classes in the Langa Methodist Primary School in 1947 a number of UCT students went to this school on Saturday mornings and a few evenings a week to assist African teachers from Langa, Athlone and Kensington to prepare for Matriculation examinations (Kwebulana: 1987). Most of these African teachers were trying to upgrade their qualifications by means of correspondence courses but were finding their lecture notes hopelessly out-dated and inadequate. One of them, Mr J. Kwebulana, who in 1946 managed to pass Std. 10 History, Biology, Geography and Economics at the mid-year and the three languages in December, believed that he could not have achieved his Matriculation certificate without the coaching assistance of those UCT students. Among his tutors he recalled Miss Goldstein, Mr. Safer and Mr de Swart, who later emigrated to Canada, and one Afrikaans speaking
teacher who apologised to his pupils for his habitual use of the word kaffir! (ibid: 1987).

Mr Kwebulana (1987) told me of the beginning of the Langa Senior Night School when the special classes described above were extended in 1947 under Brodie at the same venue to provide for Stds 6-8 but he personally was not involved again until he offered his services as a voluntary teacher to the Association in 1954; by this time he had passed a number of subjects for a B.A. degree through the University of South Africa (UNISA) and was specializing in history.

Unfortunately no minutes of meetings are to be found for the period 1945-1950 but from other documents and from interviews with some of the participants a clear picture is possible not only of the expansion that took place but also of the strongly felt attitudes of the organisers.

The use of the word "African" in the original titles of the Association is a statement of attitude in itself. Kuys (1985b) said he used it deliberately as having better connotations than the then widely used term "native" and this word was only supplanted in 1950 by the unfortunate negative, but currently popular word "non-European" when a new Constitution was drawn up to comply with the new government's requirements. (In 1959 Randolph Vigne proposed that the term "non-European" be removed from the name "Cape Non-European Night Schools Association" [CNENSA Minutes, 16/8/1959], but the matter was not followed up in a general meeting of members as required in terms of the constitution and the pressure of other more urgent matters in the sixties pushed the proposed change into the background.)

At the beginning of 1947 Kuys was transferred to Bloemfontein and a few years later went overseas, married and settled permanently in Vancouver. It was fortunate for the maintenance and extension of the project that Harry Brodie remained in Cape Town and indeed had it not been for Brodie's energy and initiative the movement might well then have collapsed.

Before Kuys left Cape Town early in 1947 the secondary level night
classes described above had begun at Langa and later in June 1947 a small primary night school was opened in Nyanga. As has also been mentioned, Brodie, still a UCT student, was assisted on the organisational side by a member of the UCT staff, Hannah Rund (an eminent mathematician) and by a fellow student, Miss Sonia Krikler. These three were under considerable pressure arranging transport and running the three schools. Thus by 1948, especially when Hannah Rund was transferred to Pietermaritzburg, Brodie realised he would have to give up teaching himself and find some way of sharing the administrative load if the night schools were to be able to continue, let alone expand. As a result auditors were approached to keep the Association's financial records and the secretarial work was temporarily handed over to the Cape Town branch of the S A Institute of Race Relations (Brodie, 1949a: 2).

Strangely enough although the SAIRR had held a large national conference on Adult Education in Cape Town the previous year in January 1947, the "Retreat Adult African Night School" was not among the organisations listed as represented at the Conference nor can I recognise among individual representatives any persons in any way involved with the Retreat School except possibly the Cape Town representative of NUSAS [SAIRR, 1947a: 28-29]. This may have been due to the fact that Kuys at that time could have been preparing for his transfer to Bloemfontein, had deliberately kept his project aloof from other organisations and also because he, Brodie and others were fully extended at that time in plans for opening a second night school in Langa as well as for re-opening the Retreat School.

3.4.5
The first Constitution of 1949

On 29 May 1949 Brodie called a General Meeting at UCT of all night school teachers and presented a concrete and detailed plan for running the Association which now comprised five night schools. He proposed an overall Co-ordinating Committee, individual school "executive committees", a continuing link with the University of Cape Town through NUSAS representatives and to cope with the additional undertakings of concerned members, an "Employment Action Committee" and a "Bursaries Action Committee". This was all put together in a
ten page Constitution for what was now called the "African Night Schools Association" and it was confirmed by the meeting subject to some amendments (Brodie 1949b). What exactly those amendments were is not known as I have not found a copy of the version that was finally accepted.

The objects of the Association in this Constitution were declared as follows:

(a) to promote the education of non-European adults; in particular, by the establishment and organising of night schools for their benefit, and by the raising of funds for deserving but indigent non-European students who wish to continue their studies at a University or other higher education institution.

(b) to lay the foundations for a Government Adult non-European education scheme.

(c) to promote racial harmony in South Africa; in particular, by bringing Europeans and non-Europeans into contact with each other in circumstances which will engender mutual trust and respect, and by helping to prevent frustration amongst those educated non-Europeans who find themselves unable adequately to make use of their education.

There is no evidence in this document of any alarm regarding the effect of the new 1948 Nationalist government on the work of the night schools, as was to be clearly shown some months later in 1950. (This alarm will later be seen in a Night School Memorandum submitted to the Bisselin Commission of Enquiry of 1949-1951). Under the heading of "Guiding Principle" the old ban on political or religious indoctrination was spelt out in meticulous detail. As item three of the Constitution it read:

"Since members of the Association may find themselves in a position to influence unduly the political or religious beliefs of their students, members shall, in order that there should be unity and harmony amongst the various groups and
points of view, and in order that the objects and interests of the Association may be most effectively achieved, refrain from political or religious argument, teaching, or persuasion, in the course of all duties or activities directly connected with the Association."

(Brodie 1949: 1-2)

It is to be noted that Brodie had not yet changed his mind about the Association being merely a stop-gap until the government should take over adult African education and that the original Kuys non-alignment emphasis for the movement was being strictly maintained. Brodie (1986) recalling this period, told the writer: "The government largely left us alone at the beginning and even increased our small subsidies over the years. We were very suspicious and very diplomatic. We did not create crises."

The constitution also made provision for the annual election of an Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, the former to head the organisation and to chair co-ordinating meetings as had been the custom from the beginning. At the beginning of 1949 Brodie and his co-workers were full of confidence concerning the role of the night schools. In his letter to the teachers calling for the May General Meeting and the adoption of a proper constitution he wrote:

"Our position at the moment is one that we can be extremely proud of. We have over sixty regular teachers going out each week to our five schools. Our financial position has never been better than it is to-day, our income being about £600 per annum minimum. We have received a good deal of beneficial publicity, and besides being held in high regard by the Department of Education, we have the sympathy and support of a very large section of the public."

(Brodie 1949: 2)

3.4.6

Student Attitudes and the Formalizing of Instruction.

In this chapter attention has focussed very largely on the attitudes of whites involved with adult education. What of the attitudes of the
African adult pupils themselves during this period? Evidence (NUSAS Survey: 1952) has already pointed to the fact that the majority of the students attending the first night schools established by the organisation were migrants with specific literacy needs; other case histories of senior students disclose a smaller group comprised of partially educated pupils seeking to upgrade their qualifications. The migrants for a variety of reasons to be considered later, tended to remain outside political formations (Kwebulana: 1987 & Nomsa: 1987) but the secondary students, whether supporters of the ANC or of the AAC, NEUM or any other organisation, appeared to see the night schools as a valuable service to the community, and even a radical such as Tabata, encouraged his countrymen to make use of the night classes (Kwebulana: 1987).

Apart from glimpses of contemporary viewpoints gained mainly from interviews with participants, the eagerness and the regular attendance of learners at classes despite huge difficulties, are factors testified to by both Kuys and Brodie. That white and black discovered one another in a new warm social relationship begins to be recorded in documents. Jumping ahead to evidence from 1952, one such report stated:-

"Almost without exception this is the first time that our members have come into close contact with non-Europeans and the spirit of mutual friendship and co-operation has resulted in a wonderful atmosphere of harmony and good-will, and has gone a long way towards removing the prejudices and suspicions which have existed on both sides."

(CNENSA Report, 1952: 3)

The following extract from a letter of 1945 from an African male domestic in the Gardens, Cape Town, enquiring about how to obtain adult education, is quoted as an example of the single-minded determination and practical attitude that characterised so many of the illiterate and semi-literate Africans finding their way into night schools. The letter from Mr Joseph Ngwadla was sent to the SAIRR in Johannesburg as the only source of adult education then known to him.
"If you have a plan please give me simple way that can get education. Now I want to learn privite, and you will tell me every things about that School from starting till ending and you will tell me money. I will start with it. Please I want simple English Dictionary and other read book that are simple too and tell me prices of those books as soon as possible. I want those prices and full speaking about that School."

(Letter: 14/8/1945, Ngwadla)

Kuys (1946) quotes verbatim a story told him by one of his pupils showing the complete helplessness of the country African newly arrived in Cape Town when he tries to look for work. He "does not know where to go or where to look, because he does not know the ways of people here ... and he cannot speak the language." Clearly many pupils, being new to Cape Town, welcomed a sympathetic ear for their adjustment problems as well as tuition in the three R's which enabled them to write home and to improve their job prospects. Brodie (1968) recalled many years later:

"We watched the souls of people grow with dignity and self-respect as they absorbed not only the academic education we were able to impart to them, but also the realization that the teachers were interested in them as individual human beings. And as they grew, so we grew. As they were educated so we were educated. In those days, in the unique relationship in which we found ourselves, it wasn't too difficult to believe that the times were changing, and that a new society might be forged in South Africa - a society in which we would have the courage to break down the barriers of caste and privilege... But alas, this was not to be. The Nationalists came into power in 1948, and the more they came into contact with our Association, the more intolerable they found this oasis of different races mixing on a basis of mutual understanding and self-respect."

One aspect of pupil attitudes seems to have been an insatiable desire to write regular examinations and to receive standard examination certificates. Certainly the UCT students staffing the Cape African night schools prepared students wherever possible for examinations.
Retreat had its first student, a police constable, matriculate at the end of 1947, after a year of struggling against many disabilities including night duties. This twenty-two year old Mosotho, Godfrey Rankapole, was described by Brodie as not only brilliant in all subjects but as showing "an amazing flair for mathematics, physics and allied scientific subjects" (Cape Times, 1948).

The following year in 1949, Zachariah Nabe, another night school student passed matric, this time through the Langa Senior night school. His employment by day varied between being a "kitchen boy in a cafe, a garage attendant and as a private chauffeur" (Cape Times, 1949). Both these students were assisted by a bursary sub-committee provided for in the 1949 Constitution. When one considers that in 1945 only 164 Africans in the whole of the Cape Province had sat for the Matriculation examination (NRC, Nov. 1945: 29) the enthusiasm generated over the success of these two men is understandable.

Mention has been made of the growing attention paid to examinations and certificates in night schools. Brodie in his Memorandum to the government had even recommended the institution of language literacy certificates at a Std 6 level as "incentives" to students and aids to employment. Bird attributes responsibility for instituting a more formal school-type education to developments in the liberal tradition, with its emphasis on upward mobility in the labour market and refers to the addition of a Junior Certificate class in Roux's Cape Town school in 1939 (Bird, 1984: 198). This development in secondary education in Brodie's schools, in Retreat and Langa was carried even further to include Std 10 classes, but it is of particular interest to find evidence that what basically determined this trend were not the intentions of the teachers but the unambiguous demands of pupils.*

Writing from the pupils' point of view on the strength of having

*There could also have been a possible historical motivation in the early days in working for a Std 6 certificate. In the Cape, African men had been exempted from the pass laws and had been given rights under the liquor laws once they had achieved the Std 6 certificate (Eiselen, 1951: 43).
"conducted night classes for Africans on and off since 1925" and having been "interviewed by hundreds of aspiring young Africans who wanted education", Roux confirms the insistent demands of the more literate pupils for examinations and certificates (Roux, 1938?: 13). Wryly, for a man who had devoted his life to African causes, Roux takes to task what he regards as this "very unhealthy attitude towards education" revealing in it the common human failing of status-seeking quite apart from the hope of obtaining a better job or better pay. However in the face of this "examination fetish" as he called it, and in spite of his wishes to give more general knowledge, he found it necessary to "bow before the storm to some extent", believing "these pathological symptoms will only disappear when education becomes general and rational." He had accordingly compromised at St Philip's in District Six by offering classes to train suitably prepared students to pass the Std 8 Junior Certificate. For, he countered, "It is all very well offering the Bantu (sic) education, but unless they find it is the kind of education they want they will not come and take it... We are dealing with adults who will come to night school only if they feel like it" (Roux 1938?: 12-15 and 1941?: 1).

Morphet (1984: 87-88), in assessing the development of educational work among black workers points out that neither the communists nor the liberals were able to draw upon the basis of a "common culture" as could the socialists and liberals in Britain and therefore in South Africa, lacking this base, "educational work took on a strongly instrumental cast". He also states that both the radical and liberal practices adopted non-formal "instrumental" approaches but "with different emphases and goals" and that in the case of "the liberal night school context the learner is defined as an 'outsider' seeking entry" whose "culture is implicitly devalued against the cultural standards of the teacher".

These views raise a number of queries which will be considered critically only in the final chapters after all the evidence about the Cape night schools movement has been reviewed. At this stage however it can be noted that Roux's reading of the common human failing of "status-seeking" in aspirant adult learners, Brodie's remark, "as they were educated so we were educated" and Morphet's
criticism of the night school learner being "defined as an outsider seeking entry" can all be seen as interesting pointers towards the new ideas being developed in the sixties and seventies in Latin America, particularly in the radical pedagogy of Paulo Freire. The perspective of the latter will be specifically seen in relation to the work of the CNENSA in Chapter Seven.

3.4.7
The Memorandum of the Cape African Night Schools Association in 1950 to the 1949-1951 Commission on Native Education

In 1949 a questionnaire had been put out by the Commission on Native Education (under the chairmanship of W.M.M. Eiselen) and had been sent to the Association as to many other concerned bodies. Well over 200 memoranda were received in response (Eiselen, 1951: 7). Brodie and a new committee member, Machanick, represented the Association and appeared before the Commission on 30 January 1950 on the same day that the latter had summoned the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa to give its evidence (Cape Argus? 1950). The Association's eight-page memorandum reflecting liberal beliefs, provides a rare insight into the political views of Brodie and his colleagues, views which were normally and deliberately masked in their operation of the night schools.

The memorandum would have been prepared towards the end of 1949 when Harry Brodie was in his final year as a law student at the University of Cape Town. In that year he was on the SRC and was a member of NUSAS. As has been noted already most of his total of 75 Night School teachers were then either undergraduates or recent graduates. This body of young liberal-minded intellectuals, in the atmosphere of the new political dispensation in South Africa were politically aware and clearly suspicious about gathering evidence of new and drastic government actions, particularly in the field of education.

Much NUSAS activity centred around fears of what was beginning to take shape. Along with other self-constituted "watch-dog" bodies, the newly formed and Johannesburg based "Education League" in its publication, "Blueprint for Blackout" of January 1949, had alerted the general public to the dangerous implications in the new Christian
National Education proposals; these included plans for moulding a race of Afrikaner "fundamentalists and isolationists" and for christianizing the African "on the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation" (Education League, 1949a: 14). Philip Tobias who was active in the work of the Education League and was its Acting Chairman (van Heyningen & Tobias, 1952), was President of NUSAS in 1949 and that year sent out to Principals, Registrars, SRC's and NUSAS committees, copies of a Memorandum on "The African in Higher Education" which had been presented as evidence to the Eiselen Commission by Ray Kriger and L. Walker from UCT on behalf of NUSAS (Letter: 1949/1950? Tobias).

The Education League (which liaised with NUSAS), also submitted a Memorandum to the 1949-1951 Eiselen Commission in 1949; it was a document which leaned heavily on the 1948 Report of the Commission on Vocational and Technical Education to reinforce its claims for one educational system for all and to defend, among other things, the concept of a good general education to develop in the child "the power to make personal judgements" and "to develop his own powers to the full as an independent thinker and doer" (Education League, 1949b: 3).

It was against this background of NUSAS concerns that Brodie and fellow students in the Association would have applied their minds to the questionnaire put out by the Commission. Seeing him and his colleagues in this context serves to throw light on what will now be seen as a sharp contrast in attitude between on the one hand, the Association's aggressive Memorandum with its strongly articulated liberal sentiments, and on the other, its Constitution of a few months earlier, with the latter's detached and neutral stance and its stated belief in such neutrality as the best means for achieving the "objects and interests of the Association" (Brodie, 1949b: 1).

In the perceptive view of Brodie and his committee, the Eiselen questionnaire in many respects tended to presuppose answers already in the minds of the Commissioners and that were so soon to lead to the imposition of Bantu Education. Although few of the seventeen questions directly concerned adult education the Association's memorandum (38 paragraphs) nevertheless put forward positive opinions
on a number of important issues.

It replied in a general collective way to the first eight questions (Brodie, 1950a: Para. 5-10) and at the start provided an overall "criticism of the apparent basis of the questionnaire" which implied that differing "racial characteristics" should determine the nature of "native education" and had already determined the African's "social heritage". The Association's response, while accepting the existence of distinguishing African physical characteristics and obvious, though temporary differences between whites and blacks in economic and social circumstances, rejected totally the theory of any "inherent" difference in "mental characteristics". It disputed what it felt was a clear implication in the questionnaire that the various 'characteristics' of the Native, whatever these may be, are in some way responsible for the fact that they (Africans) find themselves to-day in almost every sphere subservient to the European." It likewise rejected the term "social heritage" used in the questionnaire as "vague and unscientific" and attributed the cultural achievements of any race (Afrikaners included) to the "blending of a miscellaneous selection of wholesale borrowings from other cultures and nationalities."

The Memorandum had various practical ideas for overcoming existing educational disparities but totally condemned any suggestion for a differentiated education based on race. In this regard it stated:

"We cannot sufficiently stress our firm conviction that any attempt to differentiate educational training on the basis of race is not only unscientific, but also, when one considers the friction which already exists between various racial groups in this country, extremely dangerous."  

(Brodie, 1950a: Para. 8)

* Similar criticism emerged from "The Association of European Teachers in African Education" when with regard to the Commission's terms of reference it stated: "Any formulation of educational principles based on the belief here implied throughout, that culture is a mystic property, exclusive and incommunicable as between different cultural groups, is not valid" (Star, 1949).
The Memorandum responds to a number of contentious ideas that were already threatening to reduce education for Africans to a training for subservience. Accordingly it commended increased facilities for industrial training but not at the expense of a normal secondary education which it saw as an "essential foundation" and which should include such subjects as Latin, Mathematics and Science "to promote logical thinking and instil into pupils the idea of using their own initiative".

'Stress was laid on the power of a better education (Para. 13-14) to raise the standard of living of the African with all the "corresponding benefits to his health and also to the economic well-being of the country as a whole." The report carried this argument further by citing evidence of higher wages seemingly attached to the higher educational standard of adult African pupils in the senior secondary night classes in Langa compared with the lower wages of pupils in the predominantly primary classes at Retreat, and recommended that a survey be undertaken to determine the correlation between the standard of education and the standard of living of the African.

On the sensitive issue of the use of language for instruction purposes (para. 25-30) the memorandum categorically rejected any suggestion that Africans should be taught in the vernacular and was at pains to stress the importance of fluency in at least one of the official languages, "the bread and butter languages", "even to the extent of sacrificing fluency in the vernacular." It emphasized too the practical need of the student for fluency in English or Afrikaans to gain access to the best text-books.

In drawing attention to the scarcity of jobs for educated Africans, the report (para. 15-18) forthrightly condemned the existence of

* Both of these latter beliefs were included in the Memorandum of the Education League. The latter in support of a sound education had quoted the following from A Mayhew's "Education in the Colonial Empire": "Those who urge that a child should learn only what is useful are usually those who want a perpetual supply of cheap labour" (Education League, 1949b: 6).
"artificial barriers" such as the Apprenticeship Act, which closed avenues of employment. It recommended the setting up of a Commission to investigate this matter and to "enquire into the effect of all legislation which either in theory or in practice limits the entry into trades and occupations to Europeans only."

The Association also took to task the Government's failure to provide schooling for many thousands of African children and stressed the urgency for overcoming this serious neglect by stating:

"every shilling which the Government fails to spend on the education of Native children today, will cost this country a pound in twenty years time, in terms of the problems of health, unemployment, and delinquency which will result from this lack of education".

(Brodie, 1950a: para. 23)

Adult education was seen as essential for many years to come because of the vast numbers who had received no formal education but when this evil was rectified the "loss and wastage" involved in adult substitute education could be "reduced to a minimum" (para. 24).

A number of other positive suggestions were also put forward in the Memorandum. These included the urgent necessity for improving the quality of primary "foundation" education through better qualified teachers, the production of more suitable text-books in the combating of adult illiteracy and the introduction of "literacy certificates" at Standard VI level in English and Afrikaans. The latter, it was felt, would both provide incentives for students who favoured examinations and would be a means for their obtaining better employment.

This document marked the end of Brodie's one-man leadership in the Cape African Night Schools Association, and with the ensuing AGM in May 1950, the beginning of a new era. Although however Mr C. Machanick then assumed the new office of Chairman, Brodie remained the "honorary secretary" and for many more years was to exert a considerable influence over the fortunes of the night schools, attending co-ordinating committee meetings and still devoting time to
assist in the rapid expansion that was then to take place. In 1950 he had left University and had started a legal practice in Cape Town.

3.5


The findings of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Education were only published in 1951 and were to have a profound effect on the reorganisation and political manipulation of "education" for Africans as well as on further bitter polarisation between races. It is therefore necessary at this stage briefly to review some aspects of this Report for an understanding of the forces that were relentlessly developing in the background to the next stage of the development of the CNENSA in the fifties. The findings certainly justified indeed many of the fears contained in Brodie's Memorandum just referred to.

The main thrust of the report spelt out a plan for phasing out the old system of missionary and private schools, removing the control of African education from the Provinces and setting up a separate Department of Bantu Education with wide powers vested in the Minister. It stipulated that the mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction for at least the duration of the primary school. It recommended that in order "to expedite the change-over" to mother-tongue education "committees should be appointed to compile the terminology which will be necessary in the teaching of all primary school subjects through the medium of the Bantu language..."

"that according as this terminology together with the necessary manuals, become available, the principle of mother-tongue medium of instruction be also introduced gradually in the secondary schools."

(Eiselen, 1951: 146)

The Report ominously laid special emphasis on the aim of "Bantu Education" being the "equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings" and "on the education of the mass of the Bantu to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions" (ibid: 130).
Primary schools were to be subdivided. Minimum literacy for all children was to be provided in lower primary classes from Sub. A to Std 2 whilst those who continued in newly styled "higher primary" schools (Stds 3-6) would be assessed for suitability for further education and guided into avenues considered by the state as needed for the development of a separate Bantu society (Hartshorne, 1985-86: 20).

These recommendations and others which were indeed to pave the way for the emergence of the notorious Bantu Education Act of 1953 were produced despite strongly worded alternate proposals submitted in very many of the over 200 memoranda. The commissioners in dismissing such opposing suggestions spoke of the "views from a considerable percentage of witnesses" as based on "impression" and on "doctrinaire solutions" (Eiselen, 1951: 8) yet in their review of the current situation they certainly could have been under no illusion about how Africans felt regarding the provision of education. The report even refers to Africans' extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the "Bantu", and stated that they "wanted the same education (as for whites), not a bastard education", adding that "the insistence on exactly the same curricula and examinations as are found in European schools is linked with a desire for the same (equal value) certificates" (ibid: 43). Regarding the medium of instruction, the Report also admitted that among "Bantu witnesses" a "very considerable body of opinion favoured the introduction of one or both official languages as media at the earliest possible stage" (ibid: 102).

Such widely held and clearly expressed views by the people most concerned in any future plans were deliberately overruled, no doubt as "doctrinaire" according to apartheid ideology; instead, quite relentlessly, the machinery was put in place and the stage set for the eventual different syllabi, different examinations, inferiority and isolation that were to be so disastrous, not only in the field of education but for the country and the nation as a whole.

However, at the more specific level what did this report have to say about adult education? The findings in general were arranged under three main headings, (1) the existing system of African education,
(2) a critical appraisal of this and (3) the aims, proposals and recommendations. Night schools and adult education came under brief review in each of these sections. Because the latter findings were to be of great relevance to the history of the CNENSA over the next two decades, I will outline them here, in preparation for the unfolding of that history in the chapters to follow.

Regarding the de facto situation the Commission found the position "very complicated and data available - far from complete". As far as the Cape Province was concerned it discloses that there were eight night schools subsidized by the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science but does not provide their names (ibid: 31). It tells of the existing regulations governing the subsidization of continuation classes, fees (no uniformity), teachers ("a few schools are conducted by Europeans, mostly university students, in Cape Town and Johannesburg"), staff salaries, curricula, subsidies and teaching methods of which it complains of a similar lack of uniformity or a prescribed system (ibid: 66). It describes also (1) the Division of Adult Education of the Department of Education, Arts and Science and (2) the National Advisory Board for Adult Education and refers to their functions and subsidization of institutions and "local voluntary organisations" (ibid: 68).

In its section on critical appraisal, the Commissioners, while accepting that the demand for night schools and continuation classes was a reasonable one and should be met by the state, nonetheless severely criticized the existing administrative arrangements as "chaotic, wasteful, confusing and thoroughly undesirable." It proposed reforms through the setting up of a uniform policy and administration, supervision and inspection, methods of teaching and in financing the schools and criticized the National Advisory Council on Adult Education for being a law unto itself, failing to work satisfactorily with other related departments and having its own priorities. However it recognized great potential in the concept of adult education, not only for combating illiteracy but also for teaching matters of "practical importance" and stated that "such information must be based on the real needs and life of the people and not on doctrinaire concepts" (ibid: 125). One notes again the emphasis on practical subjects for tuition purposes as opposed for
example, to the theoretical and abstract sciences which Brodie had felt an indispensable part of a normal secondary education.

When it came to the third section dealing with aims and recommendations, the Commission felt that little had been done in the field of African adult education and recommended that local and regional authorities should conduct careful surveys of the position and where it appeared necessary to organize schools, these should be subsidized and controlled directly under the proposed new "Department of Bantu Education" (ibid: 142).

In addition to the above, among its annexures, the Report included a three page report on "Bantu Adult Education" so as to give "additional tentative recommendations in this connection." These envisaged adult education being provided in six major categories namely, "illiteracy," "ignorance in healthy living habits," "family disintegration and neglect of children," "immorality and social degeneration," "lack of vocational guidance and training" and lastly, "political ignorance and exploitation".

These titles speak for themselves and the last named, "political ignorance and exploitation" conjures up a vision in 1951 of proposed state propaganda against the prevailing background of actual growing black political awareness, and the initial preparations for the Civil Disobedience Campaign of the following year.

As far as illiteracy was concerned (which, of the above categories was the one directly affecting the CNENSA), the Commission's main recommendation, as stated elsewhere, was for control under the proposed "Department of Bantu Education" through the "Bantu local and Regional Authorities" and for a system of inspection. It advocated encouraging urban employees to attend the classes by raising their wages after passing a definite minimum test of literacy and supported the idea of the issue of a certificate in recognition of such a minimum requirement. Furthermore it wanted a "careful enquiry into the present basis of financial aid by the government to all part-time and continuation classes" and consideration given to a "system of preferential subsidies for education which has as its sole aim the combating of illiteracy". (In this regard it specifically favoured
the experimental work being undertaken by the SAIRR on a revised Laubach method.)

These latter concessions could accommodate the State's deliberate emphasis on basic primary education for supplying a "literate" or "semi-literate" black labour force without allowing training for positions in the economy that were to be denied to Africans more relentlessly than ever. The wheels of government were to move slowly but inexorably along its chosen path and it is almost certain that the final cancellation of all subsidies for voluntarily-run night schools in 1957 had its first tentative origin in the early "divide and rule" concepts contained in this report. But in the meantime in 1950, the Cape Night Schools Association, having submitted its views on the dangers inherent even in the very terms of reference of the "1949-1951 Commission on Native Education", turned its attention once more to the practical tasks of running its voluntarily-staffed schools, starting up new ventures and solving its many practical problems of funding, transport, text-books and new teacher recruits. Even when the Report was published in 1951, I have found no direct evidence that the Liaised warnings it contained regarding adult education had been expressly noted by the Night School organisers.

How the Association now began to encounter a new form of government surveillance and how in spite of legislation slowly but steadily mounting to destroy it, it continued and expanded from 1950 until 1957, is the subject of the next chapter.
4.1 BACKDROP OF UCT STUDENT POLITICS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 1950’S

In 1950 as for some years to come, the schools were still largely staffed by UCT students. At that time there were only two universities with “mixed” student bodies, namely the Universities of the Witwatersrand and of Cape Town although the black proportion of each seldom exceeded 10%. The University of Natal had segregated white and non-white sections and arranged identical lectures for separate classes (Segal, 1963: 85.)

To gain a picture of some of the attitudes among university students towards the Association in the early 1950’s it is useful to compare and contrast the views of two night school principals during that period who were both members of the UCT SRC in 1950, served on the CNENSA’s co-ordinating committee and who both later achieved prominence in their respective careers. These were Ronald Segal and Raymond Ackerman. I have discovered Segal’s views from his autobiography (1963) and other sources and those of Ackerman from a personal interview.

Segal, after graduating from UCT in 1951 continued studying first at Cambridge and then at the University of Virginia, before returning to South Africa at the beginning of 1956 to establish an international quarterly, "Africa South". The following year this outspoken journal was prohibited from all railway bookstalls and after being banned altogether in 1960 when Segal himself was banned for five years, it was published overseas as "Africa South in Exile". After Sharpeville Segal helped Oliver Tambo to leave the country and left himself to settle in England (Segal, 1961). A short while later he became the General Editor of the Penguin Books African Library series, convened an International Conference on South West Africa, helped to promote
the economic sanctions idea and became a well-known author of many controversial books. One of these, published by Pelican in 1970 was "America's Receding Future" which, as a Guardian critic on the cover put it, was "meant to make liberals seethe."

Ackerman by contrast stayed in South Africa and became a well-known retailer and head of the extensive Pick 'n Pay stores. As their subsequent careers have indicated Segal and Ackerman, differed ideologically from each other yet both supported night school activities to redress a grievous situation, Ackerman continuing to be active in this direction until 1955 when he moved to Johannesburg. Indeed he played a major role in building the Association's effective voluntary organisation and promoting its rapid expansion into a growing number of schools around the Peninsula.

Through the eyes of these two very different participants in the Night Schools one can see the beginning of the fifties at UCT as a period of intense political debate. Segal described the student body as divided into three groups, namely:

"the Nationalists, who opposed the whole principle of academic integration and agitated for the expulsion of the non-white students; the United Party majority, with a liberal list, which supported the system as it was, academic integration and traditional social colour bar; and the radicals, organised for the most part into the Students' Socialist Party, who demanded an end to all social discrimination. It was these three groups which jostled for control of the Students' Representative Council, at annual elections in which the poll seldom fell below half of the 4 000 strong student body."

(Segal, 1963: 84-85)

This jostling for power in the SRC reflecting the current racial controversies in the outside world, received much press publicity, goading of course the government that had already committed itself to academic segregation throughout the country. Although a social colour bar was still preserved at UCT (no black students could use the swimming pool or be admitted to university residences, official dances or sports amenities) the government directed attacks against
the "subversive" elements in the integrated universities and Segal observed that:

"The university authorities were fearful of speeding government action by too forceful an opposition, as though the two mixed universities might somehow be overlooked if only they kept quiet enough" (ibid: 85).

Segal and Ackerman had many factors in common. They were both from privileged, affluent homes, were natural leaders, had an in-built Jewish concern for the abused and oppressed, and in 1950 were young contemporary students who despite their differing ideological beliefs (Segal the rebel and Ackerman the moderate) were both to encounter the taunts of some of the more radical students who poured scorn on the maintenance of the Cape African Night Schools.

Integration on the campus brought Segal into a close and enlightening friendship with an ardent Coloured supporter of the radical Unity Movement who was also elected to the SRC. Segal, a strong individualist in his critical appraisals and soon on terms of easy argumentative equality with his new black friend, espoused socialist ideas but withdrew from the Unity Movement and the kind of radicalism then gaining ground that would have no truck with seeming palliatives such as volunteer classes for African illiterates. His Unity Movement friend "with mild impatience" regarded the night schools as futile plasters to treat a cancer in society that should instead be cut right away. Segal, already an active Principal of the Sea Point Night School and recruiting fellow students to teach at the school, countered that "no revolution could be made by waiting for it. While one organized, one had to put one's hand to what one could. Should one want the hospitals closed because the sick would swell the rebellious?" (ibid: 86-88).

One cannot overlook the fact that for a candidate for the SRC, (as Ackerman [1987] admitted), involvement with UCT's growing night school movement and therefore with growing numbers of university students, was in most cases a strong asset, and this could possibly have been an additional spur to participation. Be that as it may, Segal's growing political interests and the time he needed for
passing final examinations removed him from the night school scene at the end of 1950. With his impatient intellectual search for fundamental political socio-economic solutions he did not of course adjust easily to the "shrill competing voices" and the school's hot over-crowded hall that "ripped at the nerves" (Segal, 1963: 88), but there was possibly yet another reason which made him give up in contrast to Brodie and Ackerman who stayed with the movement for so long. He (ibid: 88-89) records that at the end of his year of running the Sea Point night school he was deeply impressed by the perceptive awareness of one of his senior and successful African women pupils in Std 6. When he asked this forty-year-old cook if she would like to continue until she had matriculated she despondently indicated the sheer futility of achieving matriculation in a society to which it seemingly opened no doors. Perhaps this harsh fact contributed to his looking for other ways of devoting his energies towards bringing about change.

Ackerman, also on the SRC, told the writer (1987) of the clashes he had had with radicals on the campus in quite "vicious" discussions. "In 1950, 1951", he recalled, "we couldn't get the extreme left-wingers to come and teach because they said we were placating our consciences and were helping to support the system that was keeping people down." Even on NUSAS (which sponsored the night schools and raised money for them) "there were some people who did not like what we were doing ... helping to placate blacks by giving them a few crumbs" instead of destroying such organisations, because, maintained these radicals, "the only way to get a new South Africa was to have a revolution." Ackerman recalled that he was "severely criticised" for his association with the Night Schools by his left-wing colleagues and for not being a true left-winger himself and that it was this destructive, anarchistic attitude that got him (and his contemporary Zach de Beer) onto the "middle ground" where he was to continue to stay.

While in Std 9 at the Diocesan College in Rondebosch Ackerman had already begun teaching African adults and for a year had been Principal of that school's night classes (referred to in the last chapter). It was for this very reason that Brodie in his final year at University in 1949 had sought out Ackerman as the man to head the
Retreat Night School. It would seem that it was this more cautious brand of practical liberalism of people like Ackerman that in the main was to motivate students to volunteer as teachers in the coming years. However in this connection, Brodie (1986b) stated:

"There were some teachers who were 'socialists', and later 'communists'. I think Bennie Turok, a communist, (and a student contemporary) was a teacher. But there were also many, like myself, who believed in a free enterprise society. The politics of the teachers never seemed to come into the picture at all, perhaps because the non-politics line was laid down so firmly from the start, that 'activists' didn't feel strong enough to 'make waves'".

In those early years when the Nationalist government was busy laying the foundations of Statutory apartheid, the education department, under which the Association still fell until mid-1954 (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1954), largely left the Night Schools to their own devices, except that it was laid down in 1950 that a government representative should serve on the Co-ordinating Committee and the new Constitution of 1950 had to be presented to the Department of Education for approval (CNENSA Minutes, 25/6/1950). In actual fact a government representative came very seldom to meetings but Brodie (1986b), in response to my query, recalled: "We were very suspicious and very diplomatic. We did not create crises... we were very wary of Nationalist intentions in general - and of Mr Wulfsohn (an inspector deputed to report on the schools) in particular. Wulfsohn was polished and diplomatic; and we were apprehensive of him."

So in the early 1950’s the Association preserved a guarded, very detached and rather sphinx-like attitude in the face of the massive polarisation taking place, political eruptions in the then frequent protest marches, the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the emergence of new political formations and mass movements after the banning of the Communist Party. The Minutes for those years of 1950 to 1957 confirm this deliberate detachment; indeed except for very occasional fringe references when major events that were traumatizing the nation impinged on local activities and raised the spectre of danger in entering the townships (CNENSA Minutes, 28/6/1952), scarcely even a
ripple is to be observed in the records of the assiduous efforts of the Co-ordinating Committee, continually opening new schools and gaining popularity among blacks and whites alike for the voluntary Association.

I will devote the next chapter to a general review of the overall progression of events that formed the socio-political background to the Night School movement in this period of the fifties, but in assessing the attitudes of the Association's white organizers and teachers at this stage, certain events must be briefly called to mind. 1950 saw two corner-stones of granite-like apartheid placed on the statute books. These were the Population Registration Act which officially and heartlessly shoved people into racial categories, and the Group Areas Act which ensured that they would live compartmentalized in their ethnic or enforced racial divisions. Mixed marriages had already been prohibited in 1949, and a further amendment to the "Immorality Act" was enacted in 1950 to make liaisons across the colour line legally "immoral".

1950 followed hard upon the December 1949 adoption of the ANC's Programme of Action which was to usher in a new era in ANC protest, the replacement of deputations and petitions with a new militant African nationalism and the launching of mass action in the form of boycotts, labour stay-aways and civil disobedience. In 1950 June 26 became for the first time a day of historic importance in African protest when the ANC declared a "Day of Mourning and Protest" following upon the emergence of the Suppression of Communism Act (first introduced as the "Unlawful Organisations Bill") with its wide powers to proclaim organisations unlawful and to impose restrictions on "listed" persons who had been known to have been office-bearers in such organisations.

The following year, 1951, was to witness further consolidation of the apartheid ideology and of oppressive legislation. The Commission on Native Education handed in its report which, as already mentioned, was a clear forerunner of the Bantu Education Act that was so soon to follow. Dr Verwoerd became Minister of Native Affairs, and the Bantu Authorities Act was passed, inaugurating local African government on tribal and ethnic lines. Commenting on the effect of
this latter act, which gave enormous powers to Dr Verwoerd, Margaret Ballinger, African Representative in Parliament said:

"The implications of these developments were largely hidden even from the most immediately interested parties by the method of their implementation... In any case the whole apartheid plan continued to appear so unrelated that it was difficult for the ordinary citizen to comprehend in practical terms the nature of the process upon which the Minister was engaged."

(Ballinger, M. 1969: 373-374)

4.2

THE SHIFT FROM UCT STUDENT CONTROL AND AN OVERVIEW OF THE ATTITUDES OF WHITE VOLUNTEER TEACHERS IN THE NIGHT SCHOOLS IN THE PERIOD 1950 - 1957

It was against this background in the early fifties that university students still came forward in large numbers to help staff the night schools but as expansion took place "outsiders" (as opposed to university students) began to run the organisation. The ties to NUSAS gradually began to weaken. Whereas in May 1949 the term "NUSAS Night Schools" was still occasionally used (Cape Times, 1949), the May 1949 Constitution drawn up for the "African Night Schools Association" made provision for NUSAS to be "represented" on the Co-ordinating Committee and by 1950, under the revised Constitution, this representation was a "non-voting" one (CNENSA Minutes, 3/9/1950).

By 1952, in a Report on the "Aims and Activities of the CNENSA" it was stated that "the Organisation is run by a Co-ordinating Committee which consists of sixteen business and professional men and women and university students of Cape Town who are chosen from the seven schools" (CNENSA Report, 1952). Although that same year, NUSAS had conducted its survey among pupils in the Association's schools (supra, pp. 27-30) its influence over the running of the organisation was now minimal although it helped with bursaries. When in fact £50 remained over from funds raised by NUSAS for the schools in 1952 this amount was made over to the NUSAS loan fund (CNENSA Minutes, 1/2/1952) which now replaced the CNENSA's initial role in financially assisting its qualifying students to undertake tertiary
NUSAS continued to have a representative on the Co-ordinating Committee until the middle of 1954; in this capacity Neville Rubin attended meetings until June that year.* At this stage, although assuring the Association of "its continued good-will and co-operation", NUSAS decided that no practical purpose continued to be served by its being represented on the Committee, so withdrew. (CNENSA Minutes: 6/6/1954). By this time however students from UCT, financed by the newly established Students Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (SHAWCO) and with the help of Ackerman, were running Windermere, the CNENSA affiliated school which was represented on the co-ordinating committee, and they continued to provide many volunteers for teaching at the other schools, particularly at Retreat.

Gradually more and more men and women were inspanded as voluntary teachers from many walks in life. Ackerman in his final year at UCT in 1951 thought of Brodie (who had graduated in 1949) as a "senior citizen" in the Association, who together with co-office bearers, Machanick and Esther Wides, both young, post university and business people, provided a "real stable mature approach" (Ackerman, 1987). He, Ackerman in time also became "a sort of elder statesman" on the co-ordinating committee; however he maintained that he and others of his contemporaries simply carried on the tradition laid down by Kuys and Brodie, continuing the "flame" that they had lit, but "we were not the creators... and my role, if it was a role, was actually to broaden the Association into more schools, - it was my chain-store bug coming out" (Ackerman, 1987). Esther Wides (1986) also paid

* Neville Rubin was elected to SHAWCO's Board of Management in 1955 and played a major role in SHAWCO taking over comprehensive welfare work in Windermere that had been commenced by CAFDA, the Cape Flats Distress Association (SHAWCO Minutes: 14/4/1955). He became President of NUSAS in 1959 and later helped Randolph Vigne, (the CNENSA Chairman form 1958 to 1960) to found the magazine, "The New African" (C.J. Driver, 1980: 201). He like Vigne finally left the country in 1964 after having been suspected of being a leader in the National Liberatory Movement (SAIRR 1964 Survey: 81).
similar tribute to Brodie and other founders of the Association. 
"These people," she stated, were so involved; we were just doing things. They were the conceptualizers."

It is also to be observed that in the early fifties the Association was run predominantly by Jewish volunteers. A large proportion of students at UCT were of course Jewish but as time went on the need for more and more teachers and fund-raisers to match the expanding number of night schools was one that was undoubtedly met in the 1950's by Cape Town's closely knit Jewish community, even to the extent of inspanning the occupants of the Jewish old age home in the Gardens to pin the thousands of flags needed for the fund-raising annual street collections. It was a striking phenomenon and when I sought the causes for this in interviews with Brodie, Wides and Ackerman, all agreed that the Jewish background of persecution before and during the 1939 - 1945 war could have motivated many to give of their time and energy to people who were also 'suffering from discrimination and persecution.

The South African Jewish community is a comparatively new one but apart from the impact of bitter personal experiences still being fresh in the minds of first and second generation members of Jewish immigrant families, the Judaic religion calls upon its flock in a very specific way.

However whatever the significance of the Jewish input in the work of the Cape Night Schools Association, it had either not been brought to the notice of Rabbi (Dr) Andre Ungar (who in the 1950's was Rabbi of the Port Elizabeth Progressive Jewish Congregation) or, in his eyes it failed to count as any real substitute for a meaningful Jewish stand against mounting racism in the country. Writing in "Africa South" in 1959 (after he had emigrated to London) he saw Jewish welfare projects and provision of "certain educational facilities", although commendable in themselves, nonetheless "a lame substitute for open expressions of human fellow-feeling for and self-identification with the oppressed black majority" (Ungar, 1959: 33).

Ungar in his article in Ronald Segal's "Africa South" backed his
criticism of his people by referring to a small society known as the Jewish Democratic League. This League called a meeting in Johannesburg in 1956 to protest against the Group Areas Act and immediately it earned the unanimous disownship of their action in the Jewish press. He also likened the failure to follow the humanitarian and non-racist leadership of the Jewish Board of Deputies by rank and file Jews to similar discrepancies between leadership and followers in the Anglican and Roman Catholic communities. In the case of the Jewish community he cited four reasons why Jewry should actively oppose racial discrimination, namely, their own past suffering at the hands of racists, "enlightened realistic self-interest" with regard to ultimate white survival in South Africa, the fact that a significant section of world Jewry is itself non-white and lastly that the "essence of Jewish morality is wholly incompatible with any sort of racial discrimination... As a religious creature, the Jew is compelled by his faith and tradition to assert human dignity and rights for all" (ibid: 34-37).

There was a complexity of motivations behind the strong Jewish participation in the Cape Night Schools and certainly one must accept that a strong factor was the yellow feeling of sympathy for other victims of oppression. However a comment by Esther Wides who was Chairman of the Association during its period of greatest expansion (1953-1956) puts forward an interesting theory. It not only throws further light on the major contribution from the Jewish community but possibly too, provides some further understanding of how against a background of increasingly harsh racist legislation, protest marches, the Torch Commando, civil disobedience and mounting oppression, the key night school organisers, whatever their reactions in their private lives, maintained outward impassiveness in their conduct of the Association. Recalling this period, Wides (1986) stated: "People lived their political lives outside of the night schools... the people that were in charge were Jews and Jews are either revolutionaries or appeasers,... you are either a very courageous revolutionary or (because of past history) you are frightened." Earlier on in the same interview Wides stated: "I guess eventually we were all sort of appeasers - in the sense that the only way to survive was to appease," and she described how in 1951 Brodie
had been instructed by the Co-ordinating Committee to modify statements in a night school newsletter. "Probably we were actually appeasing the government (that "juggernaut of the National Party"), hoping that if we kept quiet and didn't get in their hair, they wouldn't get in our hair." (Note the same attitude referred to earlier as attributed by Segal to the authorities at UCT).

However in their private lives there was a wide assortment of ideological leanings among the organisers and teachers. Segal, probably the most radical, had left the Association by 1951 and Brodie began gradually to feel that he needed to expand his liberal beliefs in a movement less circumscribing than that of the Cape Night Schools. Thus when the Liberal Party was formed in May 1953, he became a keen member and gradually withdrew his active participation in the Association. He remained however its father figure, guide and mentor right through until his eventual emigration to Canada (subsequently to Israel) in 1960. Recalling this transition (the Minutes confirm that he no longer sat on the Co-ordinating Committee after the AGM of May 1954), Brodie in response to my queries wrote as follows:

"As you seemed to sense, I was beginning to find myself - not then -(i.e. in 1950) but a few years later, uncomfortably restrained by the "narrow" compass of the Night Schools. I felt that the dreams we had originally cherished, of a fairly rapid evolution to a 'just' society (excuse the vagueness, I'm trying to describe something very general), would never be realized under a Nationalist Government, and I felt that I needed to get out and fight on a much wider front. I was delighted when the Liberal Party was founded and immediately joined them. I have a vague memory of a subsequent Night School Committee meeting at which I expressed views to this effect.... I actually shocked them speaking out politically at a night school committee meeting, and the reception was distinctly chilly. Rightly so - I 'was out of order'...

"In my own way I regarded the Liberal Party work as a natural development from my 'education' in the Cape Night Schools."

(Brodie, 1986b)
A number of other active teachers in the night schools also became keen members of the Liberal Party; among these could be mentioned Desiree Berman who taught history for two years in the Langa Senior Continuation classes, George Gie, principal of Langa Junior (the largest of all the night schools), Brian Bishop, principal of the Docks School and then of Sea Point, Gordon Searle, principal of St Marks and later of Green Street school, Alice Allan, Nancy Dick, the Cleminsheas, Joseph Weiss, Randolph Vigne whose political work was ultimately to cause him to flee the country, Norman Bromberger and the journalist Benjamin Pogrund who represented NUSAS regularly on the Co-ordinating Committee in 1951 and 1952. In spite of its caution in eschewing politics the Association in its teacher substance was predominantly liberal and for the AGM in 1956 an invitation was extended to Margaret Ballinger (not accepted) to be the guest speaker (CNENSA Minutes, 25/2/1956).

After Segal's departure there did not appear to be any conspicuous radicals in the Association until Phyllis Altman, an active member of the Congress of Democrats (Carter/Karis Microfilm 9A:2:XA7:06) became the organisation's administrative Secretary from April to December of 1955. Unknown to most of the CNENSA committee Phyllis Altman had the previous year published a novel in England called "The Law of the Vultures" which revealed a build-up of black hatred for whites in the maelstrom of Johannesburg and township life and was banned in South Africa. As no meeting is recorded in the CNENSA as having taken place in June 1955 it is most likely that Altman as a member of the Congress of Democrats would have attended the historic Congress of the People in that period and the launch of the "Freedom Charter." (In 1964 as a member of SACTU she was served with a banning order which prevented her from continuing with trade union activities [SAIRR Survey, 1964: 265] and she subsequently left the country.)

I have deliberately enlarged on some of the political backgrounds of the above cross-section of whites who were involved in the continuation and development of the CNENSA in the fifties to show that they were indeed a varied bunch of representatives of the broad range of white political opposition to apartheid developing during this period. Many of them, according to Esther Wides (1986) did not take any strong political stand (Crystal Horwitz [1987] declared that
she was strongly apolitical), but it would appear that among those who did, the majority were liberals in the broad sense of the term.

4.3 AFRICAN TEACHERS: PAID AND VOLUNTEER, 1950–1957

In 1951 Mr Moss, an African teacher (with one assistant) was paid to run the Paarl Night School sponsored by the Association. (Moss had been instructed on the revised Laubach method by Mrs White of the SAIRR.) Otherwise there is no mention of there being any black teachers in the CNENSA until 1952 when a report, commenting on nearly 200 volunteer teachers that year, stated that although the large majority were white "there has been an increasing number of Coloured and African volunteers in the last two years" (CNENSA Report, 1952: 3).

Then references in the minutes of the period 1952–1954 reveal a pattern developing in which African teachers, who may have started off as volunteers like their white counterparts, yet unlike the one-night-a-week teacher, often taught three or four nights a week and so were paid a nominal amount for their services. These people began to be employed particularly for teaching illiterates to read and write Xhosa; the rates of pay in 1952 being fixed at 2/- to 2/6 per hour for primary teachers and 5/- to 7/6 per hour for teaching senior standards. Principals were empowered to employ such teachers subject to the appointments being confirmed at the first available Co-ordinating Committee meeting but in fact not many teachers were paid; for example at the largest of all the schools, the Langa junior, a report in the June 1952 minutes shows that there were two paid teachers and seven or eight voluntary teachers per night.

This system of employing a few "regular paid African teachers worked well on the whole. However in the early days of the school opened in the Simonstown location in June 1952 it led to a temporary UDI on the part of the paid African staff; this happened when the latter would not accept being retrenched after attendances of pupils had fallen and the committee had decreed that their paid services were no longer warranted. Disregarding the rule of the Association that the pupils were not to be charged fees these teachers decided to do just that
to raise the necessary money and for about a year ran the classes independently of the CNENSA. The school however returned to the Association when a Mr Mamputa of Simonstown in June 1954 approached it to run the classes once again (CNENSA Minutes, 1952-1954).

4.3.1 Emergence of African teachers in the running of the Association.

It was nearly nine years after the commencement of the Cape Night School movement that in 1954 an African teacher, (Mr Hobogwane), appeared on the Co-ordinating Committee. He represented a small literacy school which had been opened towards the end of the previous year in the Friend's Meeting House in Green Street by Mrs Murray Parker. The records for that year, 1954, indicate a new, at any rate more visible consultative process beginning to take shape between the white and black organisers and teachers in the Association. For the first time in its history the Annual General Meeting of that year in presenting a panel of people who were experienced in Night School work, featured as one of its four main speakers, an African, Mr Cassie; he was a senior teacher at the Langa Senior Night School (CNENSA Minutes: 16/5/1954). This AGM specifically explored the attitudes of teachers to the work of the Night Schools and provides a glimpse not only of the views of white participants but through Mr Cassie some inkling of some of the local African attitudes.*

* With regard to the views of African workers 1954 saw the beginning of a strong non-racial trade union movement, SACTU, in response to the emergence of the new South African Trade Union Council which excluded African or racially mixed unions (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 55-56); also in the month prior to the CNENSA AGM a further flexing of African muscles had taken place when on April 17, another national body, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was founded (Lodge, 1983: 142). African workers were consolidating their base and the Federation's "Women's Charter" had boldly proclaimed that as members of the National Liberatory movements and Trade Unions, "through our various organisations, we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people" (FSAW, 1954).
Byram Cassie was described (ibid: 16/5/1954) as a "highly qualified teacher who had taught Xhosa at Langa Senior (day school) for many years." In his talk he listed among the "valuable" achievements of the Night Schools, the provision of basic knowledge to enable Africans to deal with a new environment and to cope with employers, examination successes, and the fostering of widening interests through a new-found ability to read newspapers and books which in turn broadened inter-group contact within the community. "Both in the short view of immediate help and in the long view of assistance to the community as a whole and in improvement of African conditions, the Association is doing valuable work," he had stated (ibid: 16/5/1954). Cassie was elected on to the CNENSA co-ordinating committee at the 1954 annual general meeting but his name does not appear again in ensuing minutes. (He subsequently became a school principal in Port Elizabeth, started the Masibulele Training College in Whittlesea, was a keen sportsman and died about 1981 [Mshumpela, 1987]).

The opening of the small night school in Green Street, Cape Town in 1953, largely to provide literacy and elementary classes for workers from the Royal Dairy (CNENSA Minutes, 28/7/1953), had served to introduce African input into the Association at an organisational level. As the Green Street students had asked to be taught in Xhosa, a nucleus of professional African teachers from Langa volunteered their services and began to run the school. There are a number of references to this "small band" of teachers in the records and they began to be regularly represented on the Co-ordinating Committee. Through their efforts, (even a preparedness to work through the normal mid-year school holidays), the level of pupil attendance was maintained; a report of a few years later (Lipshitz, 1957) stated that the founder of the school, Mrs Murray Parker, "has the voluntary help of a number of highly qualified African professional men. This excellent staff (recorded in the June 1957 minutes to consist of nine teachers) has increased the school numbers from 12 to 24."

(About this time the implementation of the controversial Bantu Education Act had begun to leave its mark on the Association. Immediately after the May 1954 AGM the Association was informed it had been "transferred" from the Department of Education to the
Department of Native Affairs, and at a general meeting in October an amendment to the Constitution provided for the necessary changes in wording from "Education Arts and Science" to "Native Affairs" wherever the former title occurred [CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1954 & 17/10/1954].

What information is there about these African teachers on the co-ordinating committee? The references are sparse but pieced together provide a glimpse of the beginnings of an interesting African contribution to the running of the Association. During the first half of 1955, Mr Sydney Matshiqi was acting Principal of the Green Street School which then catered for an average of 18 students a night, and he was assisted by five other Langa teachers and a Miss Jowett. One of Mr Matshiqi's teacher colleagues at Green St, Alexander Mshumpela (who much later became a Western Cape School Inspector), told me (1987) that Matshiqi, disillusioned with Bantu Education, was a social worker, had later moved to Johannesburg, then to Zambia and finally after remarrying, emigrated permanently to the USA.

By the end of 1955 Mr J.G. Motambikwa had become acting Principal of Green Street, assisted by Deputy Principal, Mr Jameson. Motambikwa was actually from Nyasaland and was a student at the University of Cape Town (Mshumpela, 1987). He was a member of the SHAWCO Board of Management in 1955 (the only African on this Board) and the following year in 1956 was employed temporarily for two months as a social worker in Windermere (SHAWCO Annual Reports, 1955/1956). He began to exert a considerable influence on the policy decisions of the Co-ordinating Committee; in October 1955 his suggestion for inter-school activities was warmly received and in November he put forward a detailed resolution "dealing with the principles of education and the introduction of extra-mural activities" (CNENSA Minutes, 3/10/1955 & 20/11/1955).

I have been unable to find an actual verbatim record of that resolution but it was significant that the principles of education should be queried by an African member of the Committee at a time when the ANC was calling for the new "Bantu education" day schools to be boycotted and for African pupils to attend alternative classes. It
is also in line with the overall wariness of the Association that the Chairman, E. Wides, ruled that the "principles" of education fell outside the scope of the Association's constitution. However, Motambikwa's proposals for extra-mural activities led to the formation of a sub-committee comprising himself and four others to draw up detailed proposals for this programme which was to take place "on a teaching night and should consist of something different, not something additional." Motambikwa had in mind "a library, a newspaper cutting service and lectures by distinguished non-Europeans, e.g. Prof. Matthews and also artists such as Miss Rathebe" (CNENSA Minutes, 20/11/1955). It is to be noted that this proposal came just five months after the Congress of the People had taken place at Kliptown near Johannesburg, at which the Freedom Charter, the original brain-child of Dr Z.K. Matthews was adopted (Lodge, 1983: 69).

The following year however, when Motambikwa did not reappear, the proposed committee was held in limbo for some months whilst waiting in vain for his return. It finally met without him (CNENSA Minutes, 24/6/1956) but thanks to his original initiative, set about encouraging 'extra-mural activities such as in-house and inter-school debates as well as cultural projects in several of its night schools, but there is no record of an invitation being extended to Dr Matthews or anyone else prominent in black political opposition.

A good idea of the extent of these extra activities is provided in a CNENSA newsletter of December 1956. This stated:

"Windermere, St Marks, Langa Senior and Docks schools have arranged for their pupils to attend plays, lectures and debates. Particularly noteworthy are the inter-school debates

* It is worth noting that the minutes of November 1955 which referred to Motambikwa's controversial section in his resolution querying the principles of education were no doubt written up by Phyllis Altman who was then still secretary. As a member of the COD and the Congress Movement she would have supported the ANC campaign against "Bantu Education" and for alternative education.
between Langa Senior and Windermere, two lectures by Mr Segal (Philip) on our Shakespeare strip films, a concert at Windermere given by the combined Rondebosch High and Rustenberg Schools orchestra, attendance at performances of "Macbeth" at Woodstock Town Hall and "The Taming of the Shrew" at Maynardville, and music evenings at Windermere. Docks pupils went to Bantu Theatre. This is a most interesting and stimulating side of our work, which must be continued next year."

(Lipshitz & Wides, 1956)

Another example of African initiative was a school started up on the Eureka estate in Elsie's River by a Mr Waluka, also a student from Nyasaland, according to Mshumpela (1987). Waluka initially ran a class for eight adults four nights a week in a room lit only by two candles, and was a Catholic catechist, highly esteemed by the priest in charge of the local Catholic church. He applied to the Association early in 1955 for assistance with his school and after Wides and Brodie had visited it the Committee decided to assist by paying Waluka and an assistant teacher each five shillings a night to take classes up to Std 4. This "Eureka" Night School was then affiliated to the Association and provisioned with a pressure lamp, cupboard and text-books (CNENSA Minutes, 13/4/1955 & 22/5/1955).

However the following year, in 1956, attendance figures dropped drastically and behind this situation and the report on a possible merger with another small night school in Matroosfontein (started by a Mrs Makaleni)* a passing comment in the minutes refers to forced removals from Elsie's River to the then new township of Nyanga. At the same time the new "Bantu School Board" structures set up under

* Cameron (1986, 184-188) has revealed the rapid growth of the Eureka Day School from 1949 when it was started by Mrs Makaleni, to its recognition by the Department of Education in 1951 and its time of rejoicing in 1954 when 14 new classrooms were added. However that year with the control of the school passing from the parents to the new Parow School Board and with the introduction of Bantu Education with its double sessions, various resistance tactics were organised in this comparatively strong centre of ANC support.
the Bantu Education Act were materializing and the Association had written to Mr Ngo, secretary of the new Bantu School Board in Nyanga, advising him of their proposal to amalgamate the two above-mentioned night schools (CNENSA Minutes, 20/5/1956). All such plans were of no avail, the removals went on, and by the end of the year both Eureka and the Matroosfontein night schools had to close (Lipshitz & Wides, 1956).

Apart from the men previously mentioned and Waluka and Makaleni, other African teachers who attended Coordinating Committee meetings during 1956 and 1957 were Messrs Qebe, Kamba, Njikela, Moteane and Dempsey Loate. Mr Victor Koza and Mr Gladwin Mateze, although not on the Co-ordinating Committee, are mentioned as paid African teachers along with Dempsey Loate at the Langa Junior Night School where Mr Bruce Megone took over the principalship in the middle of 1957 from George Gie. Langa Junior was the best attended of all the night schools with attendance figures in 1956 and 1957 averaging over 200 a night.

Another of the African township schools was the Nyanga Night School. This had been launched by Brodie, Sonia Krikler and UCT student colleagues in 1947 only a few months after they had started their first night school in Langa but it did not have the same early success. In fact it had a very chequered career and for a long time was adversely affected by inferior accommodation, poor lighting (from pressure lamps), distance from Cape Town and general transport difficulties. And unlike the Green Street school it did not attract volunteer African teachers from the older settled Langa community; for some years there was no day school in Nyanga, nor was there a railway service as between Langa and Cape Town. For many years this night school was largely staffed by white volunteers with one or two additional paid African teachers as expansion necessitated.

In 1955 however, just before the forced removals of squatters from Elsie's River, the Association's Chairman, E. Wides, had felt it very important to build up this Nyanga Night school as "Nyanga would become the centre of African life in the Peninsula" and maintained that it was better to pay for extra African teachers at Nyanga than to finance a proposed double session at the Brooklyn Chest Hospital.
School then being run by the Association. (CNENSA Minutes, 3/10/1955). One such teacher was Vumazonke. He was mentioned in the records as "being difficult"; he insisted on teaching through the medium of Xhosa although he had been "engaged to teach in English and he had been instructed in the methods used by the Night Schools and told that the system laid down by the Association was necessary to ensure continuity" (CNENSA Minutes, 25/2/1956).

About this time Nyanga's first day school was built (the "Nyanga Public Primary School" later renamed "Walter Teka"): after the Association had obtained permission to use its classrooms at night and was also allowed to instal electricity in this school (at its own expense), pupil attendances increased greatly to average 70 to 80 a night (CNENSA Minutes, 25/2/56 & 3/3/1957). How many African teachers were then employed in Nyanga is not mentioned but a Chairman's Report recalling the position in 1956 for the CNENSA as a whole, stated that of the 150 regular teachers catering for 750 pupils, 17 were paid African teachers spread between nine schools. Several of these were employed by SHAWCO at the Windermere school (SHAWCO Annual Reports, 1954-1958). These African teachers were warmly appreciated for the Chairman (Lipshitz) went on to state: "As they receive only 5 shillings a night and some teach four nights a week we must, acknowledge the goodwill that brings them to help us" (Lipshitz, 1957).

Apart from co-operative African teacher involvement in the fifties in the CNENSA, blacks in other contexts also demonstrated their goodwill towards the Association. The government subsidy only went part way towards meeting costs, so from an early stage fund-raising was always an important activity for supporters of the night schools. Among those institutions that provided collectors for the major annual fund-raising event, the street collection, the following can be mentioned to illustrate black support: the main coloured high schools of that period, namely Harold Cressy, Livingstone and South Peninsula; other educational bodies such as Trafalgar Junior School, Batterwood Training College, Zonnebloem Training College, and the Wittebome (Dominican) schools; CAPDA (where CNENSA ran a school); the National Union of Distributive Workers; the African Textile Workers' Union; the Silvertree Boys' Club; the St Marks Community Centre (also
housing a CNENSA school; St Philip's Mission; the Moslem Progressive Society and the Langa Vigilance Committee (CNENSA Street Collection Reports, 1953-1956).

4.4

GROWTH OF THE CNENSA DURING THE PERIOD 1950 - 1957

In an early newsletter Oliver Kuys had envisaged other schools like his original one in Retreat being set up in Langa and that very crowded squatter area, Windermere. By 1950 there were five schools but the one contemplated for Windermere was not to materialize until Ackerman in conjunction with the Education Management Committee of the newly established SHAWCO helped found it in 1954.

Figure 1 illustrates the mushrooming into existence of the various schools run by the Association after 1945 and shows that for a short period in 1955 at the peak of the Association's development, there were as many as fourteen schools in the Cape Peninsula affiliated to it. Two of these, as has already been mentioned were started by other agencies, namely the small Eureka school developed by Mr Waluka and the Bishops school run by the senior boys at the Diocesan College in Rondebosch, but all the others, in response to local appeals, were started and maintained by the members of the CNENSA.

The fastest period of steady growth was during the four years between mid-1952 and 1955 when nine more schools were added to the existing five. Appeals for new schools had been flooding into the Association in 1951, and its September 1951 newsletter stated: "We have been asked to open schools at Goodwood, Bellville, Brooklyn, Windermere, Woodstock, Claremont, Wynberg, Simonstown and Central Cape Town."

Faced with these appeals and pressing adult educational needs the Committee had to re-appraise its organisation; thus on the recommendation of the Committee of the Langa Junior Night School, Mr Lewy Principal of that school, was asked to head a Publicity

* In 1952 the Association was approached by a Mr Hubert Jacobsen from as far away as Luderitz Bay, S.W.A., for advice on how to establish a night school (Letter: 16/7/1952, Sec. CNENSA).
sub-committee for launching a major publicity drive in 1952 for both more funds and more volunteer teachers. Already twice in 1951 appeals in the press had been successful in bringing in more volunteers, thirty on one occasion and twenty-six on the other (CNENSA Minutes, 13/2/1951 & 13/9/1951). Clearly the old days of purely relying on UCT students to staff the schools were over. (It is interesting to note that in finding it necessary to seek publicity the sub-committee nevertheless placed on record that such publicity was NOT essential for either the "promotion of internal enthusiasm or for internal re-organisation" but only to win support for the Association's schools by the public and to promote the main aim of the Association, namely "the mass education of the Non-Europeans" [Lewy, 1952].)

The school for African dockers was started in mid 1954 in an out-building next to the labour compound in the former Breakwater Gaol, at the request of a Docks compound official (Wides 1954: 2). It was held at first only on Friday nights and 75% of its pupils were illiterate: by 1955 the demand justified three nights a week (CNENSA Minutes, 8/8/1954 & 22/5/1955). Absorption in their work made participants remarkably impervious to overcrowding and noise where 50 pupils, 7 teachers, 5 large tables and 12 benches were all crammed into a room the size of an average bedroom! (Kearney, 1956).

It will be noted from Figure 1 that the Paarl School was seemingly of short duration, namely one year in 1951. In this instance an African, Mr Moss, to whom I have already referred (supra, p.114) had approached the Association for sponsorship to enable him to respond to requests in the Paarl area for starting up a night school there. Harry Brodie as Hon Secretary had taken up the matter with his usual thoroughness. It was not going to be easy to supervise a school so far from Cape Town but arrangements were provisionally made to pay Mr Moss and one assistant five shillings each per evening for not more than three evenings of instruction a week in classes ranging from Sub A to Std 3 and with the number of pupils being limited to 30.

However in due course a committee for "Continuation Classes" under the Department of Education took over this school from the Association and ran it in the Paarl African location (Brodie Paarl letters, 1950-1952). Perhaps Mr Moss subsequently left Paarl because
CNENSA Schools during Period of Growth 1945 - 1957

School organised by SHAWCO as part of CNENSA
School run by another body and affiliated to CNENSA
later a Mr E. Moss applied to the CNENSA to be employed to run literacy classes in factories and also lunch-hour classes in Cape Town and would have had part financial backing from the SAIRR; as it turned out neither of these schemes materialized (CNENSA Minutes, 4/7/1952, 6/10/1952 & 9/1/1953).

In the case of the Brooklyn Chest Hospital, following upon a request from Miss Gwen Belcher (CNENSA Minutes, 8/5/1951), the Association in 1951 started to pay a Mr Meyer, an elderly coloured pensioner who had had thirty years of primary teaching experience, to provide classes for patients ranging from illiterates to about Std 6 (Machanick, 1952). This project proved a great success, not only educationally but therapeutically. The classes of course were never very large; during the seven years that the school operated under the CNENSA the average attendance was 23. Finally at the end of 1957 when the Association had lost its subsidy and the City Council had agreed to take over the responsibility for employing the teacher (by then partly paid by the T.B. Care Committee and the Samaritan Fund), Lipshitz in her annual report was able to say of this school, "we can hand it over with a feeling of achievement" (Lipshitz, 1958).

Because of the success of the classes at the Brooklyn Chest Hospital, the Dr Stals Memorial Hospital at Westlake applied to the Association for similar assistance. However this type of project was not in line with the typical volunteer-run night school of the CNENSA and the Association, struggling to raise enough money, replied that the Tuberculosis Council should apply directly for funds to the Adult Education Department. The last mention of this proposal in the records stated that no finance was made available (Machanick, 1953). In this category of classes in a de facto institution, the CAFDA night classes eventually also failed to obtain continuing CNENSA sponsorship; these were closed after 1955 when it was felt that the pupils involved could attend other night schools (Lipshitz, 1957).

Apart from considering the established schools indicated in Figure 1, in assessing the demands being made on the Association during the fifties mention must be made of a number of other extraneous adult classes which from time to time applied for affiliation or for financial assistance. They came from areas such as Worcester,
Klipfontein, Rondebosch, Gardens (the Presbyterian Church School), Vasco, Hermanus, Athlone and a school in Mowbray (CNENSA Minutes, 1951-1957). Worcester was considered to be outside the area that could be serviced by the Association; the Rondebosch Night School was told it could not be affiliated as a number of pupils there were under the age of 16; the age factor was also mentioned to the Gardens Presbyterian Church School along with the Association's ban on any religious bias in its schools and nothing further came of that application or of the one from Vasco. Serious efforts were made however to recruit an organiser and volunteers to assist a Rev. Van Eck with classes started by him in Klipfontein, two miles beyond Nyanga, but without success for the records stated "the number of schools is being curtailed because we are short of teachers" (CNENSA Minutes, 6/3/1953).

By the time an application had been received from Mowbray (CNENSA Minutes, 15/9/1957) government legislation had stipulated that each school had to file a separate application with the Department of Bantu Education for registration, so it was felt no purpose would have been served by affiliation to the CNENSA. The attempt to start up a night school in Athlone belongs to the next chapter, but with regard to an African adult night school in Hermanus, the Association sent that school's founder, a Mr Luke Mlabateki, assistance in the form of E. Roux's A B Adult Readers and a "Teacher's Guide" (Letter, 25/3/1954, Sec. CNENSA).

In the expansion period up to 1957 all of the above points to the geographic limits within which the CNENSA could operate, to growth limited to the availability of volunteer teachers, and in the eyes of the treasurer, to the availability of funds! Mr Gordon Searle in a Treasurer's Report stated: "There is not much room for further expansion unless we can find some means for increasing our income" (CNENSA Treasurer's Report, 1956). The then annual government subsidy of £750 went less than half way to meeting expenses and the Association steadfastly resisted charging its pupils fees.

Figure 2 serves to show the expansion from 1945 to 1957 in terms of total annual average attendances of pupils at all schools. The numbers shown in this and subsequent graphs of attendances are the
FIGURE 2
Average Annual Pupil Attendance at all CNENSA Schools for the Period 1945 - 1957
best estimates that can be made from the sometimes rather sparse figures quoted in the records available at present, such as chairmen's annual reports, co-ordinating committee minutes, CNENSA newsletters and SHAWCO annual reports. Although they may not in all cases be precisely accurate, I believe that they adequately show the trends from time to time. Where stated figures were not available for certain years, a dotted connecting line has been used in the graph to connect the known figures.

There was a strange drop in regular attendances towards the end of 1955 in spite of the increase in the number of schools. It is difficult to find any single, striking explanation for this dip in the graph. Over the years, attendances were always affected by such factors as the availability of capable school organizers, of steady reliable teachers, and in many cases, by a shifting population. According to the minutes in 1955, bad winter weather had caused attendances to dwindle at Langa Senior and in the Simonstown school; the latter school in fact closed in August and did not reopen until the following year. In July of 1955, a cloud-burst flooded Windermere (Selzer, 1962: 3) rendering many homeless. It was reported too that the Nyanga school not only had severe accommodation and lighting problems that year but it had been difficult to find teachers "who could travel the great distance to Nyanga". Similarly, the Docks school also had accommodation problems and through overtime work many pupils were unable to attend evening classes (CNENSA Minutes, 1955 & Wides, 1956).

With expansion in numbers of schools and pupil attendances there was a corresponding expansion in numbers of volunteer teachers. This increase is reflected in the figures quoted in the Chairman's Annual Reports showing 125 teachers in 1951 increased to approximately 250 in 1955. However, the report of 1957 (Lipshitz: 1957) refers to 150 "regulars" in 1956 as distinguished from "reserves". With the change in the fifties from the initial practice of using only university students as teachers to recruiting suitable older volunteers, a new general teacher continuity factor had developed. In 1955 more than half of the teachers enrolled had taught in the Association previously (Wides, 1955a: 1) and in 1956 at the Langa Senior School, classes had been run by "a keen group of teachers" many of whom had
taught for six years (Lipschitz & Wides, 1956). This of course in no way detracts from the considerable achievements of the university students, most notable in the fifties being their lively school in Windermere, but they were considerably handicapped in their teaching availability by the demands of their own examination schedules.

4.4.1
Sub-primary, Primary and Secondary Classes and the respective sizes of the fourteen Night Schools.

The schools catering for illiterates and primary standards only numbered nine; however even in some of these schools occasionally classes were provided for examination students in Std 6 and even at Std 8 level if such a need occurred. These basically junior schools in order of age were:

(1) Nyanga
(2) Sea Point (had Std 6 & 8 exam. candidates in 1950)
(3) Langa Junior
(4) Brooklyn Chest Hospital
(5) CAFDA
(6) Green Street
(7) Docks
(8) Simonstown
(9) Eureka (Elsie's River)

Those schools providing classes at both primary and secondary level, again in order of age (or affiliation in the case of Bishops) were:

(10) Retreat
(11) St Marks
(12) Windermere
(13) Bishops

and the only school to concentrate purely on secondary classes was the one founded in 1947 in Langa, namely:

(14) Langa Senior Night School.

The main focus of the Association in this period however was still felt to be at the literacy and primary levels (Langa Junior was by far the largest school) and in the primary standards the teaching of
the three R's was the main substance of all the classes. Xhosa was taught in all the sub-standards to meet the basic need of African illiterate pupils in their first language and as a much sought after means for communicating with distant families by written word.

At the Senior level many teachers in 1954 -1955 in particular, showed their concern at the challenges facing them and at the many inadequacies, especially in preparing their students for examinations. Teachers of senior classes from the various schools met in mid 1954 and again in November of that year to discuss their joint problems. Some favoured concentration on general education in lieu of set syllabi but Ackerman's contention (cf. Roux, supra: p. 91) that the pupils came specifically to obtain examination certificates won support from the majority for meeting these demands.

However, competent measuring up to the demands was not easy; the problems were manifold and organisation needed to be tightened up. At the end of 1954 the Association even planned to experiment with the provision of one central school for all secondary level students in 1955, to pay £10 a month for an organiser, to institute grading tests and to subsidize transport in extreme cases of need. This plan did not materialize, it being impossible to find suitable central premises and none of Windermere's 1955 intake of senior students would agree to attending classes elsewhere (CNENSA Minutes, 18/7/1954, 16/1/1955 & Report 22/11/1954). Teachers' meetings continued to grapple with problems, a sub-committee was formed to consider the choice of text-books (at both primary and secondary levels) and senior teachers began to compile their own individual hand-out notes in a variety of subjects for general use. In particular, the stalwart, experienced teachers at the Langa Senior School during 1954 and 1955 "tackled the problems of senior school organisation and syllabus" and gave "a lead to the whole Association" (Wides, 1955a: 1). The decisions on text-books and subjects to be taught will be expanded upon presently.

To conclude the overall picture of growth and size of the Association during these years, 1950-1957, I have used such figures as were presented from time to time in the monthly minutes to estimate an average attendance figure in each school covering its individual
period of operation within those years. These estimates, while not of
course presenting the interesting high attendance figures of some
periods are nevertheless a fair reflection of the average size of
each school. Presented in order of size from the smallest to the
largest school they are as follows:

**Table 5**

**Average pupil attendance at CNENSA schools (in individual periods of
existence) up to 1957.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Name</th>
<th>Period Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eureka</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Street</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn Chest Hosp.</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simons Town</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAFDA</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docks</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langa Senior</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanga</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Marks</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retreat</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Point</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windermere</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langa Junior</td>
<td>1953-1957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average attendance at Langa Junior, the largest of the schools,
if given for only the two last years of this period, namely 1956 and
1957 was 177. Attendance frequently tended to fall off in the final
months of a year but in both 1956 and 1957 an attendance of 200 a
night at this school was a regular feature for sustained periods with
short peak bursts of attendance in March/April of 250 or more a
night. In April 1956 record attendances of 260-270 a night were
attributed to an increase in "bachelor" migrants in Langa and an
extra night would have been started if more voluntary teachers had
been available (CNENSA Minutes, 15/4/1956).

The number of nights per week that classes were held varied from
school to school and in some cases depended on the availability of
teachers and transport. For example Retreat throughout most of this
period was still staffed mainly by university students, hence at the
beginning of a year it would often operate only two nights a week
until the university academic year was properly under way when a
third weekly night would be opened. In general the records reveal the
following fairly regular practice.
TABLE 6

Usual number of teaching nights per school per week.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Teaching Nights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langa Senior</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windermere</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retreat</td>
<td>4 (3 after 1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langa Junior</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Marks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simonstown</td>
<td>3 (2 in 1957)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAFDA</td>
<td>3 (2 in 1954)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureka</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanga</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Point</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Street</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Docks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>(number not stated; probably 5 mornings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>(not stated)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PUPIL BODY

All of the fourteen schools were attended by Africans but there were varying numbers of coloured students at Retreat, CAFDA, Brooklyn Chest Hospital, Sea Point, and St Marks, the latter school in District Six having a particularly large number of coloured students. All the pupils were admitted to classes regardless of race provided, as has already been indicated, they were 16 years of age or older.* Although during the fifties the divisions between White, Coloured, Indian and African were being increasingly enforced in all aspects of life in the Western Cape as elsewhere, the Association ignored these trends in its non-racial admittance of pupils and as far as was possible in its enrolment of teachers, and in fact continued to do so until it was finally closed down by the government in 1967. However there was one sign as early as 1952 that the government had begun to check up on possible pupil ethnic admixtures in the Association’s schools when a Mr Van Haight of the Coloured Affairs Department asked for figures showing the number of Coloured pupils in each school.

* This age limit is not mentioned in the 1950 Constitution. The regulation regarding admittance to government subsidized adult night schools as laid down by the Department of Education prior to National Party changes was that pupils might be admitted who had passed Std 4 irrespective of age, or who had attained the age of 16 irrespective of standard reached (Eiselen, 1951: 66).
At the end of that year there were six active schools, the new one being St Marks which catered largely for Coloured students. The reply to van Hught's request which was rather subtly minuted, was "Retreat 6; Sea Point 2-3; St Marks, all but 3 pupils; other schools nil" (CNENSA Minutes, 28/11/1952).

It has already been seen from a NUSAS survey conducted in May 1952 among sample numbers of pupils at the Association's five schools (before St Marks was opened) that 94.4% of the pupils in those five schools were African, that they were largely unskilled migrants from the Transkei and Ciskei, that 89.6% were males, that 66.2% were unmarried and that the average age was 27 years.

A further contemporary report derived largely from information supplied by the Chairman and Secretary of the CNENSA but drawn up by the National Council of Women of South Africa (Cape Town branch) in 1955, sheds further light on the make-up of the student body and interestingly enough, the figures provided indicate exactly the same percentage of male pupils as featured by the NUSAS report three years earlier. At the time the NCW report was compiled in 1955 there were twelve night schools, and excluding CAPDA, it provides approximate male and female attendance figures for eleven of them. In these eleven schools, out of the total approximate attendance given of 887 pupils, 789 (89%) were men and 98 (11%) were women (White, 1955: 1).* These figures again bear witness to the migratory labour system with its pernicious drawing off of males into the urban work force, away from their wives and children who remained in the homelands.

4.5.1
CNENSA's Post-Night School Students.

From quite early in the development of the Association ongoing

* The "approximate attendance figures" provided by the NCW for the eleven schools approximate more closely to enrolment figures than to actual average attendance figures for 1955. If an additional allowance is made for the schools not included in the NCW report this total approximates to the enrolment figure of 1,000 for 1955 claimed in the Chairman's 1956 Annual Report.
financial support was provided for pupils who were ready to move on to tertiary education. Mention has already been made of two successful Matriculants, Godfrey Rankapole, from the Retreat Night School in 1947 and Zachariah Nabe from Langa Senior in 1948. Nabe in fact obtained both the Junior and Senior Certificates through the Langa Senior School (Wides, 1955a: 4). It was natural that pride in the achievements of these students and interest in their future careers should have led to specific attention being given by the Association to bursaries for higher education apart from the work of running night schools.

The Association's first constitution in 1949 indeed featured these twin aspects and to this end made provision for a "Bursaries Action Committee" and even, in a first flush of enthusiasm, for an "Employment Action Committee". The latter was a serious effort to meet the acute problems encountered by educated Africans in not being able to find work to match their qualifications but whilst the 1950 constitution again included among its objects "the establishment of bursaries for the higher education of Non-Europeans and other general educational aid funds" (CNENSA Constitution, 1950: 2(f)) the ambitious commitment to finding employment for past pupils fell away.

In 1951 members were told that while text-books continued then to top the Association's list of expenses (about £500 that year), grants and scholarships were second on the list, about £300 having been spent that year. However a limit was set on the allocation of bursaries per year and from the beginning of 1951 the Association decided to adopt the principle of long-term interest free loans rather than outright grants so that eventually the money would be returned to the CNENSA.

In 1950 Rev. Danisa, James Mafanya, A. Sibeta, and Maxwell Mpahla as well as Zachariah Nabe, received bursaries (CNENSA Minutes, 3/9/1950). In 1951 Donald Ebrahim, a medical student studying overseas at Sheffield University, was lent about £200 and James Mafanya was again assisted in training for a Primary Teachers Certificate (Machanick, 1952), whilst in 1952 it was recorded that over the past three years the Association had made loans totalling over £500 to deserving tertiary students (CNENSA Report, 1952: 2). It would then appear from the records that as it entered a period of
greater expansion the Association did not take on new bursary commitments although for many years it continued to help Z. Nabe at UCT. In fact by 1954 it had handed over this particular responsibility for financial aid at tertiary level to the "Students Loan Fund" of UCT (Wides & Ackerman, 1954: 2 and Wides, 1955b: 3).

Ebrahim qualified as a Doctor at Sheffield in 1952 and Nabe received both B.A. and B. Soc. Sc. degrees in June 1955 after having received not only regular financial assistance but also coaching in certain subjects from members of the Association. Ebrahim continued to live in England and throughout this period in the fifties was placed permanently on the agenda of the Co-ordinating Committee meetings for recording the very drawn-out instalment repayments of his loan! At one time, Brodie was asked by the Committee to hand over the matter of Ebrahim's debt to London solicitors, but the full amount was never recovered and the whole issue, left in abeyance in mid-1957, was never again raised. When another successful matriculant emerged from the ranks of its pupils in the sixties the Association once again paid outright grants and abandoned the idea of loans.

4.6
INTERNAL ORGANISATION

As the number of schools run by UCT students increased in the forties Brodie was well aware how urgent was the need to set up some kind of independent central structure for sharing and delegating responsibility if the entire project was not to collapse. In this connection it has already been noted that in his final year at UCT and at a time when the schools were still being referred to by the press as the NUSAS Night Schools (Cape Times, 1949), a provisional constitution was drafted and presented to a general meeting of members in May 1949 for discussion, amendments and ratification. The draft formally proclaimed the name of the group to be the "African Night Schools Association" and so that contact with the students at the University of Cape Town would be maintained it was arranged that a member would be elected by students belonging to the Association to represent the CNENSA on the NUSAS Local Committee (Brodie, 1949b: 5).
In motivating acceptance of this ten-page document which laid down detailed arrangements for a central co-ordinating committee, separate school committees and special action committees Brodie stressed that sharing responsibility "should be regarded as a privilege, and it is unfair by lack of co-operation from the majority of members to turn it into a burden" (Brodie, 1949a: 2). Membership was to be open to anyone but was provisional until confirmed by the Co-ordinating Committee; however it was not the intention for this Co-ordinating Committee comprising the two office-bearers, the Secretary and Treasurer and the school principals, to interfere with the school committees in their running of the separate schools; such a central committee "was to deal only with matters which affected the Association as a whole" (Brodie, 1950b: 3).

A year later this 1949 constitution which had been "accepted with a variety of amendments" (Brodie, 1949b: 3) was revised although its basic intentions and structure remained the same. The name was changed to the "Cape Non-European Night Schools Association" (following the then common usage of the expression "Non-European" to embrace all persons who were not white), and to conform with government requirements, the new much shorter constitution now included a specific section on the "Control and Management of Night Schools and Part-time Classes". Under this heading control was still to be vested in a Co-ordinating Committee but the latter now included in addition to its original members, two government representatives nominated by the Native Affairs Department and the Department of Education, Arts and Science respectively (CNENSA Constitution, 1950: 5(a) & (b)).* This 1950 Constitution agreed upon by a general meeting of approximately 65 members in the Men's Common Room, UCT on 14 May (CNENSA Minutes, 14/5/1950) was duly approved by the Union Education Department later that year (CNENSA Minutes, 3/9/1950). Brodie was re-elected Honorary Secretary, C. Machanick, a young businessman, became the first "Chairman" and Mrs Esther Wides, a Commerce

* In practice the Native affairs Department did not send a representative whilst the member nominated by the Education Department, first a Mr Steyn and later Dr G. M. Daleboudt, seldom attended meetings and then only in the early years (CNENSA Minutes, 1950-1957).
graduate from UCT, was elected Hon. Treasurer. These three remained in these positions as office-bearers for the next three years.

In the beginning the administration of the Association was managed by Brodie as Hon. Secretary from his private legal office but the heavy load of duties was eased at the beginning of 1952 by the appointment of a half-day, paid office secretary (Lily Herzberg) and the establishment of a proper CNENSA office (Machanick, 1952). The Association was now better equipped to cope with the fact that there was "a constant demand for new schools" (Letter: 25/3/1953, Lipshitz).

Ways for improving communication between the central committee and its scattered members were needed. In 1951 it was decided to issue regular quarterly newsletters (CNENSA Minutes, 8/5/1951) for briefing new members, conveying suggestions on organisational matters or handling classes, and for building a general esprit de corps. The first of these newsletters confirmed however that as yet the Co-ordinating Committee had not assumed any supervisory control over the running of the schools and in it Brodie admitted: "Our organisation is by no means perfect and in fact leaves a great deal to be desired" (Brodie, 1951b).

From the very early days the Association knew that for the successful running of its night classes a great deal depended on the reliability of people providing transport and on the regular commitment of each volunteer to teach once a week. In the early fifties it had still to evolve the best means for stabilizing staff quotas, providing substitutes and ensuring continuity. Attention continued to be paid by the organisers to improving teaching methods and in 1952 a 'Teaching Guide was compiled by Mr Maguire from the Sea Point school, duplicated by the office secretary and circulated among interested members (CNENSA Minutes, 8/4/1952).

By this stage the benefits of having many experienced members who had been teaching or organising for several years began to be felt. The very fact of many such persons coming together on the Co-ordinating Committee once a month tended to distil wisdom from their combined
the central committee to play a firm guiding role and to spread the benefit of this experience. This indeed came about after March 1953 when Wides was elected Chairman, Ackerman Hon. Secretary and Lipshitz (who had previously taught in the African College night school in Johannesburg) was installed as office secretary. There is no doubt that just as the vision and dedication of their predecessors had set the course for a viable and expandable association, so the organisational talents, experience and drive of these three established systems and procedures to be more or less followed for the remainder of the Association's existence. The task was not easy: to achieve optimum educational efficiency in a difficult and challenging field, from a work force composed almost entirely of volunteers who were seldom trained teachers and who came from a wide variety of different occupational backgrounds.

Wides and Ackerman immediately started to pay regular visits to the different classes and in their first joint newsletter (Wides & Ackerman, 1953) outlined a "basis of organisation" to be followed in all the schools. This tentative outline was followed less than a year later in another joint newsletter (Wides & Ackerman, 1954) by details regarding the new syllabus in English and the organisational procedure for the successful running of classes. The main key to such efficiency apart from the Principal was the Principal's deputy on each teaching night, the "Night Organiser". His/her duties were enlarged upon under seven different headings, such as arranging transport, ensuring a full complement of teachers per night, the maintenance of class "continuity" registers, briefing new teachers, grading new pupils, supervising the night's programme and meeting regularly with the Principal to discuss school affairs.

In 1954 the Association no longer received its subsidy from the Education Department but in line with the ominous changeover to "Bantu Education", now came under the Department of Native Affairs (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1954). With the need to expand the size of the Co-ordinating Committee to suit the larger number of schools a general meeting in October that year amended the Constitution to make these necessary changes while at the same time the words Department of Education, Arts and Science were substituted by Department of Native Affairs wherever they occurred and the old provision for a
The cohesiveness of the Association derived from its effective Co-ordinating Committee now gave strength and substance to the entire programme. Through the central committee or the quarterly newsletters a successful venture initiated by one school would be recommended for adoption by the others. In this way Langa Senior set a new example by holding a meeting during night school hours to enable pupils as well as teachers to attend. At this meeting the syllabus and teaching policy were discussed jointly by teachers and pupils and the Co-ordinating Committee subsequently expressed its enthusiasm for this innovation and wished that other schools would hold similar meetings (CNENSA Minutes, 16/6/1953). Indeed following upon this pupil involvement at a planning level both the AGM in 1954 and the one in 1956 featured addresses by African pupils from the Night Schools. Concerning the value of the now well-structured organisation it is interesting to hear the comment made by Wides in 1955:

..."the centralisation of organisation through a Committee on which all the principals are represented and ideas and experience pooled and discussed, is a great contribution to the progress of the Association. The existence of a permanent office, which was established three years ago, acting as a liaison between committee and teachers and between teachers of the twelve schools, knitting them into a unity, is a co-ordinating and stabilizing factor and ensures that the progress which is made during any year is retained and passed on in ensuing years - no experience gained is lost."

(Wides, 1955a)

4.7
TEXT-BOOKS AND SYLLABI

4.7.1
Books for teaching English in the sub-standards and Junior Classes.

As Roux (1938?, 5), Kuys (1946) and Z.K. Matthews (1947) all confirmed in varying ways, English, the key to a wider world, was the language required by both illiterate and "just-literate" African
adults in the primary classes of the night schools although in the sub-standards, to learn how to read and write the familiar spoken home language, Xhosa was equally in demand. From the beginning therefore in the night schools that were predominantly preoccupied with teaching the three R's, much attention had to be given to methodology and finding or producing relevant teaching material, particularly in English and Arithmetic. This was not easy for the many volunteers who were not professional teachers.

When interest in mass education developed internationally after the second world war experimentation was carried out in the use of basic English, the Jeanes' methods and the Laubach system of teaching grouped vowel and consonant sounds in words on charts and flash cards. The Laubach "each one, teach one" method, fostered initially among Christian educationalists for combating illiteracy in many parts of the world, was adapted for African use by Maida Whyte of the SAIIRR, used experimentally in the Donaldson Community Centre in 1946 (Whyte, 1947: 4) and was subsequently tried out in many of the Johannesburg night schools. The Eiselen Report (1951: 213) specifically recommended that consideration be given to the promotion of experimental work in combating illiteracy such as then being undertaken by the SAIIRR, no doubt referring to Whyte's adaptation of the Laubach method.

This same method was used by the CNENSA in 1950 (possibly beforehand but there are no records to show this). Ackerman reported on its trial use at Retreat. There it was found that of the beginners those who could already speak and write a little English benefitted most from the system whilst it was not so successful among those who could not speak English at all or who already spoke English well. Consequently this SAIIRR literacy method did not meet with unanimous approval from the CNENSA Co-ordinating Committee and in June that year it was decided that of the five schools only Retreat, in continuing to serve as a testing ground, should use the method: this school was then to report back on progress to the central committee four months later (CNENSA Minutes, 14/5/1950 & 25/6/1950). Minutes of the October meeting of 1950 are missing and there is no reference elsewhere as to the result of the Retreat experiment but a letter written by office secretary Lily Herzberg to Luderitz, S.W.A.
in 1952 giving information on how to start a night school, stated:

"I am posting to you under separate cover copies of the text-books which we use for our lower grades, and which have been specially devised for adult illiterates. I am also posting you samples of a course devised by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. We do not use this particular method, but you may find it useful in tackling illiteracy, or you may, as we have done, work on your own system with experience."

(Letter: 16/7/1952, Sec. CNENSA)

By this stage Retreat School was using the "Oxford text-books" with the AB Adult Readers, and a proposed general Teaching Guide, drawn up by Mr Maguire of the Sea Point School was under review by the Committee (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1952). When in October this guide was considered more appropriate for children than for adults a sub-committee was appointed to draw up a new guide. It consisted of Mr Machanick (still Chairman), the NUSAS representative, Mr Davies, Mr Ackerman and Mr Kaplan, (who were running Retreat) and Maida Lipshitz who was then attending her first co-ordinating committee meeting and was about to take over as office secretary from Lily Herzberg (CNENSA Minutes, 6/10/1952).

The appearance of Maida Lipshitz on the scene was to be of considerable significance in the expansion of the CNENSA in the fifties. She took office as administrative secretary for two years and then as chairman for a similar period. As a post-graduate student in Social Science at the Witwatersrand University about 1939-1940, she had been one of the students who had started the "African College" Night School in Johannesburg. In those student days she and her colleagues had been convinced that "before African people could understand what the choices were they must be able to read ... to talk the language, to have an understanding of the total environment in which they found themselves" (Lipshitz: 1985). So for her the main problem was always to find a "workable literacy method for African adults and suitable material. To this end she engaged in correspondence with Eddie Roux who frequently sent her small tests for her students based on his research for drawing up his "Easy English" vocabulary although she did not actually meet him until he
returned to Johannesburg in 1945 (ibid: 1985).

In the early forties and with the subsequent development of the related "Mayibuye" Night schools, Lipshitz had continued to teach in the relocated African College for about seven years prior to settling in Cape Town later in that decade and being introduced to the CNENSA by Herzberg in 1952 (ibid: 1985). The provision of skills for adjustment in a confusing European and urban context as provided by the African College and its belief in a politically neutral education (Bird, 1984: 199) would have accorded for her with the general approach of the CNENSA which likewise in its origins and development grew out of University student initiatives and was independent of the SAIRR adult education movement operating in the Transvaal.*

Through Lipshitz and a Mr Newbigging who had likewise had experience of teaching in a Johannesburg Night School, communications were started with the Director of the JIC's in 1952 and the Cape Association received from the latter a copy of the syllabus used by them for all subjects (CNENSA Minutes, 28/11/1952). Thus as the newly-formed Syllabus Sub-Committee began to give priority attention to developing a syllabus for illiterates (ibid: 28/11/1952) they had the benefit of a considerable amount of past experience available to them, particularly through their new secretary.

At the same time the Association now had among its members a Mrs Blake, another person experienced in adult literacy teaching methods. Concerning this new member it was reported in 1953:

"Mrs Blake, an experienced and highly qualified teacher, who has worked on Adult Education in England and Brazil, has almost completed the first 80 lessons, which provide for the

* Bird (1984: 204-210) shows that the SAIRR "by working with state approval and through employers, for example the mining houses", achieved a certain immunity against later government closures, especially through the establishment of the "Bureau of Literacy and Literature".
Beginner's Classes. Mr Newbigging is collaborating, with delightful pictures, and he is responsible for the reading and writing exercises. This syllabus, when complete, will provide for all classes, though not in the detail given for the Beginners."

(Machanick & Brodie, 1953)

The first 80 lessons mapped out in great detail a six months' reading and writing course for illiterates and introduced gradually basic arithmetic. A Detailed Teachers Guide was provided covering each lesson presented in a series of four different pupil books. Vocabulary was chosen from every-day usage, matching word and phrase flash cards were incorporated and the equivalent of Sub A and B were divided into four groups (CNENSA Minutes, 9/1/1953).

This "new syllabus" was eventually extended to cover Standards 1 - 5 and was used in conjunction with Roux's books, the A.B. Adult Readers, "James Mabeta Goes to Sea" and "Cattle of Kumalo" as well as a few other readers (Wides & Ackerman: 1954) and hopes were raised on the Co-ordinating Committee that an effective method for teaching literacy had at last been found. For uniformity all the schools were required to use the syllabus even to the extent of time periods required for covering the material in each class and the provision of tests at stated times for promotion purposes (ibid: 1954).

At the outset Blake had to accept one major change to her syllabus namely the removal of the section on arithmetic which had been considered too elementary for pupils doing the accompanying reading lessons. In their place for use in the sub-standards Crystal Horwitz, (formerly Cohen who had run classes in the Langa Night School in the forties) compiled two Arithmetic text-books (Wides, 1954: 3). These were popular and were revised later as part of Horwitz's B. Ed. work on remedial arithmetic at UCT (Lipshitz, 1985). (They continued to be used in the CNENSA well into the sixties). For the Stds 1-5 groups in 1953 the series "Revised Perfected Arithmetic" was used briefly in 1954 until the Association switched to the Alston Arithmetic books at the beginning of 1955 after which Miss Alston the writer of the book was invited to address the teachers (CNENSA Minutes, 17/10/1954 & 20/2/1955).
The Blake syllabus was copyrighted but applications for printing it were rejected by both Pitman's and Oxford University Press in 1954 (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1954). The fact that books in this syllabus were reproduced at all was attributed by Wides (1954: 3) to a staunch supporter, a Mr Mohamed who assisted by his wife and children had duplicated the stencils and who had "given to the Night Schools more perhaps of his time, voluntarily, than any other person".

Newbigging moved to Durban at the end of 1953 and Blake returned to England in the middle of 1954. However, the Blake system by the end of that year was proving more and more unpopular with many of the teachers, particularly those who bemoaned the loss of a phonetical approach and did not like an entirely "look and say" method. Time and again the matter came up for discussion not only as minuted in the Co-ordinating Committee meetings but as recorded in special teachers meetings to discuss teaching methods and text-books. Complaints were also made against the excessive use of repetition, insufficient reading interest, and general unworkability of the entire interrelated system of group transitions by means of the spaced grading tests. By May 1954 under the pretext of giving pupils books they could take home, a new issue of the Oxford Reader specially adapted for Southern Africa with matching Teacher Guides and wall pictures was being used experimentally in the Langa school whilst Windermere had started using a publication called "English through Pictures" (Wides, 1954: 3). Soon Retreat also introduced the Oxford Reader using both that and Mrs Blake's book in Sub A, the one to complement the other (CNENSA Minutes, 6/8/1954).

In this crucial period of trial and uncertainty as to which books to follow, Mr Kerr, Principal of the Simonstown Night School but also particularly knowledgeable about text-books through his work for the publishers, Longmans Green, came to the fore and did a careful evaluation of the pros and cons of the three sets of text-books as mentioned above. "English Through Pictures" and the Oxford Readers were by the same author (Mr French) but the former, judging by its sales, was less successful compared with the latter which were being used extensively throughout Africa (CNENSA Minutes, 16/1/1955).

A summary of Kerr's findings was included in the Chairman's Report in
1955 at the AGM. As a result of his professional and practical evaluation the Oxford Sub A and B books then replaced Mrs Blake's first 80 lessons in all the schools and he gave two demonstration lessons on how to use them and their accompanying teachers' guides. (ibid: 3). Roux's A B Adult Reader, Book 3 was now found to be out of print but wherever these popular books were obtainable they were retained as supplementary readers. Blake's books however were then phased out entirely in the junior classes and the appropriate revised and improved Oxford books up to Book Six were used in their place. These, in the opinion of Miss Allen (an experienced high school teacher of English who had taught both in Roux's District Six night school and in the CNENSA), catered particularly for the African, kept repetition, so distasteful to adults, to a minimum, and contained much improved subject material (CNENSA Minutes, 24/1/1956).

Why, if the Roux "Easy English" books were popular in the CNENSA did they go out of print? I think a short digression at this stage to explain this phenomenon is important for the record. There is no doubt at all that Roux's contribution to text-book material for night schools was very great indeed both through his provision of content of real interest for adults and through his experimental development of a small, suitable, "Easy-English" vocabulary gradually enlarged in a graded series of adult readers. Both this vocabulary and the content of his books resulted from his long experience in African adult education and his personal identification all his life with African people in their struggles amidst the political, social and economic hardships in which they found themselves.

The A B Adult Readers attracted the attention and commendation of many experimenting in mass adult education immediately they were first published in 1945. Apart from their use by the Cape Night Schools in the late forties and their being incorporated in the Blake system as already mentioned, they were used in 1945 in the Mindola Experiment in Adult literacy methods in Northern Rhodesia (Hay, 1945) and were also used in conjunction with the Laubach system by the SAIRR night schools in Johannesburg. In 1947 at a large conference in Cape Town convened by the SAIRR to discuss adult education for Africans, Maida Whyte refers to the three South African publishers of text-books for African Adult literates and gives added
testimony to the accepted use of Roux's A B Adult Series in night schools when she stated:

"In adapting the (Laubach) method I kept in view the fact that the African Bookman, the Oxford University Press, and Messrs Longmans Green had already published some material which could be used for African adult literates. I therefore planned that the adapted lessons should be built up on a vocabulary directed towards the use of these publications. I deliberately aimed at making it possible for the graduate from the literacy course to be able to read with possibly very little help A B Reader 1 straight off."

(Whyte, 1947: 3)

Reference has already been made briefly to Julian Rollnick and his publishing firm, the African Bookman (supra: p. 79). It seems that a combination of the short-lived existence of that firm in Cape Town from 1943 to 1947 (Rollnick, J. 1987) and the departure of Roux for Johannesburg in 1945 to take up a senior University lectureship (Roux, 1972: 201), ended a promising partnership between Roux as editor and Rollnick as publisher in their production of much needed adult education material. There were various other limiting factors, most significant probably being that Rollnick, not taking part in the War for private reasons, did not as a matter of conscience during those years wish to engage in a lucrative occupation and therefore publishing in this uneconomic field at that time satisfied his principles; then at the end of the war and with the departure of Roux he lacked a strong enough incentive needed to market his books and to develop what had been for him at the outset an experiment largely supported by his own small private income (Rollnick, J. 1987).

When interviewed in 1987 Rollnick gave me another reason for the failure of the "African Bookman". He ascribed it to his own naivety and the fact that he had come to Cape Town fresh from employment in the SAIRR in Johannesburg when that Institute had briefly thought of entering the field of publishing for Africans. In this proposal, although "strong in editorial concepts" it had no-one, including himself, who had any idea of marketing or selling. On the other hand, having printed 65 educational publications by October 1947 (African
Bookman, 1947), he had at least tried to promote them among all the educational institutions in the country but there was never any response (Rollnick, J. 1987). Already by November 1945 he had adopted a rather negative attitude to his whole undertaking, had revealed that the venture had failed to pay its way, had decided to hold back on any further publications "until the sales and distribution difficulties" had been overcome and had warned that unless they could be overcome the African Bookman would "probably suspend activities entirely" (Rollnick, J. 1945: 6).

Apart from the books for African adults (for the educated as well as for just-literates), the African Bookman's publications included many destined to attract wide recognition; among these could be mentioned "When Smuts Goes" by A.M. Keppel-Jones, Edward Roux's biography on the life of S.P. Bunting, Julius Lewin's "Africans and the Police" (in Zulu) and Lewin's "Studies in African Native Law". Among the African authors were Ezekiel Mphahlele, J.K. Ngubane, and J.M. Nhlapo, the latter two in the 1940's being both active members of the African National Congress.

When Rollnick did finally close down his publishing business in 1947 (before leaving for England the following year) he sold all the stock that had been prepared expressly for night schools and African literates to Pitman's in Johannesburg whilst the remainder, the "Pro and Con" pamphlets by African intellectuals on controversial contemporary subjects and the books of general interest were taken over by Balkema of Cape Town (Rollnick, J. 1987).

The A B Adult Readers continued to be published until 1954 but another series, the excellently conceived "Sixpenny Library" on a variety of subjects, written within Roux's carefully compiled "Easy English" vocabulary and edited by him, were not produced after 1947 (Rollnick, S. 1987). The sixteen books in this series on such subjects as "The History of Civilisation", "The First Men on Earth", "The How and Why of Science", "Great English Books and Writers", "Colour and Cleverness", "The Black Man in Africa", "How Men are Governed", and "Religion in Many Lands" were all written by writers known to either Roux or Rollnick and included such persons as Dr Louis Herman, Philip Segal, Eric Rosenthal, Arthur Lee and Govan
Mbeki (who contributed the booklet "Let's Do It Together"), as well as Roux himself (Rollnick, J. 1945). The writers viewed their material from a fresh perspective in line with the liberal views of the publisher and the editor. The paper-backs were written largely by whites but clearly trying to view their material from an African perspective. They included for example, thumb-nail sketches of "Famous American Negroes" (Podbrey, 1944) to reveal the lives of such people as Booker T. Washington, Paul Robeson and others. They did not hesitate to disclose a political viewpoint but usually in only the mildest form; for example after censuring plutocracies as "government by the rich" in the book on "How Men are Governed", the writer gives a gentle introduction to the benefits of true democracy by showing how Norway, Denmark and New Zealand were lucky in having democratic governments which did not let any men become too rich, nor any man too poor, but saw to it that every person was "as well-off as every other person." South Africa, on the other hand, was shown to be not a true democracy "because most of the people in the country have very little say in how they are governed" (Marsh, 1944). Unfortunately I was not able to trace a copy of Govan Mbeki's book "Let's Do It Together" published in this same series.

The Cape Night Schools Association, although using all Roux's other educational material published by the African Bookman, and later by Pitmans, and although so in need of supplementary and general knowledge readers, nevertheless gives no evidence of knowing about, let alone using the short-lived "Sixpenny Library". One suspects that the entrenched policy of keeping politics out of the classroom may have been a reason but what ever militated against the use of these books, the decision to abandon them was taken in 1947. Thus perished a series of informative inexpensive little books, aimed, said Rollnick, "at opening up the big wide world of culture and ideas, and providing some sort of background of knowledge for the unsophisticated just-literate, still gaping at the civilised world" (Rollnick, J. 1945: 3). In a mild form they could have anticipated the awareness-arousing techniques that were later to be manifested in more radical adult education programmes.

After moving back to Johannesburg in 1945 and to new commitments in the field of Botany and soil conservation, Roux in 1949 wrote only
one more adult educational book in his "Easy English", namely "James Mabeta Goes to Sea"; this book, illustrated by his fifteen year old daughter and published by Sir Isaac Pitman was intended as a supplementary reader for the users of the A B Readers (Roux & Roux, 1972: 196) and was also widely used in the CNENSA until it went out of print in 1954.

I have deliberately expanded on the Roux-Rollnick liaison in the short-lived African Bookman for the light that it sheds not only on the protracted influence of Roux's efforts in African adult education but also, through the Sixpenny Library, on an interesting venture to introduce to just-literates critical appraisals of the world about them and to stimulate a questioning of that world instead of mere acceptance. The fact that these booklets were couched in "Easy English" which itself had been abstracted from the colloquial usage of the intended readers through first-hand experience, is of added interest; it suggests in my opinion a slight affinity between this whole early experimental approach of Roux and Rollnick and some of the later pedagogical practice of Paulo Freire, a matter for further thought in the final chapters.

However it must be assumed that in the CNENSA in the 1940's and 1950's it was because caution prevailed, even among the liberal colleagues of Roux, that these awareness-arousing booklets were not used. For although Roux himself had no personal connection with the Association, several of his close associates certainly did have. To some of these reference has already been made. Sonia Krikler, founder of the Nyanga Night School in 1947 and Alice Allen, teacher and counsellor in the CNENSA in the 1950's had both worked with Roux in his Cape Town night school in the early war years (Roux & Roux, 1972: 182). Lawrence Lerner, co-author with Roux of the A B Adult Readers, was still teaching English in the Langa Night School in 1947 (Cape Argus 1947), and Malda Lipshitz, who had helped Roux in drawing up his Easy English vocabulary by using his comprehension tests in the African College in the 1940's, had promoted the use of Roux's uncontroversial readers in the CNENSA in the 1950's. Why the avoidance of the Sixpenny Library by these liberal thinkers who could not have been unaware of their existence?
Finally, to conclude the general review of the content material and methods used in the junior classes, it must be noted that apart from the three R's, other subjects were introduced for general educational purposes and to assist those wanting to obtain Std 6 certificates. It is recorded that a sub-committee started drawing up schemes of work for junior classes in Hygiene, History and Geography (CNENSA Minutes, 18/1/1954) and there are references to Afrikaans being taught at St Marks and in Simonstown. The method of instruction, in later Freirian terminology, could certainly have been described as the "banking" or "depositing" method; an opportunity for a more dialogical approach had been evaded. However once the Association had bought a strip film projector (CNENSA Minutes, 3/7/1955) use of educational films seemed to evoke critical pupil responses. Films on West Africa and Nigeria were of particular interest, bringing in attendances averaging 160 at Langa Junior; moreover it was recorded, "pupils who were backward took an active part in the (resultant) discussion and made useful comments" (CNENSA Minutes, 21/10/1956). In an extra-mural development at this level there is also evidence of a Std 4 class at Langa Junior preparing to stage a play (CNENSA Minutes, 16/9/1956).

4.7.2
Text-books, syllabi, subjects and methods at secondary level.

Curricula for senior classes exercised the minds of the Co-ordinating Committee and relevant sub-committees almost as much as the appropriate choices in syllabi, books and methods for junior classes had done. Here too advice was frequently sought from professionals and specialists or people working in the same field in other parts of Africa. Mention has already been made of Alice Allen, Mr Kerr, Crystal Horwitz and Miss Alston; to this category could be added Mrs Waddell, Principal of Micklefield School in Rondebosch, who taught Std 6 English in Night Schools in the 1960's as well as in the 1950's and Dr Winterbottom who as guest speaker at the 1955 AGM was at that time Educational Adviser to Longman's Green and Company after having been Education Officer in the Northern Rhodesian African Education Department for 19 years (Lipshitz, 1955).

Desiree Berman who taught History at Langa told me (1986) that she frequently sought advice from Leo Marquard, Historian and Manager of
the Editorial Department of the Oxford University Press in Cape Town. In the on-going search for the best expertise, correspondence was exchanged between Wides and Frans Auerbach, educationalist and Director of the J4C's in 1956 (letter: 23/2/1956, Auerbach) and between the office secretary and the J4C's in 1953 and 1954. In 1955 Phyllis Altman was asked to write to UNESCO (CNENSA Minutes, 13/4/1955) and she also wrote to Literature Bureaux in Eastern Nigeria, Northern Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to enquire about suitable English reading material for adults in the senior classes (letter: 25/11/1955, Altman). No replies have been found from the African states except indirectly from the Literature Bureau in Northern Rhodesia which had referred her enquiry to Leo Marquard at the Oxford University Press in Cape Town:

Marquard's reply throws more light on the scarcity of suitable reading material for African adults in those days and adds to one's understanding of why the African Bookman had gone out of business in 1947. Marquard wrote:

"The Northern Rhodesia Bureau of Literature has sent me a copy of your letter to them about supplementary reading for adults.

"It is the old old problem. The market for newly-literate adults is too small and difficult to attract printers or publishers. We have a few books that are intended for non-English readers that might suit both young and adult. I am thinking of "Seven Stories" by Wells, or simplified editions of Poe, or "Tales from Shakespeare". These are all for children in about Standards V or VI but can be read, with pleasure, by adults."

(Letter: 22/12/1955, Marquard)

In 1953 the Co-ordinating Committee decreed that not more than three subjects a year should be taken by any pupil in a senior class (CNENSA Minutes, 6/2/1953) and this was the basis on which the schools continued to operate until closure in 1967. The work in these classes was based on the Technical College Syllabus (Lipshitz, 1956) and students were prepared for the "National" Examinations. However
difficulties arose over the use of text-books recommended by the Technical College (Wides, 1955a: 3); newly literate pupils found them hard to understand and as a result of this several teachers undertook to write simplified notes for duplication and distribution. These were available from the central office early in 1955 in Junior Certificate History, J.C. Physiology and Hygiene and Std 6 Geography. By the middle of that year R. Wengrowe (Principal of Langa Senior in 1953), had drawn up Part One of a Geography syllabus for Junior Certificate (CNENSA Minutes, 3/7/1955) and Dr and Mrs Berman similarly had provided notes on Matriculation History (CNENSA Minutes, 24/1/1956).

Mrs Berman,* whom I interviewed in London in 1986, described her approach to her task. She had told her students that if their aim was merely to pass the matriculation examination in History this would not involve real education; she then set about cutting the corners, eliminating the memorising of all dates as knowledge of these earned very few marks, "taught in centuries", and with her dentist husband, wrote a precis of the history text-book. In the same frank approach she announced her own disagreement with much of the text but because the students' primary aim was to obtain a Matriculation Certificate and because the Association's subsidy would be jeopardised if she and they embarked on political discussions at the school, they single-mindedly strove for examination successes. Implicit in her comments to me was that there existed tacit unanimity between herself and her pupils in their unspoken attitudes towards the status quo. Berman did however give coaching to a few of her keenest students in her Milnerton home (Berman, 1986) and in this environment, a discursive method replaced the "banking" one and she lent out supplementary reading material recommended by her friend, Leo Marquard.

Thus in general the traditional and conservative method of instruction became characteristic of teaching in the senior classes

* At that time, as was the case of many in the Association, Desiree Berman was a member of the Liberal Party and in the later 1950's was Editor of the Black Sash Magazine. In this role she edited a feature on Bantu Education called "Education for Isolation" (Berman, 1986).
of the CNENSA. There were of course other problems combining to help shape this streamlined didactic method apart from the popular motivation of the students to improve their material chances in life. There were all the difficulties of inadequate background schooling, fatigue in the evenings after long hours of physical labour, undernourishment, over-crowded homes deficient in educational resource material, over-crowded classrooms and problems of language. These would have been heady problems for the best and most experienced of qualified, paid teachers but they became even greater when confronted by once-a-week, inexperienced volunteers, despite no doubt their own broad, solid educational backgrounds. But above all it was the pupil's ultimate goal of the examination certificate that dictated the procedures.

To appreciate gradual developments of policy in the management of methods, subjects and text-books in the CNENSA Senior "Continuation" Classes it is necessary to see the general context of the Association from the beginning of 1950. In the five schools of that period only the Langa Senior was solely devoted to secondary teaching and this school in its three years of existence since 1947 had already successfully helped to launch a few of its pupils into tertiary fields of study. The only other school in the Association in those early years to tackle secondary work was Retreat and in the 1950's this was not to the same extent as at the Langa school. Langa Senior in 1950 was still run by Crystal Horwitz (née Cohen), a Masters graduate from UCT and at one time a teacher of Mathematics at the elite Herschel school for girls in Claremont before she returned to University in the middle fifties to qualify for a B. Ed. degree (Horwitz, 1987).

In the middle of 1950 the Langa Senior entered a period of disruption after an accident had temporarily removed Mrs Horwitz from the scene (CNENSA Minutes, 25/6/1950) and by the end of the year was still in "a poor state of organisation" (CNENSA Minutes, 27/11/1950). In 1951 under Mr Fabian, the school was reported to be running smoothly, attendances had picked up and there had been a larger entry for Std 6 and 8 examinations than ever before (CNENSA Minutes, 6/12/1951). However in 1952, with over 80 pupils registered and several very promising students in a Matric class, great difficulties were
experienced with excessive numbers of volunteer teachers resigning or proving unreliable* (CNENSA Minutes, 4/7/1952). Mr. Fullalove, the Principal, Brodie who helped out in emergencies and many on the Co-ordinating Committee then began to question whether the volunteer system of the Association, coping at primary level, could in fact measure up to the many challenging requirements at secondary level. All these factors at the beginning of 1953 led to a request to the Cape Technical College to take over the Langa Senior classes and if that were not possible, for the Education Department to help pay for teachers to staff this school. As will presently be seen, neither of these plans materialized, and the Association had to rely on its own ingenuity and resources to face the problems. In the end it was this resourceful, more positive approach that was to lead to an interesting learning process on the part of the volunteers themselves.

In 1953 a new team of teachers took over the Langa Senior school. It was headed by Mr. R. Wengrowe and a Miss Brink, a qualified social worker who later married Wengrowe in 1955. Wengrowe had graduated at UCT with a B.A. in 1949 and after a year's overseas study in fashion design, had returned with high ideals and a new perspective on the South African situation through being temporarily removed from it. He joined the Liberal Party in 1953 and that same year took on the running of the Langa Senior School (Wengrowe, 1987).

From the start Wengrowe established a monthly meeting for all his teachers, concentrated on improving the standard of English among the pupils (CNENSA Minutes, 10/5/1953) and tried to steer towards a compromise between providing a general education on the one hand and

* It is not known if this had had any connection with the Defiance Campaign which operated during 1952. Mrs Horwitz (1987) recounted an experience of an earlier period when one of her teachers, alarmed by a seeming (but mistaken) hold-up once on driving out of Langa, had not returned to teach. However Joan Fullalove (1987), the widow of the 1952 Principal of the Langa Senior Night school who used to accompany her husband to classes, said she could not recall any cases of aggression against white teachers in the Langa Township.
instruction purely for examination purposes on the other. The classes were soon extended to five nights a week and a new example was set when Langa Senior started to hold pupil-teacher meetings to invite the views of the pupils on the running of the school. The first pupil complaint received was that classes "went too slowly" (CNENSA Minutes, 14/6/1953).

Wengrowe (1987) modestly gave the credit for the improvements that took place in these senior classes in 1953 not to himself but to his staff. Under his leadership a strong team spirit developed among the teachers, many of whom in their leisure hours, camped, climbed and hiked together and mixed socially. They were described by Wides (1954: 1) as "an exceptionally earnest and hard-working band of well-qualified teachers" and most of them remained teaching at Langa until the end of 1957 when restrictive legislation stopped them (as also the white teachers in the Nyanga and Simonstown schools) from continuing to teach in African townships. The nucleus of the group, apart from Wengrowe and Brink, included Wolfgang Fricke, John Mills (later Professor of Psychology in Saskatoon, Canada), Dr and Mrs Berman, Dr Flax, Val Topham, and Marian Pollock.

It was this Langa group of teachers that inaugurated several important changes in class structures such as the elimination of separate Std 7 classes; pupils who had passed Std 6 went straight into a two year course of study for the Junior Certificate studying and writing examinations in three subjects a year. Examination results although still very poor in the top classes, generally began to show some improvement; in 1953 a Standard 6 pupil at Langa Senior was reported to have passed all his subjects with a distinction in History (CNENSA Minutes, 10/5/1953), but Table 7 on the next page, showing results in 1954, confirms the still large preponderance of failures in senior classes at Langa, Retreat and Windermere.

The debate that kept recurring at teachers' meetings and among members of the committee was the question of preparation for examinations or instead, concentration on a more general education unfettered by examination syllabi (CNENSA Minutes: 16/5/1954; 18/7/1954; 3/10/1955). The outcome was always the same: to yield to the students' demand for help in writing external examinations.
TABLE 7

1954 Combined Senior Examination Results from Langa Senior, Retreat and Windermere Night Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total Entrants</th>
<th>Passed</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Nil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Std 6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wides, 1955a)

Wolfgang Fricke was principal of the Langa senior in the middle 1950's. He was always to the forefront of those teachers who pressed for the "general education" policy, and in a letter to the writer from Canada in January 1987 he wrote: "... we found that the history and literary syllabus which we had to teach, meant nothing to our pupils." He went on to say that given the choice today he would probably veer towards a general education "realising that I would possibly not get any pupils" but added "one of the great things about Night Schools was that we could not and would not have wanted to force anything down our pupils' throats." In the light of this attitude it is not surprising that Fricke only really began to feel he "could achieve something at Langa" when the Association had bought a film projector and a wide variety of general educational films was introduced into the seniors' school programme (CNENSA Minutes, 24/6/1956).

The move made by the Langa Senior to generate ideas on a regular basis not only among its staff members but also in its adult pupil body, led to two of its students, Douglas Dulazi and Godfrey Mkive, addressing the 1954 AGM of a hundred people; in their advice to the teachers they called on them to give more tests and written work, to use slower, simpler speech, to encourage pupils to speak to the point and to urge them to use English as much as possible in their daily
lives (CNENSA Minutes, 16/5/1954). (As already mentioned the same AGM had among its four other speakers on the work of the Association, two of the Langa Senior Staff, R. Wengrowe and Mr Cassie, the qualified African teacher employed to teach at the school several nights a week.)

However 1955 proved a disappointing year for Langa Senior. By the end of that year the total attendance had dropped to only 12 pupils. Again at the AGM the following year two senior pupils from the school addressed the gathering whilst the guest speaker, Mr Ngo, Chairman of the School Board, appealed to the Association to provide more lessons in Afrikaans. Afrikaans was consequently added to the Friday programme, achieving an attendance varying from 12 to 18 (CNENSA Minutes, July to October, 1956).

A new and valuable dimension to the night school work developed with the formation of the "Extra-Activities Sub-Committee", coming into operation in 1956 at the same time as the use of the film projector and "documentary "strip films" (CNENSA Minutes, 24/6/1956). (As already seen this sub-committee arose as a result of Mr Motambikwa's querying the principles of education and his call for more extra-mural activities in the night schools.) The new activities embarked upon usually took place on Friday evenings and the Windermere School with its SHAWCO Community Centre background lent itself very favourably for many of the events. In the course of the inter-school debates, brains trusts, cultural visits to plays and museums, films and musical evenings (once entertaining the combined Rustenburg Girls and Rondebosch Boys High School Orchestra [CNENSA Minutes, 16/9/1956]) the students and teachers drew to a closer understanding of each other, despite the forces that by the year 1956 were inexorably gathering to drive whites out of the township schools after 1957.

There were various other cultural developments. Plans were set afoot to channel books from municipal libraries to Nyanga where arrangements were made to open a library in the Walter Teka school in which the Nyanga Night School was operating by 1957 (CNENSA Minutes, 23/6/1957). Innovative ideas led with alleged success to Standards 5, 6 and 7 at the Docks School reading Hendrik van Loon's "Story of
Mankind" (CNENSA Minutes, 3/3/1957). Windermere recorded and played back the songs and music of the students themselves leading to an upsurge of interest and the formation of the school's own musical group (CNENSA Minutes, 16/9/1956) and Windermere started issuing its own newsletter in which it was hoped "that in time pupils will provide most of the contributions" (CNENSA Minutes, 5/5/1957).

In reviewing the efforts of the Principals, teachers and various committees to find and introduce sound teaching practices into the growing number of voluntarily-run night schools at both junior and senior levels in the 1950's, it will not perhaps come as a surprise, although it is ironical, that all these endeavours attracted both the attention and the commendation of the Inspector of Bantu Education in Port Elizabeth, Mr J.L. Omond in 1955. Writing in a Department Newsletter that year, Omond stated:

"Appreciation of the wonderful work done by the Committees, Principals and Teachers (as well as by the "pupils") of the "Night Schools" in this circuit takes pride of place in this Newsletter. The Cape Non-European Night Schools Association controls, advises and helps with 12 Night Schools, staffed largely by voluntary European and African teachers. Their office in 40 Castle Street, Cape Town is a hive of industry and Day School teachers could learn a lot from these self sacrificing people. Similar unselfish work is done in Port Elizabeth by the New Brighton Night School and Uitenhage under the auspices of the Technical College."

(CNENSA Minutes, 3/9/1955)

Did this tribute of Omond's to the Night Schools spring from sincerity or from a concept perhaps, of the Association helping to defuse some of the gathering and polarised feelings of antagonism and frustration in the black communities, so forthrightly expressed by CATA and NEUM and by the ANC boycott of schools in the Eastern Cape? Another question springs to mind. Did the right hand not know what the left hand was doing? Did Omond have no knowledge of the legislation that would follow less than two years after his tribute
to the CNENSA and that would so severely cripple the work he had praised?

4.8
FINANCING OF THE ASSOCIATION

A nine-page document embodying 35 rules for the establishment of "continuation classes" was put out by the Union Department of Education and although undated, appears to have been the guide used by the CNENSA during the fifties until the end of 1957, in their yearly application for a government subsidy (Lipshitz et al., 1957). The rules also stipulated that various forms dealing with such matters as estimates of revenue and expenditure and school details had to be completed and submitted to the department at stated times. I have not been able to verify this but it appears likely that these rules and forms had their origin in the middle forties when it was first decided to make small subsidies available to organisations working in the field of adult education.

Included among these forms were the quarterly returns to be filled in for each school so that four times a year the Department would be informed as to names of school principals, assistant teachers and subjects taught, the sizes of pupil enrolments and details regarding the working hours and remuneration of paid teachers. The annual subsidy was paid out in four instalments, after the Education Department's satisfactory receipt of the relevant quarterly returns but it very frequently happened that very long delays occurred before these instalments were dispatched, thereby obliging the Association to borrow the needed money from its private funds during the waiting periods.

The grants paid out by the department could only be used for certain items such as salaries and rent and never for books or for financial assistance to African students embarked on higher education, thus it became necessary to keep two accounts, the No 2 Account being for the government subsidy only. The subsidy remained small. From the original grant of £75 in 1946 (Brodie, 1950b) it was increased to £108 in 1947 (Cape Argus, 1947), to £320 in 1950, £500 in 1952 and £750 in 1954 (CNENSA Minutes, 1950-1954). However there were
increasing delays in forwarding instalments occasioned by alleged omissions in returns or late submissions of the these documents and a serious hold-up in 1956, resulting from a government misreading of the CNENSA's balance sheet, even jeopardised the opening of the Association's schools at the beginning of 1957.

From early in the fifties when the Association began to expand and took on an office and a paid/part-time secretary the grant met only half of the Association's expenses. Only one of its schools was self-supporting, this being the Windermere school financed by SHAMCO, besides of course the later affiliate, the Bishops school. Lack of adequate funding was a great hardship. In 1952 a CNENSA Report stated: "The insecurity of our financial position makes every decision which involves increased financial obligations increasingly difficult, because we have continually to spend time and energy working out means for raising funds" (CNENSA Report, 1952: 3). Indeed it was a hand to mouth existence. The treasurer warned in September 1953 (CNENSA Minutes, 20/9/1953) that the existing Government grant would not cover expenses until the next street collection (held in August 1954) and again in February 1954, that except for rent and salaries, accounts could not be paid until after the August street collection (CNENSA Minutes, 22/2/1954).

Finally at the end of 1957, following upon drastic new rules regarding the conduct of "Continuation Classes" for African adults, the subsidy was terminated altogether and Lipshitz (1958) reported: "We are now entirely and precariously dependent on our street collection and other fund-raising efforts."

Fund-raising took various forms. As early as 1947 a "NUSAS Relief Drive" had organised a street collection in Cape Town to assist the adult night schools (Cape Argus, 1947). Then in 1950 an ingenious "pencil" scheme raised over £500 whilst in 1951 the practice of organising a regular and extensive annual street collection was started. Initially this only brought in £175 but with improved organisation, better publicity and increasing public support, the street collection became the CNENSA's main fund-raising project, earning £460 in 1952, £598 in 1953, £507 in 1954, £517 in 1955, £479 in 1956 and £680 in 1957 (CNENSA Minutes, 1951-1957).
MAINTAINING THE VOLUNTEER TEACHER BASIS OF THE CNENSA.

Until the early fifties, as already mentioned, the outlook of the CNENSA Co-ordinating Committee under Brodie's direction had been for volunteers to fill the acute void in the field of adult literacy and primary education only until such time as more efficient, paid, professional attention could be given by the Union Education Department to these very pressing needs. In the early granting of subsidies after the Report on Adult Education had been published in 1945, the government, spending limited funds, encouraged volunteer organisations already involved in this work to continue their voluntary input; however as has also been noted, where the task became altogether too great an undertaking purely for volunteers, as for example in the huge urban area of the Witwatersrand with its considerably larger African population, the Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes (the J4C's), pressed for finance to enable them to employ administrative staff and paid teachers as widely as possible.

This requirement in the Johannesburg situation did meet with a large measure of success, and by 1952 a full-time Director of the Continuation Classes was appointed, (Mr H. van der Doel) and a quota of paid teachers and a paid principal were allowed to each school. Apart from the Director no other organisers were recognised by the Department but the school principals were required to attend every school night and received a salary per quarter dependent on the size of their respective average quarterly pupil enrolments (J4C's, 1952b). With an office and an office staff of two paid officials, the J4C's received a grant of about £7 500 for the period April 1951-March 1952 and by June 1952 controlled 25 schools with a total enrolment of 2 879 pupils and with most of their complement of 104 teachers paid Africans (J4C's, 1952a: 3). With greater subsidization of course went greater government control and the pupils were charged fees.

It was during this same period, 1951-1952, that Mr Wulfsohn, a government inspector, began to check up on the situation in the Cape Town night schools. During the process he held two meetings with
Brodie and Machanick and in March 1952 visited each of the schools. As has just been seen the Association was undergoing a feeling of 'financial insecurity', at a time too when more and more requests for expansion were being received. Not surprisingly these problems must have been discussed with Wulfsohn and in fact his second meeting with Brodie and Machanick was arranged specifically to discuss plans for the Association's future expansion work. It was then that Wulfsohn told the others of the significant grants made to the Johannesburg African adult night schools and to similar schools in Durban and "threw out broad hints that if the Association were to submit concrete proposals envisaging a change-over from voluntary to paid full-time teachers, the Department of Education might be prepared to sanction such an arrangement and greatly increase our grant" (Brodie & Machanick, 1952).

When Wulfsohn had first put forward what must have been similar suggestions in the middle of 1951 the minutes give a glimpse of the mixed reception they received and of an underlying wariness against being used as tools of the government. It was recorded:

"The Committee discussed the project (Wulfsohn's), and although certain fears were expressed as regards the Government taking control and enforcing their political policies against our wishes or principles, the Committee as a whole favoured the project."

(CNENSA Minutes, 24/7/1951)

During a conversation with me in 1986 (to which I have previously referred) Brodie confirmed this wariness and apprehensiveness on the part of himself and some of his colleagues and by the time the committee again discussed Wulfsohn's proposals in April 1952 he had no longer seen the Union Education Department as a suitable successor to the work they as volunteers were striving to achieve. The key apartheid legislation had already been enacted in the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts of 1950, Dr Verwoerd with far-ranging powers had been appointed Minister of Native Affairs in 1951 and the previous year, Verwoerd's predecessor as Minister of Native Affairs, Dr E.G. Jansen would not have stilled the suspicions rapidly mounting in the minds of people like Brodie. Jansen for
instance had been prominently quoted as having attributed problems in African affairs largely "to the wrong education being given the Native." In words reminiscent of so many attitudes in the past he stated that: "It (the education) was largely calculated to Europeanize him (the African) and resulted in his not wanting to do manual labour" (Cape Times, 1950).

Again however there was division of opinion on the Committee when Wulfsohn's proposals "to place the Association on a formal basis with salaried teachers" was debated, Machanick (the Chairman) and Brodie disagreeing about "the ultimate fate of the Association under such a scheme" (CENNSA Minutes, 8/4/1952). In typically discreet fashion the minutes did not disclose what must have been politically influenced arguments but Brodie's views against major increased government subsidization carried and he went even further in gaining majority approval that the Wulfsohn plan should not be formally placed on the agenda for the AGM which was to be held a fortnight later: it was agreed though that it could be raised by any interested person from the floor (CENNSA Minutes, 8/4/1952). This matter was not in fact brought up at the AGM but Machanick, no doubt referring in particular to the above-mentioned debate, commented in his Chairman's Report on "the widely divergent views" on the matters which came before the Co-ordinating Committee as a "very healthy sign" of fully representative discussion before important decisions were taken.

In 1953 there was a slight capitulation in the attitude against switching to salaried teachers in the case of one particular night school, namely the Langa Senior. The Principal (Mr Fullalove) told the Committee that "only a paid staff could do the work successfully" after having pointed out that between February and July 1952 eighteen teachers at this school had changed and that this fluctuation had been responsible for a drop in attendances (CENNSA Minutes, 6/2/1953). At the same meeting Brodie had brought up the possibility that the Technical College might be persuaded to take over the running of the school in 1954 and therefore favoured the Association, as a temporary expedient, paying the Langa Senior teachers for 1953 and at this school charging the pupils fees for that specific year. He backed his proposal by pointing out that the recent decision to require pupils to pay for their books had helped to ease the
financial strain on the Association and that even if the Technical College could not take over the school the Education Department might be persuaded to subsidize the salaries of paid teachers there in the future. (It is possible that in favouring this scheme Brodie remembered Wulfsohn's warning [Brodie & Machanick, 1952: 2] that the CNENSA should not overlap with any existing facilities such as those provided by the Technical Colleges.)

However others felt the "main work of the Association is combating illiteracy" and that this work would suffer if so much were to be spent on the Langa Senior Night School. A compromise was reached in agreeing that the Department should be approached for some assistance for the proposed experiment (later estimated to cost £668 for the year), that in the meantime the school should start on a voluntary basis and that the possibility of the Technical College taking over this school should be pursued (CNENSA Minutes, 6/2/1953 & 6/3/1953).

Two months later the Technical College replied that it was unable to extend its activities in the manner contemplated. The Committee not having had a reply from the Department, then requested its secretary (Lipshitz) to write to the Johannesburg Committee to find out "how their staff was put on a paid basis" (CNENSA Minutes, 28/7/1953). However the school year was almost at an end before the Department agreed to contribute but only an extra £100 (CNENSA Minutes, 1/11/1953); by this time, on the continuing volunteer basis and after its many setbacks, Langa Senior in 1953 had "had a very heartening and successful year" with a pupil attendance of 85 and an established body of regular, well-qualified teachers running the school five nights a week (Wides, 1954: 1). The paid staff scheme for Langa Senior was then discarded and although there was a slight increase later in the number of African teachers employed at this school and at several of the other schools, the Association thereafter remained fully committed to its system of predominantly volunteer teachers and to its onerous tasks in fund-raising. Financially by 1955 CNENSA was a little more buoyant. In that year the new treasurer, Gordon Searle (who incidentally had been one of those favouring the charging of pupil fees), was able to report about 1955: "During this year we had to supplement the (government) grant with £300 raised by ourselves. Considering the scope of our activities, it is, I think, gratifying
to find that we still succeed in keeping our heads above water" (CNENSA Treasurer's Report, 1956).

Concerning the much debated question of whether or not to charge fees it should be noted that this was in fact crucial as far as the chance of gaining really substantial government subsidies was concerned. The J4C's did charge fees and Machanick (CNENSA Minutes, 6/3/1953) had warned that if the Education Department were to pay the staff at Langa Senior CNENSA would have to charge fees. At the meeting that he and Brodie had held with Wulfsohn in March/April the previous year, Wulfsohn had been adamant that charging fees was a concomitant of receiving a bigger subsidy but by way of overcoming CNENSA's resistance to this had suggested that it would be quite acceptable to the Department if the Association transferred to the government account a sum of money equivalent to revenue from fees but from money raised other than by government grant (Brodie & Machanick, 1952: 2).

The Committee was again very divided on the issue but with the final abandonment of any plan for any salaried basis for the majority of its teachers, it continued to reject the idea of charging its pupils fees, for the following reasons, namely that "a voluntary free basis was traditional in the Association", that fees would not enforce or improve attendance but on the contrary might act as a deterrent and because the Association could raise money by other means (CNENSA Minutes, 14/6/1953).

It is noteworthy that at a time in the early fifties when more government funding, as in the case of the Johannesburg schools, might have been possible, the Association deliberately chose the more arduous path of volunteer effort in the hope of preserving its maximum independence. This was indeed to be a factor distinguishing the nature of its development from that of the night schools under the J4C's. This difference is best illustrated by percentages deduced from figures supplied by Bird (1984: 206) in a comparative table on African Adult Education for 1955. The indications from that deduction are that in that year when the J4C's had a total pupil enrolment of 3,000 and the CNENSA an enrolment estimated at 1,200, 202 out of CNENSA's given total of 214 teachers (94,4%) were white (and although unstated, voluntary) whilst only 60 (37,5%) out of the J4C's smaller
total staff of 160 were white, and the remaining 100 were paid African teachers.

This brings to a close my review of the period 1950-1957 in the life of the CNENSA before government legislation forced changes in 1958. In keeping with the structural plan outlined in my introduction I shall withhold evaluations and conclusions until the entire study of the movement has been completed. The next chapter will outline the historical background to these years of the Association's growth and development in the 1950's as has just been narrated.
CHAPTER FIVE

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE GOVERNMENT 1950 - 1957 AND A BROAD OUTLINE OF
THE POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO THIS PERIOD

5.1
AN EXAMINATION OF GRADUAL GOVERNMENT IMPINGEMENT ON THE AFFAIRS OF
THE ASSOCIATION 1950 - 1956

The new government after its victory at the polls in 1948 spent its early years in legislating to unscramble racially mixed areas, to separate people rigidly along racial and ethnic lines, to bend the Constitution to remove the Coloured people from the common voters' roll, to restrict or even silence the voices of opposition and to prepare for drastic changes in the education of Africans so as to consolidate the majority in the country's population to an outcast and subservient role. In this regard as already noted, a Commission of Enquiry into African education had been appointed in 1949 under the chairmanship of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen. The latter had left the academic world and the University of Pretoria to take the place of Dr Gordon Mears as Secretary for Native Affairs in 1950. By this time Dr H.F. Verwoerd was Minister of Native Affairs. These two men, Verwoerd and Eiselen, were to the forefront in the enactment of the notorious Bantu Education Act of 1953.

It took time however before the changes taking place through government legislation were to have any major effect on the structure and development of the Cape Night Schools Association. The moving spirits in the organisation, after making their liberal views known to Eiselen's Commission of Enquiry in their memorandum of 1950, for the next few years (as far as the Association was concerned), masked whatever concern they might have had about the future. Indeed for the first half of the 1950 - 1960 decade the Association was seemingly unaffected by the fact that its non-racial admixtures of pupils and teachers, whether in African townships or so-called white or coloured areas, ran counter to the new strictly compartmentalized South African society then being moulded into shape in every aspect of human life.
Possibly it was the fact that it was the policy of the government "to give basic elementary education to the Bantu in general, rather than higher education to a small minority seeking to escape from their community" (Eiselen, 1959: 11), that led the state at first to turn a blind eye to night schools which were largely devoted to teaching the three R's even though they functioned non-racially. It was more likely though that it took time to get the wheels of the new bureaucracy rolling and to stage the take-over from the old Department of Education. Very gradually however a tightening of control began to take place, commencing with the drawing up of a new Constitution for the Association in 1950 to comply with the Education Department's requirements and for submission to it for final approval (CNENSA Minutes, 25/6/1950). According to the records the main effects of the new constitution were the change of name to Cape Non-European Night Schools Association (instead of African Night Schools Association) and the provision for the addition to the Co-ordinating Committee of two members nominated by the Department of Native Affairs (DNA) and the Department of Education, Arts and Science (CNENSA Constitution, 1950 & Minutes, 14/5/1950).

At first it was largely a matter of departmental investigation and reports. Inspector van Rooyen towards the end of 1950 was recorded in the minutes as having compiled an "objective report" for the Department on the Association's work and was also responsible for having the organisation's Paarl Night School transferred to a Continuation Committee in Paarl (CNENSA Minutes, 27/11/1950). A short while later another report following an inspection of the schools and a meeting with Machanick and Brodie was submitted to the Education Department by Inspector Wulfsohn. These events occasioned considerable discussion on the Committee both regarding a suspected attempt at a dictatorial take-over (as observed in the last chapter) and with regard to several practical matters raised on a purely professional basis. One or two of the latter ideas were criticised as too theoretical by Ackerman but Wulfsohn's suggestion for the issue of "Proficiency Certificates" to pupils met with general approval and the secretary was instructed to write to him to thank him for a "constructive report" (CNENSA Minutes, 8/4/1952 & 4/7/1952).

The involvement of government representatives on the Co-ordinating
Committee was minimal. During this period no one was nominated to represent the Department of Native Affairs. The Department of Education, Arts and Sciences however nominated a Mr Steyn but he rarely attended meetings (CNENSA Minutes, 27/11/1950 & 8/5/1951) before he was succeeded by Dr G.M. Daleboudt in March 1952. Daleboudt during his brief appearance at meetings once unsuccessfully raised the suggestion that pupils should be charged fees and at the same meeting announced that he would be going overseas for four months and would be attending the UNESCO Conference on Adult Education as the South African delegate (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1952). He did not appear again on the CNENSA Committee nor apparently shared with its members his findings at UNESCO. Then for ten years (until May 1962) no other government representative appeared at a Co-ordinating Committee meeting.

Although by 1952, as has already been observed, there was a clear move on behalf of the government to gain more control through trying to persuade the organisation to substitute paid for volunteer teachers (Brodie & Machanick, 1952) and although too, in line with its policy, it had stressed that expansion should be almost entirely on primary work, yet until 1957 very little actual interference occurred other than through rather frequent complaints about the manner in which forms were filled in or about late submissions of audited statements. (CNENSA Minutes, 6/6/1954, 18/7/1954 & 8/8/1954). And the CNENSA continued to provide secondary classes wherever these were in demand.

With its ever pressing financial needs the Association under the chairmanship of Machanick in 1952, apart from the annual applications to the Department of Education, also applied twice to the Department of Native Affairs for an additional grant but each time was refused. It would appear that Machanick (the chairman from mid 1950 to mid 1953), although "a liberal at heart" was rather more conservative than most of the others on the committee and through his business of supplying agricultural goods to large numbers of Nationalist farmer customers had government contacts (Brodie: 1986b). Added to his status as chairman this may have been an additional reason for the Association using him in any dealings with departmental officials but it did not make him successful in applying for additional grants.
In 1955 with the increase in its numbers of coloured pupils especially at St Marks, the Association also contemplated applying to the Department of Coloured Affairs for a grant but its cautious recourse to Brodie for advice before considering this proposal (CNENSA Minutes, 3/7/1955) indicated an uneasiness about possible government interference in its non-racial practices and that it was on the whole adopting a "live-low" policy. It was not recorded what Brodie's advice was but no approach was made to the Department of Coloured Affairs although by this time the Association had been warned it could not use funds from the Department of Native Affairs (DNA) for its coloured pupils (ibid. 3/7/1955).

The Bantu Education Act (No. 47) of 1953 provided for the transfer of all African schools from Provincial control to that of the DNA and spelt out the administrative details of this transfer. It made registration compulsory for all classes conducted for Africans. Failure to register was to be punishable by a fine or imprisonment.

It gave the Minister of Native Affairs full control over the conduct of all "Bantu Schools" with powers for delegating authority to the Secretary for Native Affairs. Under his powers of discretion the Minister could close or disestablish any government African school, suspend, reduce or withdraw any grant to state-aided schools and appoint, discharge, promote or transfer teachers in any Government African school.

The Act also provided for the establishment of School Boards or other bodies to provide "for the active participation by the Bantu people in the control and management of the government Bantu schools" and gave the Minister blanket power to make any regulations from time to time as he deemed necessary "for the establishment, maintenance and control of government Bantu schools". Among such regulations immediately referred to in the Act were prescribing for any government school, control of funds collected for its use, the conditions of appointment and service, a code of discipline for teachers and the medium of instruction to be employed.

In the middle of 1954 the Association was notified that it would now come under the Department of Native Affairs and its former annual grant of £500 was stepped up to £750. The organisation began to show
concern about the changes that would take place with the planned transfer to "Bantu Education". In January 1955 it wrote to Pretoria asking what steps it must take regarding registration under the Bantu Education Act but at this stage the reply was: "in terms of Government Notice No 2567 of 17 December 1954 paragraph 3(c) no registration is required of your Association" (Letter: 29/1/1955, Sec. for Native Affairs).

The changes to Bantu Education were officially implemented in the day schools in April 1955 and were accompanied by organised stay-aways on the East Rand and in the Eastern Cape and pupil and teacher expulsions. In Cape Town while there is no evidence of pupils being withdrawn from the day schools nevertheless African parents in most cases refused to elect the new school committees provided for under the new legislation (Kwebulana, 1987). However still no direct threat to the CNENSA's existence had been received. At this time of great sensitivity in the African community over the new order and the unpopular establishment of African School Boards and School Committees it was perhaps an acceptance of a de facto situation that led the organisation to invite the Secretary of the local African School Board, Mr Ngo, to address its 1956 AGM and following upon his request, to extend the teaching of Afrikaans in its schools.

The organisation had been told that it was not required to register in terms of the Bantu Education Act (CNENSA Minutes, 20/2/1955) and it continued to be operated predominantly by white liberals and to receive undiminished support and growing co-operation from Africans. That year, 1955, saw the number of schools expand from 12 to 14 and the annual pupil enrolment figure rise to 1,000. Perhaps the "no politics, no religion" attitude in the Association led it to think it could maintain its broad independence in spite of what was happening in the day schools or in other fields or that in any case while it could still continue with its basic literacy programmes and secondary schooling within non-racial parameters, it should continue.

However by the beginning of 1956 the Association could no longer be in any doubt that some form of direct government intervention was imminent. A very bald reference was made to this effect in the minutes of the Co-ordinating Committee of 25 February 1956. It merely
indicated that a circular from the Inspector of Bantu Education (Letter: 23/12/1955, Sec. for Native Affairs) had been read aloud to the Committee and that it had been noted that "the form of control would be altered" as from the beginning of 1957. Whatever discussion took place on this matter was not minuted. The Co-ordinating Committee, to all outward purposes, continued that year in its accustomed manner.

Meanwhile in the office at the beginning of 1956 Mrs L. Bryson had just replaced Phyllis Altman and this new secretary was shortly to prove extraordinarily resilient in facing the impending heavy demands of the government's involved and growing bureaucracy. (As a mild foretaste of the paper work to come, Bryson after months of correspondence, later that year succeeded in extracting permission from Pretoria for lights to be installed in the new school building (Walter Teka) in Nyanga at the Association's expense. Attendance at this night school then "jumped phenomenally from 30 to 116" [Lipshitz, 1957]).

In contrast to what was soon to befall it, 1956 ironically represented for the Association its peak period of growth and activity. Still however the Chairman's Annual Report made no mention of the coming "new form of control" nor do the extant 1956 newsletters refer to the matter. The new Bantu Education syllabus was put into effect in the day schools in January 1956 (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 30) and the CNENSA Committee, not knowing exactly what was looming ahead for the organisation clearly must have adopted a policy of "wait and see".

By 1956 the group area zones envisaged in the Group Areas Act of 1950 had still not been proclaimed in many areas of Cape Town. (District Six where the St Marks Night School operated was only proclaimed white in 1966.) The southern suburbs in particular were mixed residential areas with Coloureds, Asians and a sprinkling of Africans together totalling almost as many as the white residents (Western, 1981: 123). The previous year proposals advertised for zoning these areas with all the concomitant population upheavals had provoked large-scale protests. For its part the Cape Town City Council (still having some Coloured city councillors), had refused to co-operate
with the scheme in providing information on the racial patterns in its municipal areas. Ultimately however, in August 1956, a Committee of the Group Areas Board met in Cape Town for three weeks to hear submissions and counter submissions on its zone proposals (ibid: 122).

With such events highlighting at close quarters the inexorable determination of the government to unscramble the integrated areas of Cape Town, the CNENSA could not have been unprepared for the news in December 1956 that the Government was about to introduce segregation in night schools too and to assume tighter measures of control.

5.2
GOVERNMENT ADULT EDUCATION LEGISLATION OF 1957 - A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATION

In December 1956 extracts from two Native Affairs Department Circulars were sent to the Association by the Inspector of Bantu Education in Port Elizabeth advising it of the forthcoming changes. These announced that as from 1 April 1957 all night schools in the African townships would fall under the control of the "Bantu School Boards" whilst those in the European areas were to be controlled by Central Committees appointed by the Minister of Native Affairs (Letter: 29/12/1956, Insp. of Bantu Educ.).

The government, intent on an exact implementation of its group areas policy, was beginning to take the first major steps against the anomalous situation in terms of that policy, of white teachers operating in African township schools and of Africans flocking to schools in so-called "European areas". One of the circulars echoed this ideology in a warning to the night school movement that boded ill for its continued survival. It stated:

"The interests of the Europeans should serve as primary consideration in their own residential areas and any evening school in such an area may continue to exist only so long as no formal and well-grounded objections are raised against it. Since the regular use of a site in a European area for a Bantu evening school lends such a site a group character, it may not
be used for the purpose of an evening school without a permit from the Land Tenure Advisory Board. Permits will have to be obtained for all existing schools and for any schools to be established in European areas."

(DNA, 1956)

The changes envisaged in these circulars gave a clear indication to the CNENSA of the coming autocratic and complicated bureaucratic interference in the affairs of adult night classes for Africans that was to take place all over the country. However as these drastic measures for a variety of reasons were shelved for another year (Letter: 5/3/1957, Insp. of Bantu Educ.) it is more relevant to examine them as they reappeared in greater detail in Notices 1414 & 1415 in the Government Gazette of 13 September 1957. These ultimately were the regulations that came into effect on January 1 1958.

In confirming the earlier announcements these later regulations spelt out the details of the modus operandi for each of the two main categories of adult schools, those in the African townships and those in the "European" areas. In the case of the former the main decisions (as affecting the CNENSA) were that the existing schools were to be handed over to the local school boards and school committees and would only be allowed to continue if registered by the Department of Native Affairs. They could cater only for African pupils over 16 years of age in verifiable, full-time employment and the school boards would be responsible for financing the schools and employing the teachers; these appointments however would be subject to the approval of the Director of Bantu Education who could, subject to 24 hours' notice, withdraw the approval without giving reasons (Maree, 1987b).

Direct government surveillance was also to be introduced in the administration of night classes in the white areas. These (classified as "Night Schools" [primary] and "Continuation Classes" [secondary] and described as private schools) were to be under the control of a white manager who must apply for registration annually three months in advance on a prescribed form and enclosing a permit from the Group Areas Board. Pupils must be over 16 years of age, in verifiable full-time employment and resident in the area of the night classes
concerned. The manager could employ teachers but only subject to
approval from the director of Bantu education who, as in the case of
the township night classes, could withdraw approval subject to 24
hours' notice and without stating reasons. No mention of subsidies or
partial subsidies was made for this category of schools; on the
contrary it was clearly stated that financing them would be the
responsibility of the manager concerned who could collect regular
compulsory school fees "subject to the approval of the Secretary".
The only material assets that could be applied for from the
Department for use in the schools would be registers and record books
(Maree, 1987a).

This government intervention in the affairs of adult night classes
was directly related to the increasing surveillance and harassment
mounting in the mid-fifties against all organisations representing or
empathetically linked to the voices of black opposition. The very
nature of the close scrutinising powers taken by the government over
the selection of teachers and even pupils gives evidence of this but a
more direct testimony lay in a senior official in Pretoria warning
that the Department sought to prevent "undesirables" teaching in the
schools (Letter: 1/11/1957, Lipshitz). The deepening of the
polarisation taking place at a regional and national level will be
presently reviewed as inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the
night schools but first I would like briefly to review the immediate
effect of these new regulations on the organisers of the CNENSA.

In typical non-committal language, reaction to the warning circulars
received in December 1956 had been noted in the minutes the following
month but thereafter when it was seen that no change was to be
implemented until January 1958, members of the Association again
engrossed themselves in their activities. To the superficial observer
it would have seemed that no threat overhung the co-ordinated efforts
in the townships and outside of them, over the classes, the debates,
the concerts, quiz evenings, expeditions to plays, lectures to both
students and teachers (for example by literary critic, Philip Segal),
the opening of a library in the Nyanga School and various other joint
activities shared by 750 students, about 200 teachers and "the most
active co-operative Co-ordinating Committee imaginable" (Lipshitz,
1957).
However in 1957 the Committee empowered a small executive to consider the Government's intrusive demands and to try to determine exactly what they implied for any future operation of the CNENSA. A decision was taken "to continue running the schools this year (1957) and to give people to understand that we hope to continue running the schools next year" (CNENSA Minutes: 20/10/1957). This was despite the eventual certainty that the Association would no longer receive an annual subsidy, that in fact it would have to find additional money if it were to help pay African teachers to replace the former volunteers in the township schools and that the new demands for registration and group area permits as well as detailed information about teachers and students were going to constitute a major administrative burden.

At the same time the separate SHAWCO Education Management Committee, running the affiliated Windermere night school, whilst planning to continue, nevertheless expressed certain cautious reservations. These appeared in the following resolution which was passed unanimously:

"that this Committee recommends to the Board (SHAWCO Board of Management) that in 1958 the Windermere Night School continues to exist and will comply with the regulations promulgated in the Government Gazette. The Committee reserves the right to close the school if it is not found possible to work harmoniously with the authorities."

(SHAWCO Education Management Committee Minutes: 19/9/1957)

Clearly the Association was going to humour the masters in 1958 (and afterwards) in order to salvage what it could of its former operation. There was another important fact which should be especially noted when comparing the CNENSA with other similar movements in other parts of the country. For the next few years it was to survive intact, save for the loss of two schools (the Langa Senior and the Simonstown School) and with the Nyanga and Langa Junior schools under entirely black staffs, whereas by contrast, after the 13 September 1957 regulations were promulgated, all the Durban schools closed down, only about ten of the JAC's thirty-two schools survived (mainly in the industrial areas) and the remaining
schools in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London were eventually handed over to the Department of Bantu Education (Bird, 1984: 206-207). In this regard the fact that the CNENSA, unlike these other similar movements, was run almost entirely by volunteers and over the years had built up its own strong financial support system, undoubtedly put it in a stronger position for sustaining the shock of being suddenly deprived of its subsidy at the end of 1957.

In what other ways was, this "survival" more than the natural corollary of the Association's continuation in 1955 despite the implementation of Bantu Education in the day schools? Bird (1984: 205) makes the point that many of the 'left-wing volunteers in the Transvaal night schools had withdrawn their help at that stage (although that movement also continued to grow), because they did not want to be party to the new Bantu Education system. This issue of boycott or continued participation was of paramount importance in the ANC campaign against Bantu Education in 1955 when unready for decisive boycott action, the "deferment" attitudes of some had in many areas weakened the withdrawal of teachers and pupils from the schools and the campaign to set up alternative schools. (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 32). But of course the voluntarily-run Cape night schools managing to continue outside the African townships and still in practice comparatively independent despite having to submit pupils and teachers' names, were not in the same category as the strictly inspected and controlled "Bantu" day schools. They were held too in high esteem as "a community service" by many black opposition leaders such as Tabata (Kwebulana, 1987). In this respect it is also interesting to hear the views of the African Education Movement (AEM) under Trevor Huddleston and Father Jarrett-Kerr in Johannesburg in 1957. This organisation with the help of the COD was then organising alternative "Culture clubs" for African day school pupils. The AEM regretted being unable to assist the Night schools in the same way and in a letter (quoted subsequently by the NUSAS President) wrote:

"The AEM has discussed the question of the Night Schools and reluctantly we have come to the conclusion that there is not very much we can do. The problems of adult Africans are quite different from those facing the children. Whilst it is desirable to keep those children not wishing to attend
Government schools off the streets, even when the informal education is at worst ineffectual, the same does not apply to adults. People who work all day who wish to become literate, will not tolerate informal educational techniques such as games etc. The only way of helping this type of person is by providing them with educational material, and this requires money of which we have very little... We therefore feel we are unable to initiate any scheme as an alternative to the night schools. This does not mean that we would not assist or cooperate with any other group or organisation that is in a position to do so."

(Letter: 23/11/1957, Pres. NUSAS)

Before the night school movements received the final crystallisation of the new regulations to control them in December 1957 an incident occurred which throws more light on the cautious policy of resignation and long assumed guise of neutrality that was to carry the CNENSA over the legislative hurdles of 1957/1958 under the chairmanship of Lipshitz. As a result of the introduction of the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957 which gave the Minister powers to prohibit social contacts between blacks and whites even in churches (through the notorious church clause) and in order to consider the proposed banding together of many affected organisations in opposing these new stringent proposals, a special meeting of the teachers in the CNENSA was held in the City Hall in May of that year. A resolution by R. Wengrowe proposing "wait and see" tactics until the end of the year was defeated by 60 votes to 6. At this stage, Mr Leslie Wilson (my husband who with me had recently joined the Association that year to help teach in Nyanga) proposed the following resolution seconded by Advocate Harry Brodie:

"That this General Meeting of members of the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association wishes to record its strongest disapproval to section 29 of the Native Laws Amendment Bill in so far as it restricts the rights of freedom of association and freedom of education and pledges itself to give all possible legal support and encouragement to those Churches and Welfare Organisations who have banded together to oppose it".

(CNENSA Minutes, 12/5/1957)
This resolution was then carried by 32 votes to 18. In a further bid to test the opinion of the meeting two other resolutions were proposed, the one deploiring the provision of section 29 of the Bill but suggesting "that members could take action through more appropriate organisations" and the other one a lengthy protest embodying future on-going action, that had been passed a week previously by a meeting of religious and welfare organisations. Both of these resolutions were defeated (ibid.).

I refer to this meeting because for the first time since the Association's outspoken Memorandum presented to the 1950 Eiselen Commission, the organisation had allowed itself to overrule its policy of tight neutrality regarding both politics and religion despite an obvious effort to lead it in more traditional elusive channels. This break with tradition had not won the approval of Lipshitz at the time (Wides, 1986) although the following year in her annual report she referred to the Association's "strongest disapproval of Section 29" expressed in terms of the resolution of May 1957.

I return to the organisation's reactions to explicit demands for racial separation of its schools in 1957 and other curtailments of its independence. The first steps taken, apart from trying to comply with the administrative demands, were to seek permission for volunteers to continue teaching in the township schools and to ask for a continuation of the former annual subsidy. Both requests were bluntly turned down by DNA in Pretoria (Letter: 17/10/1957 Dir. Bantu Educ.). However there were other queries requiring answers if the necessary registration application forms were to be successfully completed by the stipulated deadline of 1 November 1957: branch inspectorates in Cape Town and King William's Town seemed unable to provide the necessary enlightenment (Letters: Sept/Oct 1957, CNENSA). It was only when Lipshitz had a long telephone conversation with the man who had fathered the new regulations, Dr Goosen of the Department of Bantu Education in Pretoria, that the full truth of what immediately lay ahead was at last driven home. The answers Lipshitz obtained to her appeals and queries were entirely based on the government's unbending pursuit of the separation of races, the maintenance of white elitism and the prevention at all costs of any
possible spread of ideas that were likely to conflict with its ideology through the emergence of "undesirables" among the teachers (Letter: 1/11/1957, Lipshitz).

In terms of the new regulations the Association could not be accepted as the required Proprietor/Manager of adult African classes in white areas. To comply with the requirement of a white individual in this role, Mrs Bryson as permanent secretary agreed to be the manager with personal responsibility for each of these schools (Lipshitz, 1958). Supported by the executive the "manager" took on the onerous task of trying to obtain the necessary registration. Despite timely applications it was not until April 1958 after processing procedures through the bureaucratic hierarchy of three different Departmental offices, after mislaying of forms, conflicting instructions, telegrams and the loss of a full term of classes (Letters: Oct. 1957-April 1958, CNENSA) that official approval for the remainder of 1958 was at last received. Even one of the inspectors, L.P. Maree of Cape Town, (who had tried to assist Mrs. Bryson) expressed dismay at the situation. In a letter to Bryson he wrote: "It is a nightmare to think that the whole process will have to be repeated one of these days" (Letter: 18/4/1958).

It took even longer before classes could be resumed in the African townships and then only two of the four were eventually able to continue, namely the two primary schools in Langa and Nyanga. Concerning these schools, Lipshitz giving her final report before standing down as Chairman in 1958 stated: "We have done everything we can to ensure that our four schools in the Bantu areas do not lapse. We met with the school Committees, discussed the regulations with them, helped them to apply for registration of the night schools and offered clerical assistance such as circularising pupils." In addition she referred to fund-raising to assist these school committees "who have no money to pay for even the smallest items" (Lipshitz, 1958).

The upheaval caused by the long delay in obtaining the newly required registration for each individual school also caused the postponement of the Association's Annual General Meeting in 1958 so that it was not until June that year that Maida Lipshitz was able to hand over...
the chairmanship to a comparative newcomer, Mr Randolph Vigne. This was to signal the start of the third and final phase in the life of the organisation which will be the subject of the next chapter, but before passing on to that it is important to see more clearly the intermeshing of external events in the country as a whole so as to place the crisis in the night schools in a clearer perspective.

5.3


During this chapter I have referred now and then to a few of the salient political features of this period, such as the passing of some of the legislative acts to destroy whatever racial integration had taken place and to construct the apartheid edifice. As seen in Chapter Two, behind these developments in the fifties lay many antecedents from pre-Nationalist days in racial discrimination and manipulation, particularly regarding Africans, such as loss of land and farming rights, township segregation, migrant labour, grossly inadequate educational services, poor housing, poverty wages, votelessness and closed doors to any real upward mobility in jobs or skills. In fact it was in response to those dire circumstances of poverty and mass illiteracy that the night school movements had first mushroomed into existence.

As also seen in Chapter Two, the strong Africanist attitudes of the Congress Youth League had permeated the ANC and the resultant adoption of its Programme of Action in 1949 was to pave the way for the major defiance campaigns of the 1950's. Yet it was a period characterised by a full commitment by increasingly politicised blacks to still non-violent methods for effecting change despite the staggering series of enactments to build the State's granite apartheid structure. State authoritarianism, increasingly entrenched in the hands of a white, racist minority with the removal of coloured voters from the common roll, provoked into existence new protest organisations and new alignments, as referred to in Table 8.

Much work has been done by academics in documenting what took place
and for the purposes of Table 8 I have mainly used the following sources: Karis (1973); Karis & Gerhart, (1977); Lodge, (1983); M. Ballinger, (1969); Kingwill, (1977); Roux (1964); Kalehe (1971); Ncube, (1985); Horrell, (1969); various government legislative Acts & Gazette notices (1950-1957) and various CENSA documents. My concern of course is not to add to or restate evidence already well documented but to chart a way through this material to assess as far as possible political, socio-economic influences on the Western Cape night school movement and its participants, students and teachers, black and white alike. I have also made use of personal interviews with two African night school participants who in their private capacities were involved in some of the 1950 protests. To support therefore this prime aim, Table 8 sets out chronologically the salient features of this period and I shall use it as my reference base to amplify certain issues where necessary.

While I do not wish to emphasize any special cause and effect process in the Government's drive to achieve its goals, it is nevertheless of interest to note in Table 8 the inevitable year by year intermeshing of government legislation (Column A), anti-government protests and actions (Column B), government reprisals and increasing authoritarianism (Column C) and peripheral CENSA events (Column D), all inter-related with one another in the developing scenario.

Opposition in the all white Parliament begins to show increasing 'ineffectiveness. After the demonstration of black protest in the significant Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1952 (and riots which the ANC claimed had been deliberately provoked), white voters in increasing numbers sided with white authoritarian nationalism against rising black nationalism and returned the government to power with an increased majority the following year. Although three whites were to continue to represent Africans in the House of Assembly, those with Communist backgrounds were ejected from Parliament (S. Kahn in 1952, B. Bunting in 1953 and R. Alexander in 1954) and the Africanist policy for boycotting white institutions gained increasing black support; this was in growing opposition to the line of Liberals like Margaret Ballinger and Walter Stanford (& Lee Warden although a COD member) who believed some representation was better than none and continued as Parliamentary Native Representatives from 1954 until
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>MAJOR LEGISLATION &amp; EVENTS SEEN CHRONOLOGICALLY IN RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE ANOTHER IN THE PERIOD 1950-1957</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1950 | **POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT**  
**GROUP AREAS ACT**  
**SUSPENSION OF COMMUNITY ACT**  
**PROPERTY ACT AMENDMENT**  
**APARTHEID**  
**1950 POPULATION REGISTRATION**  
**APARTHEID**  
**1950**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| May | Work Stoppage.  
June | National Day of Protest and Mourning  
Jun: CPSA dissolves itself; SACP formed later. Many former CPSA members join ANC.  
Aug: 15,000 Coloureds march through Cape Town.  
Apr: TONTO COMMANDO. 10,000 on Grand Parade, CT |
| 1951 | **SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**FRANCHISE ACTION COMMITTEE FORMED**  
**APARTHEID**  
**1951**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Jan: | ANC ask P.M. to repeal "silk unjust laws."  
May: | DEFENSE CAMPAIGN (ANC): FRAC: CPIA.  
Aug: | 123 known "defiers" in CT (mostly African).  
Sep: | 24 workers with "Equal Rights for all Civilized People."  
Rioting in Jhb and Eastern Cape. 40 die.  
Umb pute apartheid on its Agenda.  
Patrick Duncan "defies" in Germiston.  
May: | RESTRICTIONS AGAINST 5 LISTED COMMUNISTS.  
Aug: | 123 Cape Town "defiers" arrested. (423 in Western Cape)  
Dec: | 807 defiers altogether arrested in S.A.  
Kahn MP & Carmnson MP's banned from office.  
ANC & SAIF offices & homes raided. |
| 1952 | **HIC COURT OF PARLIAMENT (Short-lived).**  
**APARTHEID**  
**1952**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Jan: | DEFENSE CAMPAIGN (ANC): FRAC: CPIA.  
May: | DEFENSE CAMPAIGN (ANC): FRAC: CPIA.  
Aug: | 123 known "defiers" in CT (mostly African).  
Sep: | 24 workers with "Equal Rights for all Civilized People."  
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Dec: | 807 defiers altogether arrested in S.A.  
Kahn MP & Carmnson MP's banned from office.  
ANC & SAIF offices & homes raided. |
| 1953 | **NATIVE RESIDENTIAL ACT**  
**SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**IMMORALITY**  
**GROUP AREAS**  
**INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION**  
**FRAC; CPIA.**  
**1953**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Feb: | Over 1,000 blacks demonstrate end of Defence Campaign in CT. (ANC: FRAC: CPIA.)  
May: | ANC forms "People's Force" for Economic Advancement.  
Matthews suggests a Congress of the People and a "Freedom Charter."  
Mandela proposes organizing on "M-plan."  
Sep: | SACP founded - chiefly of ex-PSAC members  
CPSA founded in Jhb.  
Oct: | STATE PRE-EMPTIVE ACTION.  
Many major ANC figures banned.  
Most of Nalal Indian Congress Exec banned.  
In allowing Kliptown plans, state gives ANC et al "rope to hang themselves." (Lodge, 1983: 71) |
| 1954 | **APPENDIX DIVISION QUILIN ACT**  
**NATIVE RESIDENTIAL ACT**  
**FRAC; CPIA.**  
**1954**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Mar: | ANC plans for 3 major Campaigns.  
Aug: | ANC still under Dept. of Education.  
Dec: | No contemporary records have been found showing CHNENA reaction in 1953 to the Bantu Education Act.  
CHNENA failed to obtain co-operation from the Department of Education for placing the Langa Senior School on a paid basis. |
| 1956 | **SEPARATE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS ACT**  
**RESTRUCTURING OF NATIVE EDUCATION ACT**  
**INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION**  
**SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**IMMORALITY**  
**GROUP AREAS**  
**INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION**  
**FRAC; CPIA.**  
**1956**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Mar: | Bantu Education Act.  
Aug: | CPSA disbands itself; SACP formed later. Many former CPSA members join ANC.  
Dec: | 2,000 police against May Day stay-downs.  
19 dead, 30 injured (Karls, 1973: 407). |
| 1957 | **NATIVE AREA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**IMMORALITY**  
**NATIVE LABOUR AMENDMENT ACT**  
**VIOLENCE**  
**SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT**  
**IMMORALITY**  
**GROUP AREAS**  
**INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION**  
**FRAC; CPIA.**  
**1957**  
**1955**  
**1957** |
| Jan: | 50,000 Africans in Alexander bus boycott  
Aug: | STAY AT HOME  
Dec: | NATIVE LABOUR AMENDMENT ACT (to prevent contacts between blacks & whites. It contained the notorious "church clause" which as a result of a public outcry, including Archbishop Clayton's theological condemnation, was never invoked.)  
NATIVE SERVICES LEVY  
NATIVE LABOUR AMENDMENT ACT (to prevent contacts between blacks & whites. It contained the notorious "church clause" which as a result of a public outcry, including Archbishop Clayton's theological condemnation, was never invoked.)  
NATIVE LABOUR AMENDMENT ACT (to prevent contacts between blacks & whites. It contained the notorious "church clause" which as a result of a public outcry, including Archbishop Clayton's theological condemnation, was never invoked.) |

As has already been seen, except for a few individuals with more radical leanings, the majority of the main white protagonists in the CNENSA in this period, in their private capacities were members or supporters of the Liberal Party after it came into existence in 1953 and prior to that had shown strong liberal tendencies. In their private political beliefs therefore those who engaged in politics should have been aware in this period of the mounting Africanist distrust of their motives. This was made particularly clear in factions represented by the AAC and NEUM which exerted such a strong influence over the Cape African Teachers' Association in the early 1950's, and which was aggressively voiced in CATA's publication "The Teachers' Vision" and NEUM's periodical "The Torch". This influence was of particular significance in the Peninsula in the period under review and I will return to it presently.

Probably most rank and file white liberals did not read either "The Torch" or "The Teachers' Vision" and were not really aware in those years of a section of bitter black antagonism directed against them. However, reduced African support for bodies like the SAIRR (supra p.52) was becoming obvious to the discerning and as a group, white liberals did not participate in the Defiance Campaign, were only observers at the Congress of the People, and, although opposing Bantu Education (as in the case of NEUM and CATA), did not support the ANC's tactic of boycotting it. Liberals, despised by AAC leaders such as I.B. Tabata, were however still tolerated by moderates in the ANC which despite its departure from old-style liberal deputations and petitions, nevertheless consistently adhered to its vision of a non-racial South Africa; but when the Liberal Party came into existence in 1953 the canvassing of this latter body for African members was seen by the ANC as competition instead of real support (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 8); thus alliances between the ANC and the racially structured but like-minded and co-operative protest groups of the SAIC, SACPO and COD (the latter consisting largely of former white members of the disbanded CPSA) and with the left-wing Trade Union Federation, SACTU, became a more logical development, widening the rift between the ANC (with its new colleagues) and the liberals.
5.3.1
AN APPRAISAL OF THE CNENSA AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE 1952
DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN & THE 1955 BANTU EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS IN THE WESTERN
CAPE

The early heralding of Bantu Education in the Eiselen Report, so strongly attacked by African teachers in the Cape African Teachers' Association, tended to be left in abeyance by the ANC in 1952 while it was preoccupied in organising a nation-wide non-violent Defiance Campaign against six unjust laws. These were the Pass Laws, stock limitation, the Group Areas Act, Suppression of Communism Act, the Coloured Voters' Act and the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (Karis, 1973: 414).

Volunteers in this national Defiance Campaign, which was jointly organised in the Cape by the ANC, the Franchise Action Committee (FRAC) and the Cape Provincial Indian Assembly (CPIA), staged their peaceful defiance by flouting apartheid regulations in a variety of ways. Speculation was raised deliberately by the organisers through the press to keep the public guessing as to when and where the defiance would next take place (Cape Times, 1952a). As the campaign was stepped up the government reacted with extensive, nation-wide raids on the offices of all the organisations involved, including the office and the Athlone home of Mr Lucas Phillips, then Chairman of the Cape Town branch of the ANC (Cape Times, 1952b) and a few weeks later, twenty national leaders were arrested, charged with promoting communism and released on bail (Karis, 1973: 421). Undeterred the defiance continued and was at last launched in Cape Town on August 3rd when an initial group of 10 African men (Cape Times, 1952c) were arrested and imprisoned for defying railways apartheid. Further acts of defiance took place over the next three months and according to some sources, about 123 defiers altogether in Cape Town (of whom 117 were Africans, 4 whites and only 2 coloureds) provoked arrest (Kingwill, 1977: 68). Lodge (1983: 46) gives the figure for Cape Town as 157 and in addition gives 114 for Stellenbosch, 76 for Worcester, 20 for Paarl and 15 for Ceres.

As tensions built up between the defiers and the police, contrary to the declared intention of the Campaign organisers, riots began to
erupt in October and November in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Kimberley and East London causing forty deaths (including the burning to death in a car of a social worker nun), many injuries and extensive damage to buildings and churches. The ANC claimed that these riots had been deliberately provoked (Karis, 1973: 421-422).

According to some estimates the number of Cape Town defiers was only 1.5% of the national total of 80,57 who were arrested; 70% of the national total was thought to have come from the Eastern Cape where the campaign was undertaken with much religious fervour (Karis, 1973: 419). Various reasons have been advanced for this marked disproportion in support such as the presence of better educated, more "christianized" and westernized Africans in the Eastern Province, whilst Prof. Z.K. Matthews, refuting the line that defiers were communist inspired, held the interesting theory that the campaign was weakest in those areas where the Communist Party was the strongest, namely in Cape Town (ibid: 420). From interviews I have had with two African members of CATA and NEUM living in Cape Town at that time (Kwebulana, 1987 and Mtshizana, 1987), it would appear that the rejection of the Defiance Campaign as a waste of time by those two latter organisations would have contributed to the small percentage of actual defiance in Cape Town. Cameron (1986: 120-123) adds the following reasons: the banning of important leaders under the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the weakness of the trade union movement for African labour in Cape Town in the 1950's, the relatively small proportion of Africans in the overall population and the high rate of migrancy among Africans.

What were the reactions in the Night Schools to the Defiance Campaign? From the Committee meeting minutes it is known that the night schools in Langa and Retreat closed a little earlier than usual with pupils writing tests at home; also contingency powers were vested in the Chairman to close schools at any time deemed necessary if such steps were needed to protect teachers. Beyond that one can only presume that the typical response among the liberal minded white teachers was akin to that which led the following year to the formation of the Liberal Party. If as Brodie suggested (1986b) Ben Turok had been a night school teacher, then indirectly these teachers may have had a closer connection to the Campaign, for Mary Butcher
(wife of Ben Turok) was one of the four whites arrested.

As far as the pupils in the CNENSA were concerned, what were their attitudes to the Defiance Campaign? It seems from the previously mentioned 1952 NUSAS survey and from interviews I had in 1987 with both an African teacher and an African pupil who were involved in the night schools in the 1950's (Kwebulana, [1987] and Nomsa, [1987]) that the majority of the students were migrants who in the main did not concern themselves with political organisations. The irony of this is that the student (referred to as Nomsa) happened herself to have been one of the small group of 123 Cape Town defiers! However, although a comparative newcomer to Cape Town in 1945 from the Transkei whilst a standard seven pupil, for a number of reasons she had become rapidly urbanised and therefore was in a different category from the main body of semi-literate CNENSA attenders. This particular student started attending the Retreat Night School in 1958 when I became its Principal and a brief outline of her background and some of her personal recollections of the fifties when for ten years she lived in Blouvlei in Retreat, will help to give additional insight into the lives and attitudes of her night school contemporaries in those years.

As an orphan Nomsa had been raised by an older sister who became the family breadwinner at the age of fourteen. Domestic servants' wages being grossly insufficient to cover expenses the family had moved from Umtata to East London and subsequently to Cape Town. Here the older sister married but managed to give Nomsa a year in Std 7 at the Langa High School before she too had to help boost the family income. About 1948 they all moved into one room in 11th Avenue in Retreat until two years later when they settled into better accommodation in a shack in Blouvlei and stayed there throughout the 1950's.

By this time Nomsa although unmarried had two small boys of her own and as a domestic servant earning £3 a month found life one continuous struggle; but all the members of her family had a modicum of secondary education, one female cousin who lived with them being a teacher at the local day school and later at the night school as well. Part of an urbanised and politicised African group by 1952, Nomsa became an enthusiastic member of the ANC branch in Blouvlei in
which Dora Tamana (later a founding member of the Federation of South African Women) played a prominent role and she attended meetings addressed by Lucas Phillips of Athlone, the ANC Cape Town Chairman. In 1952 she volunteered as a defier. Carrying her younger baby she was arrested along with ten other young African mothers for sitting down in a whites-only waiting room at the Pinelands station and refusing to budge. This was followed by about ten days in an unpleasant cell in the Roeland Street gaol before these women were released and all charges against them dropped (Nomsa, 1987).*

However, although Nomsa was to enrol in Std 8 at the Retreat Night School a few years later in 1958, her political activity in 1952 cannot be seen as a typical example of the attitudes of the CNENSA students in that decade. Where so many African adults in that period were illiterate or semi-literate those in night school secondary classes were still in the minority and even then she, in my experience, proved exceptional. Backed by the organisation's pride and interest in her determination and intelligence she was later to qualify as a nurse at Baragwanath Hospital and as a specialist in pediatric nursing at the Great Ormonde Street Hospital in England.

Nomsa recalls that most of her night school contemporaries were young male migrants living in the Blouvlei location where they grouped together according to their home town and shared rented rooms in shacks. In fact most of the inhabitants of Blouvlei were migrants but the small group of semi-urbanised like herself (known as the "townspeople") fraternised very easily with them and there was no cleavage between the groups as existed in the older township of Langa. Nevertheless, she stated, the migrants in Blouvlei did not become involved as a general rule in political organisations in this period. Their thoughts were still centred on their homes in the country and their main concerns were trying to adjust to their job requirements and learning to write so as to communicate with their absent families. On the other hand those in Blouvlei who were members of the ANC tended to be drawn from the more settled semi-

* George Lusu won an appeal against similar charges in November 1952 because of lack of statutory provision for unequal facilities. Hence the 1953 "Separate Amenities Act" (Kingwill, 1977: 71).
urbanised or fully urbanised groups whose political activity was one aspect of a developing network of civic involvements in community affairs, in the local school that their children attended, in the local Vigilance Association for the older members and in the church. The migrants, despite affable relationships in Blouwlel with the townspeople, nevertheless by the very nature of their transient situation and tenuous hold on urban life continued to exist as outsiders in the more closely knit community of settled families (Nomsa, 1987 and NUSAS, 1952).

More detailed information about the pupils in all five of the CNENSA schools in 1952 is recorded in the NUSAS Survey which has been referred to earlier and it confirms the general impression conveyed by Nomsa. Of this total pupil body 94.4% were Africans, 89.6% were males, the average age was 27 years, two-thirds were unmarried and the overwhelming majority were migrants who returned at regular intervals to the Ciskeian and Transkeian territories. 77.3% definitely stated that they were first generation in Cape Town and all of them had been in Cape Town less than 25 years, the average length of stay being not less than six years (NUSAS, 1952: 4-5). Most of the pupils were unskilled labourers with an average wage of £3 a month and the average working day was nine hours. They showed little hope for advancement and gave sparse information on what they did with their leisure time. On this aspect the report concluded that "a great many do nothing at all during their spare time, that the majority play no sports at all, that very few belong to any clubs (only 27.5% said they did) and that cultural interests are limited to going to bioscopes or to concerts probably got up by themselves." (ibid: 10-11).

The NUSAS Report did not look into the political attitudes of the pupils interviewed nor did Wilson and Mafeje (1963) in their survey on life in Langa during these years but the latter did point out that in Langa the townspeople tended to look down on the migrants (the "amagoduka", those who go home) as gullible, ignorant, country bumpkins (Wilson & Mafeje, 1963: 16) and criticised them "as lacking any form of (political) leadership of their own"; nevertheless it was conceded that as restriction of movement and employment increased (in the 1950's) the migrants began to identify themselves "more and more
with townsmen on political issues" (ibid: 18).

Other factors which stood in the way of migrants being politically involved during this period were their suspicions regarding the more sophisticated townsmen aroused by their rural relatives, their ignorance of the lingua franca, English, which was commonly used at political meetings and their inability to read political papers such as "The Torch" (Kwebulana, 1987).

Also important in assessing African attitudes in the Western Cape in this period were the comparative strengths of opposing political formations. As already noted the ANC engendered far wider participant support for the Defiance Campaign in other parts of the country. Likewise in 1955, although its campaign against Bantu Education through pupil withdrawals from primary schools and the setting up of alternative "culture clubs" or "veld schools" was significantly supported on the East Rand and in the Eastern Cape (with a total of 7 000 children nationwide dropping out of school [Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 33]), in the Cape Town area it is commonly considered that no pupil boycott took place (Kwebulana, 1987).* These noticeable regional differences can be attributed to a variety of reasons, a major one being the considerable influence of the AAC and its affiliates, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Society of Young Africans (SOYA) over events in Cape Town in the 1950's.

The latter organisations with strong emphasis on non-collaborationism

* M.Cameron (1986: 177-181) refers to oral evidence from persons interviewed to support a claim that limited pupil withdrawals, as advocated by the ANC, did take place in the Western Cape but that these were of short duration and were overlooked by the state in its overall drive to consolidate group areas and to remove Africans from ANC strongholds such as Elsie's River, Retreat and Athlone. He maintains that in 1955 this fact, together with the traumatic forced removals to Nyanga and the closure of entire schools (e.g. the Eureka School in Elsie's river), served to eclipse both in the Press and in the more urgent concerns of the affected populations what limited numbers of pupil boycotts did take place.
were highly incensed against members of the ANC for voting in elections such as for the urban Advisory Boards (Lodge, 1983: 87), regarded the Defiance Campaign as a futile waste of time (Kwebulana, 1987) and in Cape Town in 1955 totally opposed the ANC's tactic of pupil withdrawals from schools, labelling these as a base shifting of the "burden of the struggle on to the backs of our children" (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 34). All three of these organisations were well supported and canvassed their views through strongly worded articles in the periodical "Torch" and in CATA'S mouthpiece, "The Teacher's Vision".*

Moreover during these years before the Group Areas legislation had been implemented in the Peninsula and where still in very many areas Coloureds and Africans lived side by side, not only were Coloured professionals influential in such integrated communities but an African intellectual, I.B. Tabata, (whose life partner was Junab Gool) exerted a very strong influence over political attitudes in the local African communities (Kwebulana, 1987; Qunta, 1987; Mtshizana, 1987). Mr Tabata, although not a teacher himself was nevertheless President of the local branch of CATA right up to the time of his banishment in the 1960's and had been elected unanimously to this office because of his ability and oratorical powers (Kwebulana, 1987). Anyone interested in education was eligible for CATA membership. In fact during times when votes were particularly important in this organisation, pupils in Std 10 in the Langa High School had their 2/6 annual membership subscription fees paid for them by the organisation and were jokingly referred to by members as useful "voting cattle" (ibid: 1987).

The decision by CATA to stay affiliated to the AAC, thus ensuring its

* Integration of the aims and strategies of African and Coloured teachers was formally strengthened when CATA and the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) inaugurated a joint teachers' body in December 1951 known as the Cape Federal Teachers' Council (Cameron, 1986: 193) so that although in the 1950's there were only approximately 120 African teachers in Cape Town (ibid: 196), their leadership role was reinforced by the numerically greater number of coloured teachers belonging to the TLSA.
political discourse, plus too its continued existence into the sixties despite the government's refusal to recognize it as a Teachers' body after 1952, significantly affected the nature of African protest in Cape Town in the fifties, especially in the older established township of Langa. Indeed while some groups broke away to form the non-political North-Western Districts Teachers Union and the Cape African Teachers Union (CATU), CATA achieved major support for the AAC among Cape Town's assistant African teachers, one estimate being as high as 80% (Kwebulana, 1987). A number of its members combined with those of NEUM or SOYA to organise political meetings addressed by speakers such as Tabata, A.C. Jordan of UCT, Benny Kies, and Dr Gool and actively aroused political awareness through distributing "Torch" in Cape Town's African townships and mixed residential suburbs (Mtshizana, 1987).

Thus in 1955, in spite of the call by the ANC for parents to withdraw their children from the primary schools in protest against Bantu Education, there seem to be no specific records of this happening in Cape Town. However, actively encouraged by CATA and other AAC affiliates, as well as by the ANC, parents did refuse/to elect school committees (Kwebulana, 1987 & Cape Times, 1955).

Feelings ran high. Those who accepted nomination to school committees or school boards were commonly regarded by the community as collaborators. Even I.D. Mkize, former Principal of the Langa High School and widely respected for his achievements there, fell into this category. He, having broken with CATA in 1952 over the politics issue, and having become the break-away CATU's first President, had accepted election to the Cape Advisory Board as CATU's representative (Peteni, 1979: 39). For this reason he was denounced by many in the townships as one of the "architects of Bantu Education". He subsequently opted out of the tense situation by emigrating to Botswana where he died in 1955 (Qunta, 1987).

It is outside the scope of this thesis to enlarge on the relevant strengths of the ANC and the AAC in the Western Cape, the history of NEUM, the story of the bold CATA resistance or the dismissals from their teaching posts of many of the organisation's outspoken teachers such as Leo Sihlali and Joseph Kwebulana; nevertheless it is
important to see in this comparatively short-lived and defiant latter
movement, so vigorously rivalling in Cape Town in 1952 and 1955 the
activities of the ANC, a few other aspects of its prevailing
attitudes with their obvious bearing on local events.

As already noted Africanism and distrust of liberal motives had also
taken root in the ANC but CATA, NEUM and SOYA attacked the white
liberal establishment with particular vehemence. The SAIRR and the
associated Joint Councils of Africans and Europeans were disliked
intensely for their work in trying to make oppressive legislation
more palatable, for "coating the pill" (Kwebulana, 1987); CATA
expressed particular resentment when the SAIRR held a conference on
the Eiselen Report in Johannesburg in 1952 and inveigled African
teachers into attending it (Sihlali, 1953) and this resentment was
intensified by the fact that this SAIRR Johannesburg conference
coincided (so it is claimed) with the major CATA protest against the
Eiselen proposals in the Cape Town Drill Hall that same year
(Kwebulana, 1987).

All liberals were despised to a greater or a lesser extent. Even the
doynne of liberalism, Margaret Ballinger herself, was cynically
dubbed "that guardian of white supremacy in South Africa" (New
Teachers' Vision, 1955: 21). Moreover, although silent about the
protests and actions of churchmen like Ambrose Reeves, Archbishop
Clayton, Trevor Huddleston, Denis Hurley and others in their fight
against Bantu Education and the demise of the mission schools, this
movement through "Teachers Vision" attacked "most of the churches"
and in particular the Methodist Church and its President for implying
that Bantu Education was "not so bad after all"; this complaisance,
it fumed, gave "the signal for the jackal-black clergy to rush in on
the corpse of African education to see what scraps and offal they
could get for themselves" (ibid: 13).

However although the white organisers of the CNENSA were
predominantly liberals and as such would likewise have attracted the
mounting distrust directed against all liberals, yet significantly
their work in the night schools was not derided by the NEUM or CATA
leadership - in fact the reverse obtained. Mr Mshumpela, who was a
volunteer teacher in the Green Street school in the middle 1950's,
was a member of both of those organisations as was Mr Joseph Kwebulana, a volunteer teacher of Std 6 History at the Langa Senior Night School three nights a week from 1954 to 1956. The latter whom I interviewed in 1987 was ideally equipped by past experience to comment on the attitudes of Africans in general to the night schools. He had been Chairman of the local CATA branch from 1952 until it expired in the 1960's, was a member of NEUM, shared most of its Trotskyite ideological beliefs, had no time for the CPSA or the ANC, considered liberals, even communists like Sam Khan, hypocritical and was dismissed from his teaching post at the Langa Methodist Primary School in 1956 because of his outspoken opposition to Bantu Education. But in spite of this background he saw fit to volunteer his services to the organisation in the fifties, (refusing all offers of remuneration) and resigned only when, deprived of his day school post, he found that the long hours of his new form of livelihood made night school teaching impractical. Furthermore Kwebulana (1987) maintained that Tabata, a past master at verbally lashing those he despised, actually looked with favour upon the night classes, regarding them as a valuable service to the community.

Before leaving the significant contribution made by CATA in the 1950's in helping to politicize blacks, it is worth noting that the effective closing of ranks between pupils, teachers and parents in the struggle against inferior education and demonstrated in Langa, Cape Town in mid-1987, was a strength clearly envisaged and regarded as essential by CATA more than thirty years earlier in 1955 in fighting against all forms of oppression. The following quotation from the Editorial in the "New Teachers' Vision" of April-June 1955 was in this sense very prophetic. Speaking of the ideas, ideals and tasks of African teachers, it stated:

"One of the tasks they set themselves was to bring about unity between the pupil, the teacher and the parent. This idea of creating unity among these three elements is a profound conception, and this becomes all the more apparent as the plans of the Government unfold themselves, whereby the Bantu Education Act is an integral part of the Bantu Authorities Act, the Rehabilitation Scheme and their whole labour policy. In other words, the regimentation of our children at school and
the hamstringing and gagging of our teachers go together with the regimentation of cheap labour for their mines, their farms and their factories. The unity of these three elements, then, is the focal point of our struggle. Indeed such a unity is the pre-requisite for any effective struggle against the Bantu Education Act together with all those Acts which constitute a concerted attack on the African population as a whole."

(New Teachers Vision, 1955: 2)

5.3.2

The Congress of the People, 1955: the strengthening of new alignments and the deepening of old divisions in the protest movement.

The 1955 Congress of the People in Kliptown fifteen miles from Johannesburg, organised jointly by the ANC, the SAIC, COD and SACPO, attended by 2 884 delegates from all over the country including 320 Indians, 230 Coloureds and 112 whites and endorsing the controversial "Freedom Charter" (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 61) was indeed a significant milestone in South Africa's history. The dramatic invasion by armed police on the second day, the laborious noting of all who were present and the total confiscation of all Congress material (ibid: 62) was followed by massive raids on homes and offices of "liberatory" organisations all over the country (ibid: 68). The police steadily amassed material to prepare for a future Treason Trial but before the anticipated arrests were made in December 1956 when 156 were charged with high treason or other offences and released on bail (ibid: 80-81) other striking manifestations of protest were to take place. The most dramatic resulted from the extension of the hated pass system to African women, a fiercely opposed step that led the non-racial Federation of South African Women (FSAW), founded in 1954, (also a participant organisation in the Congress of the People) to stage two major protest marches in Pretoria. The second march in August 1956 was supported by 20 000 women from all over the country.

Among members of the FSAW from the Western Cape, was Dora Tamana from the ANC branch in Blouvlei, Retreat, who with Lilian Ngoyi (President of the Federation in 1956), spent seven months in 1955 touring Europe, Russia and China after attending a Womens' Conference in
Switzerland; Tamana was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act on their return (Gerhart & Karis, 1977: 114, 151). Another Cape Town executive member of FSAW and well-known and admired in the Langa community for her persistent refusal ever to carry a pass, was Annie Silinga. She too had been one of the Cape Town defiers in 1952 and in December 1956 was one of the 156 arrested nationally for "treason", the only African woman from the Wester; Cape to be among the accused. (ibid: 141).

The emergence of the Freedom Charter in 1955 and the eventual official adoption of this expression of a people's aims by the ANC in April 1956, (though not without dissension in the Congress between the loyalists and the Africanists) (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 70), call for some comment because of the Charter's important crystallization of certain values out of the contemporary cauldron of competing protest ideologies.

It was a significant event in the background of the period under review, evoked many hotly disputed interpretations, was used by the state as documentary evidence in the ensuing treason trial and as has since been seen, has grown in importance in subsequent years. Without looking at any details a glance at some of the opinions of certain prominent analysts will serve to expose the significance of its fundamental ideas as adopted by major contemporary protest movements and as heralding a new commitment on the part of the ANC towards the concept of nationalisation of mining, banks and the land and a move in the direction of a socialist state. Nelson Mandela believing that the changes the Freedom Charter envisaged would certainly require the breaking up of the existing economic and political set-up through ending the exploitative power of monopoly financial, farming and gold mining interests, nevertheless saw the implementation of the Charter as opening up the development of a prosperous black bourgeois class enabled to own "mills and factories". Expressing this point of view in an article in "Liberation" in June 1956, he also stated:

"Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis.
Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, the land, the factories and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration "The People Shall Govern!" visualizes the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of this country be they workers, peasants, professional men or petty-bourgeoisie."

(Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 247)

Later in 1964 in his defence in the Rivonia trial Mandela, saying that he had never been a member of the Communist Party and referring to other persons such as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser, demonstrated a similar stance and stated: "We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists" (Benson, 1976: 18).

Refutation of the Charter as a Marxist document was also made by Prof. H.J. Simons, noted Marxist scholar from the University of Cape Town in an analysis prepared for defence counsel in the Treason Trial. He pointed out that the nationalisation proposed in the document was characteristic of state capitalism and that although a "liberal capitalist democracy could be a stepping-stone to a classless and socialist society the Charter contained no suggestion to this effect" (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 63).

Liberals on the other hand saw in the Freedom Charter a distinct socialist element and distrusted the influence of the communist inspired elements in the Congress alliance whilst the Africanists were strongly opposed to the Charter's alleged promotion of the ideal of multiracialism and rejected its recognition of racial groups in the phrase "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white"; they maintained that their own concept of a future South Africa was a non-racial one in which people could only be accepted as individuals, not as members of a racial group (ibid: 64-65).

In effect the ANC, during the fifties, became increasingly a sounding
board for a whole gamut of ideological variations including the Marxist ideals of men like Moses Kotane, the socialist leanings of leaders such as Luthuli and Z.K. Matthews, the reactionary attitudes of former leaders such as A.B. Xuma and Jordan Ngubane and the increasing rebelliousness of the Africanists such as Potlako Leballo and Josias Madzunya. Thus while growing into a more powerful, mass organisation during this period, particularly through its alliances with racial groups in other organisations in the waging of major campaigns, the ANC at the same time experienced severe dissensions within its ranks particularly from the Africanist group; these were to lead to a crisis of leadership in the Transvaal provincial ANC in 1957, the eventual secession of the Africanists towards the end of the following year and the inauguration of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959 (Lodge, 1983: 82-84) with Potlako Leballo taking with him into the PAC many of the ANC branch members in Orlando (Gerhart & Karis, 1977: 54).

The development of an alternative to the ANC was to have profound repercussions in the Western Cape in that the PAC was to succeed in appealing to the African migrant population where the ANC had failed. However this matter, with its possible link to the lives of participants in the Cape Night Schools, will be examined in the next chapter concerning the final years of the CNENSA's existence. In the meantime, how did the major developments in the period 1950 to 1958 affect those many whites in the CNENSA who were "liberals" and who were members either of NUSAS or the Liberal Party?

The official reaction of NUSAS to the Freedom Charter could possibly be regarded as a measure of the average reaction of those many university students who were teaching at this time, not only in Windermere and Retreat but in a number of the other CNENSA schools. Lionel Forman,* a former UCT student, recorded the tensions prevalent in 1954 in NUSAS between conservative and progressive minded students and stated that the real test for this body in the eyes of black

* Forman had represented NUSAS at a Conference of the International Union of Students (IUS) in Warsaw in 1951 and had subsequently worked for IUS in Prague for two years before returning to South Africa in 1954 (Gerhart and Karis, 1977: 29-30).
students who had disaffiliated from it would be its "willingness to participate in the Congress of the People. This should be the central demand of the disaffiliated centres and of all democrats" (Forman: 1954).

NUSAS after displaying some interest and after corresponding over the matter for many months eventually declined the invitation from the National Action Council of the Congress of the People (Letter: 28/4/1955, Didcott). In lieu of a decision from the Student Congress which would have met too late in 1955 to review the matter, the NUSAS Executive had called for postal votes on a resolution referring to the invitation but stating too that for it, NUSAS, "to remain an effective organisation, it must confine itself to its own particular educational and academic sphere." The resolution was carried by 30 votes to 3 and in the consequent declining of the invitation it was also stated that to maintain NUSAS effectiveness "we feel that we are unable to identify ourselves in any way with political organisations or political movements" (ibid).

The Liberal Party on the other hand had observer status at the Congress of the People (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 61) but, as already mentioned, had its reservations about what it discerned as growing communist influences in the Congress Alliance. When I asked Brodie if he had attended the Congress of the People he replied (1986b): "I was never involved with the Congress of the People or the Freedom Charter. I always believed that we could go via the Liberal Party way, and this was enough for me... Alan Paton has been the only person in my life that if he had said 'Follow' – I wouldn't have asked any questions, but would have simply done what he said".

Perhaps Brodie's uncluttered loyalty to this brand of liberalism typified the attitudes of many of his colleagues in the Night Schools, but in the Liberal Party varying other attitudes were developing. These differing attitudes were ultimately to lead Vigne, the 1958 Chairman of the CNENSA, to support the PAC and to play a key role in the African Resistance Movement, Patrick Duncan, to join the PAC and Peter Hujl, a fellow "Contact Liberal" (and a trade journalist), to join the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) (Driver, 1980: 153). After Sharpeville in 1960 people like
Brodie, Maida Lipshitz and Desiree Berman emigrated whilst COD member, Phyllis Altman, left the country after she had been banned as a member of SACTU in 1964 (SAIRR Survey, 1964: 265). Altman continued to support the anti-apartheid movement in the UK.

In the aftermath of the Congress of the People and major police raids on homes and offices in search of seditious documents in September 1955, a number of Liberal Party spokesmen joined forces with leaders of the Congress Alliance and black trade unions in meetings to protest against these raids (Karis & Gerhart, 1977: 274). They went even further in the Treason Trial and many sympathetic white liberals helped with defence costs and care arrangements for both those on trial and their families; but despite this move they remained essentially "outsiders" compared to the small group of left-wing whites who were actually being tried alongside their African, Indian and Coloured colleagues (ibid: 274). It was this form of real identification in the struggle on the part of white left-wingers that led Albert Luthuli to state that in spite of his own Christian and non-communist beliefs and despite the fact that Communists within the Congress may have had "ulterior motives", nevertheless all that he was concerned about was "that they came to assist me fight racial oppression, and they have no trace of racialism or being patronising, just no trace at all" (Benson, 1963: 31).

5.3.3
Increasing restrictions on African labour and the development of African Trade Unionism in the 1950's.

The NUSAS Survey of 1952 revealed that 65,2% of the students interviewed at the five existing CNENSA night schools were unskilled workers whilst 19,3% were semi-skilled. (Unstated occupations were 15,1%.) It has also been shown that these pupils were chiefly migrants and during the nineteen-fifties were largely unaffected by the main political movements. This raises the question as to how the rights of this body of workers were served by trade unions and calls for a brief look at the general background to labour in this period.

The growth of Trade Unionism in the 1930's in the Western Cape after
the demise of the ICU has been referred to, particularly after 1936 and under the influence of prominent communist officials such as Ray Alexander and Moses Kotane. In the 1930's and 1940's, along with these two influential people and E.S. Sachs (who started a second Garment Workers' Union in Cape Town) other left-wingers helped to change the whole aspect of labour organisation in the Western Cape, penetrating various unions, helping to organize them on a truly genuine inter-racial basis, and in many cases, introducing Coloured and African organisers, chairmen and secretaries (Roux, 1964: 330). Ray Alexander's Food and Canning Workers' Union, the largest and most active one in the Western Cape (Lodge, 1983: 191), was particularly well organised. It served a growing number of semi-urbanised African workers in the large canning industries of Wellington and in Paarl, where, as has been noted, the CNENSA was requested to run a night school and did so for one year in 1951 until it was taken over by the Department of Education.

With war-time expansion in secondary industries in the 1940's and the resultant emergence of an increasingly urbanised black working class, African trade unionism grew. In 1941 an African Mine-Workers Union was inaugurated and in 1942 all the most significant African Trade Unions became affiliated to a new umbrella body, the Council for Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) in a break-away from the old South African Trades and Labour Council (SAT&LC). The latter had already undergone considerable reshuffling (Horrell, 1969: 9-10) and in its small token black membership, constituted only a "theoretical break with the colour bar" (Roux, 1964: 332).

During the war years the CNETU remained under the leadership of its founder, Gana Makabeni (an ex-communist night school pupil who had been expelled from the CPSA in 1932) (Gerhart & Karis, 1977: 67) until 1945 when John Marks, a communist and head of the African Mine-Workers Union (AMWU) succeeded him as President (Ncube, 1985: 63). Rapid trade union expansion took place during these years and the CNETU developed a very strong bargaining position for achieving statutory recognition (ibid: 62). Certain limited improvements were achieved regarding miners' wages when strong demands by the AMWU led to a Commission of Enquiry in 1943 into the conditions of employment in the mines (Roux, 1964: 335).
Following upon the series of strikes in 1942, chiefly on the Witwatersrand and in Natal, the Government, fearful of the growing power of the AMWU, reneged on the promises of its Minister of Native Affairs, Col. Denys Reitz, to introduce for Africans the rights of collective bargaining and to approach the Prime Minister with a view to obtaining the complete abolition of the pass system (Ballinger, M. 1969: 116) and instead under Emergency War Regulations in 1943, promulgated War Measure 1425 making all strikes by Africans in all circumstances illegal (ibid: 120). Nevertheless, despite this regulation some sixty illegal strikes of African workers occurred over the next two years (Roux, 1964: 331). However after the crushing retaliatory state actions following upon the 1946 Miners Strike, strikes by Africans decreased from 56 in 1946, to 44 in 1948, to 33 in 1950 whilst the CNETU's membership declined from 150 000 in 119 unions in 1945 to only 2 206 in 9 unions in 1952 (Ncube, 1985: 80).

At the end of the war not only was African trade unionism weakened by the government's repressive measures following the 1946 Miners' Strike, but also by the post war recession, large scale unemployment, and in the Western Cape, the extension of the bitterly opposed pass system to the Cape Province where it had not previously existed. Also, although an Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill in 1947 had proposed recognition of African unions to a limited degree, a separate legal framework of collective bargaining and "a severely constrained right to strike", yet before this Bill could be enacted, it was defeated when the Nationalist government came to power the following year (ibid: 67).

Then in the 1950's, apart from restraints upon workers through the pass laws and influx control and the difficulties in organising fluctuating and illiterate migrants in trade unions, the unions experienced other difficulties. The government, pursuing both its apartheid ideology and its vendetta against left-wing protest, passed various other acts to cripple further the collective bargaining rights of workers. First in 1950, through the Suppression of Communism Act with its wide definition of the term "communist", numbers of Trade Unionists (e.g. Solly Sachs) were "listed" and many others were served banning orders and by 1956 as many as 56 trade union officials had been ordered to resign from their unions
(Horrell, 1969: 14). In 1951, the Native Building Workers Act restricted the work of skilled black builders to African areas. Then in 1953, in spite of the Botha Commission (Industrial Legislation Commission) of 1951 having recommended a limited recognition of African Trade Unions (albeit with severe controls), the government, reacting to CNETU's participation in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, (Ncube 1985: 82), redefined the term "employee" as used in the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1947 to exclude all Africans. This came about through the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act which provided for separate individual conciliation machinery for Africans and determined that African trade unions, though not illegal per se, could not be registered nor could Africans be members of registered trade unions. This Act also reaffirmed the war-time prohibition on strikes (Ibid: 17-18).

The debate generated over trade unions not only emphasized the government's fear of them being used as political weapons against it but exposed yet more expressions of pure exploitation and racism. Fearing recognition of trade unions would "mean the end of all industrial colour bars in South Africa", Ben Schoeman, the Minister of Labour (Hansard, 1953: 871 quoted in Ncube, 1985: 84) stated that such recognition would be "detrimental to the interests of European workers. It might result in raising the standard of living of the Native worker, but inevitably it will result in a lowering of the standard of living of the European worker".

The further impact of the Nationalist government's drive for separation constituted a severe onslaught on mixed trade unions as on all other mixed bodies and led to fragmentation and new formations. Among these was the formation of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) in 1954. This body did not invite the CNETU to its inaugural conference nor did it allow for the direct affiliation of African unions, but attempted to "dress the wolf of apartheid in sheeps' clothing of parallel unions" (Ncube, 1985: 90). With the formation of TUCSA the SAT&LC then went out of existence.

'Reacting to this exclusion of African Trade Unions on the part of TUCSA and anticipating the restrictions envisaged in the 1954 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, fourteen unions opposed to
TUCSA's exclusion of African unions met with representatives of CNETU's nineteen affiliates and established the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in March 1955. This new Federation determined from the outset to combine the fight against economic and social injustice with one against political discrimination. It therefore promptly joined the Congress Alliance, taking part thereafter in the various campaigns initiated by that Congress movement, including the Congress of the People and the launching of the Freedom Charter and ANC members were encouraged by their leaders to join this new grouping of black trade unions (ibid: 91).

The divisive Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, anticipation of which had helped to launch the formation of SACTU, was duly passed in 1956. This new legislation was part and parcel of the government's drive to enforce racial segregation and isolation of the black community in every conceivable situation; it was in the same category as the contemporary take-over of the mission schools and the introduction of Bantu Education under the Department of Native Affairs, the relentless implementation of the Group Areas Act in the Western Cape in 1956 and the legislation to terminate interracial contact in night schools and welfare organisations. This new legislation (Horrell, 1969: 17) not only provided that no further mixed unions would be registered and that expansion of remaining mixed unions would be forbidden unless confined to one racial group only, but also introduced 'job reservation which provided for an on-going Industrial Tribunal for recommending specific types of work to be reserved for persons in defined racial groups.

Whilst SACTU was helpful in mobilising mass support for Congress Alliance campaigns, it was seriously handicapped by lack of experienced personnel and necessary funds, by an untrained, often uncomprehending membership, by suspicions of misappropriation of trust funds and severe co-ordination and communication problems (Ncube, 1985: 92). All these handicaps militated against the conduct of a £1 a day campaign launched by the Congress Alliance in 1957 (and continuing until 1963). Ncube (1985: 97) considered that while SACTU increased general awareness of the acute plight of African workers and popularised the demand for wage increments, its failure to recruit masses of workers stemmed largely from inadequate
organisation of its industrial unions and affiliates in general.

The further development of SACTU and the emergent rival formation of the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA) in 1959, with its PAC links, belong to the next chapter when the new period in the life of the CNENSA is examined.

5.4
CONCLUSION

In finally summing up this chapter on the politico-socio economic background to the CNENSA in the Western Cape in the 1950's, certain salient features must be mentioned. It was a period of blatant and increased racial discrimination politically, socially, and economically against all blacks, but particularly Africans. In the Western Cape with its predominantly migrant African population this group (comprising the majority of night school attenders) tended to be cut off from significant influences by the major black political organisations or the trade unions for a variety of reasons, except in the case of the semi-urbanised in secondary industries who were well catered for, particularly by the Food and Canning Workers Union in Paarl and Wellington.

The small African professional group in the Western Cape, comprising very largely the teacher body, was strongly politicised under the AAC and its affiliates, NEUM and SOYA and opposed with seemingly a large measure of success the tactics of the ANC in all its campaigns such as the 1952 Defiance Campaign and the 1955 Bantu Education Campaign. This body exercised considerable power over black protest strategies in Cape Town during this period despite the existence of active ANC branches in the Western Cape and the emergence of prominent local leaders such as Dora Tamana and a number of strong trade unionists who were also members of the ANC.

The emergence of the Africanist movement in the ANC at the beginning of the 1950’s and its steady growth leading ultimately in 1959 to the break-away group in the PAC, was destined however to find in the Western Cape fertile ground for support. As will be seen in the next chapter the PAC won mass support from the Western Cape migrants in
the 1960's where the ANC had failed to do so in the 1950's.

The entire backdrop of 1950-1957 was indeed one of stepped-up subjugation of blacks particularly through educational and economic agencies and of rigidly enforced separation of races; meanwhile white opposition to state repression of Africans diminished as more whites, influenced by "swart gevaar" tactics began to retreat into the white laager and vote the Nationalists back into power with greater majorities. Highly significant were the new alliances formed on the part of the main black political body, the ANC, with Indian, Coloured, left-wing white formations and black trade unions, the growth of black suspicions regarding "liberal" policies, the steady growth of an Africanist bloc, the determined prosecution of defiance and boycott tactics and the manifestation, through the Freedom Charter and resistance to Bantu education, of an articulation of alternatives to the oppressive status quo.