

which he invited groups of Trialists (African, Indian and White) and also White friends of his, many of whom had never before spoken to an African except in a master-servant capacity. Such evenings made a deep impression on his more thoughtful friends.

But the years of open house and innumerable visitors were drawing to a close as South African plunged swiftly and deeply into a great sea of reactionary laws and ordinances. Many of Bram's closest friends were in jail, others had left the country. Police kept constant watch on his home and intimidated his visitors. The son of a member of the Chamber of Mines was courting one of Bram's daughters; police visited the father, informing him that his car had been seen at the home of the communist, Bram Fischer.

Sharpeville, 1960. Police swooped as a state of emergency was declared and netted in thousands of political prisoners, including all the best-known former members of the banned Communist Party. For some reason, Bram was left, although his wife was taken. With all known political personnel in jail, everyone outside went to Bram for help, and he gave each the personal attention, tremendous courtesy and assistance they knew they would get. No one ever heard from him anything irritable or unkind; except when people left the country. He felt very strongly it was the duty of all to stay and fight, no matter what the consequences. The steely-hard core to his sweet and gentle nature, the core ~~that~~ from which springs his unbounded courage and sense of purpose only revealed itself now in his relentless determination to carry on the struggle at all costs, and to persuade those around him to stay and fight.

The organisations that had used his home for fund-raising parties were all underground; his political associates were increasingly in trouble. Yet his legal practice continued to flourish.

In July, 1963, a number of Bram's closest political associates and friends were arrested at Rivonia. Many now felt that Bram would also be arrested, and urged him to go. He refused, daily expecting arrest, and when the accused were brought into open court after three month's solitary confinement, the man leading the defence team was Bram Fischer.

He had set himself two tremendous tasks, to which he now devoted every moment of his time and all the strength he possessed. The first was to save the lives of Nelson Mandela and his co-defendants; in the opening stages of the trial it was freely rumoured that some, if not all would be sentenced to death. The second task was to help pull together and rebuild organised resistance to apartheid, badly shattered by the 90-day law with its unrelenting arrests and torture.

He lived on borrowed time; his home was watched, police followed him everywhere. He could not talk to people in his own home or office for fear of hidden microphones. In consultation with the accused in jail, much of the discussion about the case was conducted by notes scribbled on bits of paper, to bypass any recordings the police would make. His health deteriorated, he was in constant danger of arrest, but he laughed at this, claiming he had bought immunity for himself for the duration of the trial, in the belief that Minister of Justice Vorster would be reluctant to arrest Mandela's counsel until the case was over. This proved to be true.

He was lawyer, political colleague, friend, all in one. Together with notes on the case when he left jail each day his bulging brief-case was filled with other things: Kathrada's glasses - a new frame needed; a list of books Mandela wanted; instructions about the care of Mashaba's small children; a message to send to Mbeki's son in England. He lived for nothing else. His wife became full-time, unpaid secretary to the lawyers. He refused to accept fees, and was only persuaded to take a

nominal fee when the case finished.

The trial ended after nearly a year, bringing triumph and terrible tragedy for Bram. The triumph was ~~the sentence of~~ life imprisonment for eight defendants, one acquitted, no death sentences. But the day after judgement was given Bram was persuaded to take a short holiday. Driving his own car, he swerved to avoid a motor-cyclist on the road. His car ~~plunged~~ ~~shot~~ over a bridge and landed in some water. He and a friend in the front seats managed to scramble out of the windows, but his wife Molly was wedged in the back, and as they fought to release her the car sank suddenly into forty feet of water.

"I must get used to the idea of working at only a third of the efficiency I had with Molly," he said later. Although he felt he could never again be as productive as in the past, he became more purposeful and dedicated than before.

He was arrested by the police, then released again after some hours' questioning; arrested again some time later under the 90-day law, then suddenly released at midnight after 3 days in jail - it was believed by direct order of the Minister of Justice himself. Finally he was arrested again one day in his chambers and charged with others in being a member of the illegal Communist Party, in taking part in the party's activities and in furthering the aims of communism.

He had been appearing as counsel ~~inxxxxxxx~~ on behalf of Sterling Drug, Inc, of New York, a case in which the giant Bayer group of Germany was disputing the ownership of trade names with a subsidiary of Sterling in South Africa. The American company entered the picture because many companies in Allied countries during the war seized enemy patents and trade marks. The company had lost the case in a lower court, lost the appeal to a High Court in Rhodesia, and was now taking an appeal to the Privy Council in England. The giant American drug company, through its

South African subsidiary, insisted that Fischer be retained for the final appeal to the Privy Council.

Bram asked for, and obtained, bail and permission to go to England for the appeal. Perhaps nothing reveals the extraordinary character of this man so much as the fact that although he was now facing charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, the instructing attorney in the case stated that his American clients, who were fully aware of his arrest and charges, had asked the U.S. Ambassador to intervene to secure his liberty to appear before the Privy Council.

He gave an undertaking to return to South Africa and stand trial. Once he had given his word no one, not even the Security Police, believed he would break it.

And he did return. The trial proceeded, with Bram among the defendants, until a morning in late January when his counsel rose to read the letter announcing that he would absent himself from the remainder of the trial.

"I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years." His legal career, in any case, was almost at an end, as the Government were preparing a law to debar named Communists from practising. With indecent haste the Johannesburg Bar Council now decided to institute proceedings to expel Bram from the roll of advocates on the grounds of conduct "unbefitting" to an advocate. ~~The chairman of the Bar Council, Mr. M.H.S. Festenstein, had once been a member of the Communist Party, but now hastened to act against Bram.~~ Yet a former judge of the Supreme Court, Justice Blackwell, publicly called on the Bar Council not to expel Fischer who "despite the terrible handicap of being a named communist in this bitterly anti-communist country had risen by character and ability to the highest practice in the Bar".

He wrote of how Bram had appeared for many people in political trials; of his gentle, lovable ~~character~~ disposition; and how the Johannesburg Bar Council would become an object of scorn to its fellows in other countries if it were to lend itself to proceedings against Fischer. He cited the celebrated case of Dr. Krause, an Afrikaner who was found guilty of inciting to murder and served 2 years imprisonment, yet was re-admitted to the South African bar and rose to become Judge-President of the Free State. He mentioned that Minister of Justice Vorster was himself under detention for 2 years during World War 2, when he was a member of the Ossewa-Brandwag, an organisation that planned insurrection with the assistance of Nazi Germany.

* * * * *

With the consideration for others that marks all his actions, Bram left letters winding up his affairs, and including a reference for his African servant in case he needed it when seeking employment. His disappearance caused a shocked reaction in White circles; it suggested to the police that there still existed enough of an underground organisation to undertake to conceal and keep in touch with this man whose face, voice and walk is known to every police officer in the country. His fellow-accused were jubilant. The people of South Africa as a whole asked only one question: Can he succeed in evading the police?

Without doubt he is in South Africa, and will remain there. If he entered neighbouring territory in any case, his presence would soon be known. Without doubt he took this step not because of any fear of jail but simply through single-minded devotion to his ideals.

While this gentle, courteous, kind and infinitely brave man lives the life of a hunted fugitive, South Africa's tragedy deepens and increases daily.

But doesn't his action, in itself, regardless of what stems from it in the future, answer many doubts, questions, fears and hesitations on the part of others? Hasn't he exposed every lie of the racialists, this man who is an Afrikaner and turn/s Afrikaan's Nationalism upside down?

He has demonstrated for us all certain fundamental truths: that courage and resourcefulness are without a limit, regardless of the outside circumstances imposed on human beings; that resistance in South Africa remains undefeated, and will arise again. He has taken this bold step at a time of great defeat of liberation forces in South Africa. Of all people it is this White man, this Afrikaner, who reminds us of what the apartheid rulers would like us to forget: that the fight against White oppression and racialism is every man's fight; that it is not colour or race, culture or background, that divide men from each other; and that Black or White, educated or illiterate, there is a common goal of justice to which we all aspire.

One day, together with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu from penal Robben Island, together with the despised and persecuted and jailed, Bram Fischer will take his rightful place in the government of ~~South~~ a free South Africa.

ends.

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U.W.I.

THE LAWS OF APARTHEID.

A great barrier of laws, a veritable mountain of laws, has been erected for the purpose of maintaining apartheid. Apartheid protagonists often say that apartheid is natural to human beings all over the world; they don't want to ^{mix} mingle; they like to keep in their separate, water-tight compartments, nursing their separate and unmingled cultures and following their separate and different customs. If this were really the case, it would hardly be necessary to erect this barricade of laws.

Laws, laws, laws - where else in the world are there such laws as we have in South Africa? South Africa is not unique in practising injustice and discrimination; it is just unique in the pride with which it justifies and constantly extends this. There are laws in South Africa which:

- * prohibit sexual intercourse between whites and non-whites;
 - * prohibit marriage between whites and non-whites;
 - * prohibit anyone from teaching anyone - man, woman, or child - without a government license;
 - * make it illegal for a woman to get together a group of pre-school children and teach them songs and nursery rhymes (they were arrested);
 - * make it illegal for a black man to lay bricks in a town such as Johannesburg;
 - * reserve certain jobs for certain racial categories of people;
 - * make it illegal for a white doctor or even a student ^{or a white nurse} to take orders from a black doctor, regardless of qualifications;
 - * make it illegal for a 'white' ambulance to transport a dying non-white to hospital after a road accident - and vice versa;
 - * prohibit white and non-white actors from performing together in the same play;
 - * prohibit husband and wife from sleeping together in the wife's room, if she is employed by whites and living in a white suburb;
- to mention only a few.

Discrimination, as has been explained, was entrenched in South African law by governments long before the Nationalists came to power in 1948; but segregation patterns were not set and hard then, they were flexible and changing.

I note here the extraordinary belief held by so many - and not unique to South Africans - that if only one can keep things as they are, if only

one can stop change, everything would be all right. Hopeless! The war had already released in South Africa economic factors that made change both imperative and inevitable.

And the law of any country depends on the political situation. It is not only that politics affect the laws passed, but also the interpretation of law depends on the political atmosphere and conditions. An obvious example of this is the decision of the United States Supreme Court as to whether separate, equal facilities for different races are contrary to the Constitution. In 1895, by eight votes to one, the Court decided they were not contrary; in 1954 the same issue was argued on the question of admittance to Southern State schools; and unanimously decided that it was contrary. The Constitution had not changed in the intervening years; but the political climate had.

Thus law is not immutable but a constantly changing reflection of changing political climate.

For the sake of convenience I have divided apartheid laws into two categories, although of course they do not really fall into such a neat division: 1) laws furthering apartheid; 2) action and counter-action - that is, the action of the people against apartheid laws, followed by the government's counter-action in the form of new laws, mainly in the field of civil liberties and punishment.

At the base of both these pyramids of laws is the first important law: the Suppression of Communism Act, a far-reaching violation of fundamental rights and principles, not of course confined to communists.

It became an offence, carrying heavy penalties, to advocate anything "calculated to further the aims of communism," whether or not such result was intended. Communism is given so wide a definition that any individual, group or organisation that advocates reform, change or opposition to government policies may fall within the penalties of the Act. (Peasants opposed to cattle-culling in the reserves have been convicted under the Act.)

Former Communists, named on a list by the Minister of Justice, including people who resigned or were expelled from the Communist Party twenty years previously, were then compelled to resign from organisations and prohibited from attending gatherings, and subject to a great variety of stringent bans limiting movement, employment, life. "Statutory Communists" - anyone convicted of an offence under the Act (and including even anti-communists) are subject to the same bans.

The Act was immediately used to strip trade unions and liberatory

organisations of their most experienced leaders. As the years went by, more and more listed people were ordered to resign from all organisations including sports, cultural and educational associations. The most militant and outspoken leaders of all races disappeared from public life.

The Act was used to ban magazines and newspapers; and has been greatly extended in scope by subsequent amendments. It is interesting to note that although there have been countless convictions under the Act, the first (and only) trial of people charged with being actual members of the Communist Party took place last year - 14 years after the Act was passed.

SEPARATION OF RACES.

Described by its supporters as "the essence of apartheid" is the Group Areas Act, a masterplan for dividing the whole population into separate areas. "Group areas", proclaimed by the Government, restrict residence, occupation of property and ownership to persons of a particular racial group. It is a cruel, degrading Act that legalises robbery, used to dispossess non-Whites (particularly the Indian merchant community of the Transvaal) for the immediate and direct benefit of Whites. It has already uprooted hundreds of thousands from their homes, disrupting lives ruining the labour of a lifetime and inflicting untold hardships. It envisages uprooting literally millions.

This same Act is also used to prevent people of different races from meeting socially, in cinema, club, restaurant or tea-room (each place being "Group Area-ed" for a particular racial group), from the staging of theatrical productions before mixed audiences, the stopping of inter-~~race~~ colour sports matches, and even to stop African domestic servants in White areas from having their babies live with them.

Separation of the races was further enforced under the Native Laws Amendment Act (1957) under which Africans can be prevented from attending any religious or church gathering in urban areas outside African locations. Church leaders found guilty of contravening this law by way of protest can be imprisoned up to 3 years, or receive ten lashes, or both.

This Act imposes penal sanctions on social contact between black and white people, apart from increasing the already great difficulties in the way of ~~inter-racial~~ inter-racial contact.

The Separate Amenities Act - unlike the U.S. Constitution - says that separate amenities for the races do not have to be equal. The Act was passed in 1952 after successful appeals in court against convictions of non-Whites for using White facilities, part of the process of reversing

court decisions to make the law comply with apartheid, instead of apartheid complying with the law.

The Immorality Act of 1927 already prohibited sexual relations, outside of marriage, between Whites and Africans. The Nationalists followed this up with the Mixed Marriages Act (1949), which makes any inter-marriage between racial groups illegal; they then extended the Immorality Act to include all non-Whites (Indians and Mixed-race as well as Africans)

These two Acts do not affect large sections of the population, as the economic and social barriers keep inter-marriage to a few; but they are contrary to accepted principles in every country throughout the world; and the snooping and trapping of a specially-constituted branch of the police, the Immorality Squad, are degrading and disgusting. There have been pitiful cases of family break-ups where White and non-White lived together for decades but were not previously married. And a whole field of psychological research could be opened up by examining the names and backgrounds of those charged under the Immorality Act: they are almost always White men with African women, and the men are Afrikaners, supporters of the Nationalist Party and of apartheid, pillars of the Dutch Reformed Church ~~and of the reactionary Whites of small towns~~. Calvinism - love and hate - black and white - good and evil - it's intriguing, but we haven't time to stop here.

To enforce complete separation, everyone must be classified under the Population Registration Act (1950), a first attempt to classify the whole population by race. Previously the position was fairly flexible. Obviously those who ~~can~~^{could} pass as White would do so, because of the immense economic, social and educational advantages. The Act ~~rigid~~ introduces a rigid system of race classification, in which every citizen must be listed in a racial category. (Classifying of people claiming to be Mixed, not African, involved such scientific tests as placing a pencil in a man's hair and making him bend forward. If the pencil stayed in, he was African; if it fell out he was ~~classified~~ Mixed - straighter hair.)

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

The "ationalists have steadily increased and extended the scope of the Pass Laws, which prevent Africans from the right to move freely, and are deeply-rooted in the country's economic system. New laws tightened up control of people entering the towns, imposed severe penalties on African "squatters", and provided for the summary removal of tribes and individuals. New labour regulations further control the movement of Africans

seeking work and create enormous powers for the direction of African labour in the interests of farms and mines.

The most important of these laws was the Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act (1952) which replaces a number of different passes (permit to enter urban area, seek work, be employed, live in a certain location, etc) with a single 'reference book' which must be carried all the time, produced on demand (failure to do so is a criminal offence ^{under} which 4 million have been convicted ^{2 years to jail} in ten years). In addition to solidifying the structure of the pass system the Act extended its requirements for the first time to African women and to thousands of other Africans who were for various reasons exempt.

Many other Acts governing African life and movements are embodied in amendments to Native Laws of different kinds.

Banishment may be carried out under a number of Acts, without reasons being given. Local authorities have powers to banish any African whose presence is "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and good order"; (this embraces all types of offences, including unemployment, vagrancy, idleness, and any attempt to obtain improvement of status.)

WORK AND THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE.

The rigid distinction between the races is strongly emphasised in the labour system. All laws affecting labour up to the time the Nationalists came to power were based on the separation of races, and in their practical implementation tended to perpetuate the position of Whites as professional skilled and supervisory workers, and non-Whites as mainly unskilled workers. The Nationalists have amended industrial legislation to place specific prohibitions on certain classes of work for non-Whites where these did not exist in the past.

The Nursing Act separated Nursing associations that had previously embraced all nurses, excludes non-White nurses from the Council that governs registration and training, and reduces the standard of non-White nursing by laying down different qualifications. In medical services generally the aim is to keep skilled personnel completely apart; where this is unavoidable, Africans must always be under the direction of Whites without regard to qualification. Absurdity is brought to its zenith with the enforcement of a separate blood transfusion service for each racial group. Science recognises only certain blood groupings common to people all over the world; South African law maintains there are four different categories: White, African, Indian and Mixed blood.

Under the Job Reservation Act, certain work can be reserved for Whites only. The Industrial Conciliation Act also empowers the reservation of categories of work for defined racial groups, and also the proportion of races that may be employed in any industry. This Act, originally passed in 1924, was extensively amended in 1956 and 1959. It prohibits 'mixed' trade unions, and by excluding African trade unions from registration, robs them of all powers without actually prohibiting them by law.

A special Act of 1953 (Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act) completely prohibits strikes, lock-outs or the instigation of strikes among Africans. State-controlled machinery in which African trade unions play no part whatsoever settles industrial disputes.

The aim of all industrial and related laws in South Africa is to maintain the privileges of Whites in all fields of labour, to eliminate free choice among the Africans, and so control labour in the interests of an oppressive and exploiting system.

The Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act deprives Africans in most working categories of unemployment insurance. Money they had paid into the Unemployment Fund in the past was never refunded, remains for use of Whites.

EDUCATION

The Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Extension of University Education Act (1959) are designed to prevent new generations knowing any system other than the apartheid police state, to accept Nationalist policies unquestioningly, and to keep Africans in a permanently inferior position. The declared aim is to educate Africans sufficiently to understand simple orders in both official languages (English and Afrikaans); to isolate them completely from the cultural streams of the world; to divide them into tribal groupings, emphasising ethnic differences that the industrial economy of the country has destroyed for all time.

There is so much to comment on in the field of education - this is a vast and fascinating study of apartheid all by itself. But little space or time, therefore fundamental figures: the cost of education for the different groups. In 1962 the unit cost a pupil was: Whites: £73.6.6; Mixed and Indians: £31; Africans: £6.10.0. The principle is that the poorest section of the community must pay for their education themselves. Attendance of African children as increased, but only in lower grades. Most get two or three years of schooling. Between 1954 and 1962 the number of African matriculants (University entrance standard) dropped from

243 to 115. (In the same period, for Whites it rose from 7,346 to 12,174).

The Extension of Universities Act closed Universities to Africans, and set up separate, tribal colleges.

REPRESSION OF OPPOSITION...ACTION AND COUNTER-ACTION.

Within parliament, measures were passed to curtail the activities of the official (White) Opposition, reducing the House of Assembly and the Senate (Upper House) to a farce. Extra-parliamentary opposition has been dealt with ruthlessly.

National Liberation organisations grew tremendously at the end of the war and organised massive activity to press for rights, an end to pass laws, ~~and~~ ^{with} to try and block increasingly severe apartheid measures.

In 1952, 8,500 people voluntarily went to jail in defiance of six unjust laws. the campaign was enormously successful, it raised the African National Congress to a premier position; united all racial groups representatives of which joined in defying the unjust laws. It was brought to an end by the Public Safety Act of 1953, silencing public protest through the infliction of savage penalties and empowering the declaration of a state of emergency (used in 1960); the Criminal ~~Procedure~~ ^{Law} Amendment Act, imposing maximum penalties for any offences committed by way of protest; preventing the support of such campaigns or collecting money for them, or for organised protest or resistance to any laws of the country. The Criminal Procedure Act, giving police specifically wider powers of search and attendance at even private conferences (after the courts had excluded them); and the Riotous Assemblies Act, prohibiting public gatherings in any place for any period as the Minister wishes.

No more defiance of unjust laws. But the organisations comprising the national liberation movement set about organising a ~~General Representative~~ ^{the} peoples' congress to draw up a charter of their demands. While it was being organised (it took about a year) various measures were taken to try and prevent its organisation, including a General Laws Amendment Act which prevented the courts from issuing interim interdicts against the police and government officials.

The Congress of the People was held in 1955, a huge and representative gathering from all over South Africa, which adopted a Freedom Charter, slated as 'socialist' - actually not even Welfare State in most of its aims. It was followed by continuous police raids and threats culminating in the arrest of 156 political leaders of all races in 1956. They were charged with High Treason - based on the Congress - the trial lasted

4½ years, tying up leading political personnel during that period, before all were found not guilty.

Various boycotts and stoppages of work were organised in the next two or three years, including the Alexandra bus boycott, when 20,000 people walked 20 miles a day for 7 weeks in protest against raised fares.

The Sharpeville shootings in 1960 was government reaction to planned anti-pass demonstrations, followed by a State of Emergency which lasted for 5 months during which time 2,000 political prisoners and 18,000 other poor victims caught up in the police net were jailed without charge or trial for up to 5 months. The Emergency was lifted, but the Unlawful Organisations Act outlawed the mass organisations of the people: the African "ational Congress, the Pan-African Congress, and later an all-White radical organisation, the Congress of Democrats.

Sharpeville was followed by an Indemnity Act of 1961, making it impossible to institute civil or criminal proceedings in any court of law against the Government or police, (and back-dated to cover no compensation to the Sharpeville victims' families) if the police acted in 'good faith' to preserve order, property, etc.

A 1st attempt at peaceful protest was made in May 1961 at the time that South Africa left the Commonwealth and constituted itself the Republic of South Africa. An All-In African Conference was called of African leaders, to protest against a Republic in which they had no part. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
A 'stay-at-home' was organised as protest, but reprisals were massive and complete. The army was alerted, reserves were called up, and with mass displays of guns, Saracen armoured cars and threats of all kinds, the stay-at-home was only partially successful. It was in effect a declaration of war. By the end of the year the first acts of sabotage were committed, and violence for the first time was used as political protest.

Sabotage called forth a new General Laws Amendment Act, known as the Sabotage Act, which created a widely-defined range of acts of 'sabotage' punishable ~~by~~ in the same way as treason - up to death. The Act extended powers to issue special regulations, ban organisations, control the activities of listed people, prohibit gatherings, and prevent the appearance of certain banned periodicals under new names. It introduced house arrest. And was followed by another amendment to allow continued imprisonment after sentence is served, together with the 90-day law - allowing for imprisonment without trial for interrogation for continuous periods of 90 days. This ~~xxx~~ portion of the Act was suspended after 18 months

in the face of world-wide protest at its misuse, and after widespread torture of political prisoners; but has been superceded by another law, the 180-day law, which allows precisely the same thing for double the period.

~~This~~ Various amendments to Prisons and Police Acts extend powers of police to prevent the publication of any news or information about police activity (to restrain reports on activities of the political Security "branch), restricts publication of photographs of prisons or prisoners and makes publication of anything concerning prisons virtually illegal.

This is only the skimpiest outline of apartheid laws, ommitting big sections, including political activity and laws relating to the countryside. And the whole question of the Security Police, their manner of working, torture in apartheid jails, the extraordinary hounding of political opponents of all shades of opinion, the effect of house arrests, bans, confinements, banishments - and so on - all this, I have not yet dealt with here. It is the subject for another article. I must finish with a comment on this question of law.

Law works well when it is backed by public opinion and private sentiment; badly when it is not fully supported by the underlying social forces. It is unwise to rely on law to control human relations; it is at best a clumsy control.

The source of law is not only legislation itself, but higher court decisions on legislation. ~~In practice an act of parliament has little life until it is interpreted by the courts.~~ In practice an act of parliament has little life until it is interpreted by the courts. In South Africa for years the Supreme Court had a broader outlook than parliament; therefore from the 1950's the laws became both ^{more} harsh and also more explicit, so that they could not be upset in usage by the courts.

This has resulted in a feeling of despair among the people of ever hoping for legal redress. Law and the instruments of law are hated and despised; regarded as instruments of force. Africans have no say in the laws, parliaments or courts. They are judged every day, but have never sat in judgement.

People recoil from the idea of violence in South Africa, from the thought of uprisings, or revolutions. Yet violence is there! St. Thomas Aquinas said "Unjust laws have the nature of violence." We think if we give something legal approval, then it must be carried out.

But law must be related to life, to morality, to justice. "Here order, mere law, are not ends in themselves. Hitler and Himmler did little that was not legal - they passed the Nuremberg race laws before beginning the genocide of the Jews.

Dr. Verwoerd stated clearly not long ago that White rule is "for all time in South Africa", that he contemplated maintaining White leadership for all time and by force if necessary.

Apartheid will not be "for all time." But the laws of apartheid have now ensured that it can only be ended by violence. That violence will precede the establishment of a true state of law and order. Let not the rest of the world accuse the people of South Africa, particularly the African people, of bloodshed and violence when that time comes. Apartheid itself is violence. It cannot last.

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Womans of the World

EDUCATION FOR IGNORANCE.

by Hilda Bernstein.

Note: The term 'Bantu' is used by the South African Government to denote 'African.' It is disliked by the African people, and used in this article only where necessary, as when quoting Government spokesman, for example.

The child was up at 6 in the morning; and now, overcome by weariness and boredom, slumped on the floor against the classroom wall, he sleeps. Close by another little boy squats on his haunches and strains to follow the lesson; the sweat of concentration - and of 70 youngsters packed shoulder to shoulder - trickles down his face.

This is a description of African children in a school at Mameledi, an African township outside Pretoria, South Africa, where there is one high school and about 14 primary schools to serve a population of 90,000. Most of the schools there hold three sessions.

For the youngest, school starts at 7.30 a.m. At 10.30 they are joined by the second-session pupils, and the overflow third session starts at 1.30 p.m. When the first two sessions are joined, teachers are sometimes faced with a class of about 100 pupils. The teacher cannot even walk through the room; the few books must be shared by several pupils. The teachers struggle to teach children dulled by insufficient food, and by the overcrowded conditions and lack of equipment.

In Soweto, the huge African township outside Johannesburg, a group of ragged children stand in a courtyard chanting an arithmetic rhyme in Xhosa. Sitting in front of them on a suitcase is a teacher, endlessly correcting sums on the slates handed to her. Why out of doors? They have no classroom. At another school in Soweto, 100 young pupils cram together in a room about 10 feet by 15 feet on backless benches, with no place to do any written work. By 11 a.m. the classroom is already stifling and many children half asleep.

These are the conditions in some of the schools in two of the South Africa's biggest cities. What would you be doing today if you had been going to a school like these?

Yet these conditions are not the worst thing about education

for black children in South Africa. The physical conditions may vary from school to school, and may even be much better than those described here (and even worse.) But the type of education that the African child receives is the same in all the schools. It is a special kind of education, devised only for African children in South Africa, and it is called 'Bantu Education.'

Sixteen years ago when the present Prime Minister, D . Verwoerd, was then Minister of Native Affairs, he outlined new principles on which education for Africans was in future to be based. "There is no place for him (the African)," he stated, "in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." By the 'European community' he meant all South Africa, towns and countryside, except the backward African reserves, comprising ~~x~~ less than 13% of all South Africa.)

He went on: "For this reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

He then introduced the Bantu Education Act which changed the nature of African education, with the stated purpose of ~~of~~ educating African children only ~~xxx~~ to make them more efficient labourers and unskilled workers. The African child has to be educated to fit a static and preconceived role - one, incidentally, which fails to recognise the high degree of industrialisation in the country and the real economic integration of the African in industry. The content of Bantu Education is meagre, narrow and limited, its purpose so that "the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest." (Government report.) In other words, to understand orders and enough education to be able to do the work given to him.

"A plan for Native education," stated one Director of Education, "must contemplate the ultimate social place of the native as an efficient worker."

Thus Bantu Education was devised with these special points in mind:

* The complete application of segregation in the purpose, administration and organisation of education;

- * The regulation of the number of children who have access to education so as not to upset the reservoir of cheap, unskilled labour; among the controls used is to deny free, compulsory education to Africans and insist on payment;
- * The regulation of the curriculum of African schools so that education remains basically elementary with an emphasis on manual labour;
- * The strict limitation of higher education and technical education to African children.

The first thing to note is that education for White children in South Africa is free and compulsory up to the age of 16 years, and the White child enters school the year he turns 6. Education for Africans is neither free nor compulsory, and the African child may not enter school until he is 8.

£60 to £70 is spent annually on the education of each White child; on each African child, £6.10 a year is spent, and even this cannot reveal the poor quality of the teaching, while only about one-tenth of African children are at school for more than four years.

The proportion of children to teachers in African schools is more than 54 children to each teacher; in White schools, the proportion is 23 children to each teacher.

One of the conditions that govern and restrict African education is limited expenditure. It is fixed at £6½ million from general revenue and £5 million from direct African taxation. This embodies a principle unknown in any other country: that the poor have to pay for their own education with only the most limited assistance from the rich.

The number of White children who qualify for matriculation (the school leaving examination) has steadily increased over the years, while the number of Africans who matriculate at a standard that qualifies them for University entrance has dropped. In fact, figures show that of the 1,666,000 African schoolchildren in the country, only one in 3,000 actually matriculates. In 50 years South Africa has produced 2,000 non-White University graduates. In 1963, only ~~xx52~~ .059 per cent of African children who enrolled for school had reached Standard 10.

Another factor which holds back the education of African children under Bantu Education is insistence on education in the mother-tongue. While it is right that every child should be educated in his own home-language, within the context of South African society as it is today the insistence on education in the vernacular - the African languages - is a reactionary one, for several reasons.

In the first place, there are at present only two official languages in South Africa, English and Afrikaans (derived originally from Dutch.) To achieve any position whatsoever in commerce or industry, in the civil service or any other branch of work, a child must be proficient in these two languages. Then the textbooks for teaching except at the most elementary levels do not exist in the vernacular languages - in many of them there simply are not the words to describe any higher educational processes; there are no vernacular equivalents for mathematical and scientific terms, except on the lowest level. In arithmetic, for example, school textbooks in Sotho go only to Standard 4, while those in Zulu, Xhosa and Northern Sotho only to Standard 2. Children who overcome the many formidable obstacles to entering the higher classes (for example, after the first standard, a child who fails twice is not permitted to return to school) find themselves at a grave disadvantage because of their limited knowledge of English and Afrikaans. In 1958, the total number of African matriculants was 182; the next year it had dropped to 110.

Then for African schools there is a continual struggle for funds, particularly funds for school equipment and maintenance. Schools have to pay for such articles as desks; a teacher who sent a request for 60 books for the school was sent 2. In one school senior pupils cannot continue science studies because there is no laboratory - and this is typical. Many have no grants for libraries, and schools hold jumble sales and concerts to get money to repair broken roofs and paint the schools. Pupils have to pay for all the materials they use in a class. Pupils must also pay school fees of about 10/- per term, plus a 'voluntary' levy of about 2/6 term, and also examination fees. All this from the very poorest parents, many of whom simply cannot afford to pay these fees and provide pencils and other equipment for their children.

The quality of teaching in African schools is often extremely poor, as many of the teachers have neither degrees nor even adequate training. The teachers are humbled and humiliated by obnoxious regulations, deprived of professional status and under the complete and absolute control of those in charge of Bantu Education. A long list of regulations govern the employment of non-White teachers, and under 'misconduct' alone there are thirteen points. Among other things, the African teacher may not:

"contribute to the press by interview, or in any other manner, or publish letters or articles criticising or commenting on the Department of Native Affairs, or any other State Department, or school committee, school board or any Bantu authority, or any official connected with these bodies."

The Bantu Education Act actually provides for the imprisonment of a teacher who breaks any of the many regulations. Teachers often wait months for their salary, and in fact live and work under a reign of terror, for they are subject to instant dismissal on the flimsiest pretext.

In the operation of Bantu Education, the Nationalist Party who rule South Africa have shown a great deal of ingenuity, but are not in fact very original. When the Nazis supplanted the German system of education with systemised indoctrination, they altered the whole essence of education. Standard textbooks were destroyed and replaced by others. German youth had to be taught that the survival of the fittest was the normal process of nature, and that the racial laws of the Nazi state were part of all history and society's development. So in South Africa, everything must uphold and justify the system of apartheid, a system based on colour discrimination. Anything that proves the absurdity of apartheid is eliminated from the educational system, and new textbooks are written to justify it. Dr. Verwoerd said "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?...That is quite absurd."

Textbooks in science, history and languages are re-written, the minds of young African children protected from the contamination of new ideas, other cultures, the broadening and liberating effects of true education.

Bantu Education is a scheme devised on the basis of racial theories, just as in Nazi Germany. It satisfies the needs of a reactionary and ruthless system of white supremacy. While the South African government claims that more South African children go to school than anywhere else in Africa, they conceal the true nature of Bantu Education - education for ignorance.

The extraordinary thing is that in South Africa today Bantu Education is an anachronism. South Africa is industrially a very advanced country, and in the conditions of the past few years its economy has been demanding an ever-increasing number of skilled workers, a demand that cannot be met only by the privileged whites. The whole development of society, with its trend towards automation and even higher skills, runs contrary to the principles of apartheid and its system of Bantu Education. It is hard to believe that while the whole world stirs and moves forward, while man stretches out towards the planet and plans to launch himself to the moon, children in South Africa are being deliberately trained to have a limited understanding of society and knowledge to cope with the simplest demands.

Bantu Education, as in so many aspects of apartheid, carries the seeds of its own contradiction. It is an insult to human intelligence, a calculated attack on human rights and dignity.

Not only the African children, but all South Africa is the poorer through this system. And because Bantu Education suppresses the tremendous talents and capabilities of the mass of the African people, it is all of us, everywhere, ~~xx~~ throughout the world, who are poorer; for the world as a whole is thus robbed of the splendid artists, musicians, scientists, ~~xxx~~ engineers, men and women in every field of work, who are still imprisoned in ignorance and inability to use their own natural gifts, through the prison of Bantu Education.

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