

THE EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL



*"Let us Live
for Our
Children"*

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• *The Official Organ of
the Teachers' League
of South Africa*

CAPE TOWN, JULY, 1955
No. 1, Vol. XXVII
Annual Subscription for Non-Members: 10/-

THE TEACHERS' LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA

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"The Educational Journal"

Official Organ of the Teachers' League of South Africa

Published normally eight times a year, i.e. four monthly and four bi-monthly issues:

(Jan.-Feb., March, April, May-June, July-Aug., September, October, Nov.-Dec.)

Closing date for advertisement "copy" 15th of month preceding publication

ADVERTISING RATES

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Volume XXVII No. 1

Official Organ of the Teachers' League of South Africa

July, 1955

T.L.S.A. Presidential Address

Delivered by Mr. W. P. van Schoor at the Forty-Third Annual Conference of the Teachers' League of South Africa, held in Cape Town, 27th June—1st July, 1955.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Once again it is my privilege as President of the Teachers' League of South Africa to extend to you all a very cordial welcome on this occasion of the official opening of our 43rd Annual Conference. I am particularly pleased to welcome our many non-teacher friends, members of the general public, whose presence here tonight is to us a most encouraging indication of their interest and concern in regard to the educational aspects of our struggle for democracy, and, I am sure, of their support for the aims and activities of the Teachers' League of South Africa. Our previous Conference held here in Cape Town in 1952 has been rightly acclaimed a historic one, and we meet here again tonight after an absence of three years with the impressions of that memorable occasion still very clearly imprinted in our memory. I say without fear of contradiction, that the achievements of our Cape Town Conference of 1952 have produced influences of great significance to us as an organisation active mainly on the educational front of the Liberatory Movement, influences that must inevitably spread, and contribute in no small measure to the evolution and dynamics of our struggle. But more personally and immediately, we can say that these achievements have sustained our organisation in the face of all the various vicissitudes and stresses of a difficult period which throughout has demanded our unrelaxed determination and intransigence and clarity of theoretical understanding of the situation which has confronted us.

Our Cape Town Conference of 1952 derived its main success from the necessary work of consolidation, theoretical and organisational, which we accomplished. Thanks to that work of consolidation, we meet here again tonight, after three difficult years, with our organisational strength unimpaired. While I am naturally happy to say that the state of health of our organisation is good notwithstanding official onslaughts against our organisation calculated to impede, obstruct and undermine our progress, I trust that this Cape Town Conference of 1955 will inspire our organisation with that greater measure of strength which we shall unquestionably require to fit us for the hard struggles that will confront us in the immediate future.

I make bold to aver that I speak for the entire membership of the T.L.S.A. when I say that our thoughts this week will not infrequently be drawn to Queenstown, the venue of this year's Conference of the Cape African Teachers' Association. In saying this, I first wish to record the T.L.S.A.'s sincerest and strongest solidarity with our colleagues of the C.A.T.A., our sister organisation in the Cape, in the grave situation which they as a teachers' organisation as well as teachers and individuals are presently facing in their heroic defence of the education of the African child and their struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic South Africa. The

T.L.S.A. at this critical time of *Herrenvolk* aggression and determination to deprive all Non-Whites in South Africa of the right to any semblance of a real education, will watch with more than its usual keen interest the progress and achievements of this momentous Conference. Taking into regard the serious nature of the situation confronting the education of the African people, we, as a kindred organisation and ally of the Cape African Teachers' Association, are deeply conscious of the tremendous difficulties that face the C.A.T.A., and the grave responsibilities that lie on the shoulders of its leadership. We have no doubt, however, that, as in the past, correct and wise leadership will be forthcoming from the C.A.T.A. Conference at Queenstown, and that the membership of C.A.T.A. will reaffirm their principled, unswerving and uncompromising opposition to the dark, reactionary forces that would turn the clock of African progress back a thousand years, beyond tribalism, to barbarism and primitiveness. At a time when the freedom of African teachers is being so cruelly circumscribed, so ruthlessly curtailed, that it is virtually impossible for them to speak or act according to their honest convictions without invoking the extreme penalty of arbitrary, summary dismissal from their posts, it may well be appreciated under what difficult and trying conditions and circumstances the Cape African Teachers' Association is compelled to

work. In the face of this situation, therefore, the Queenstown Conference of 1955 assumes a vital character for all of us.

I must assume that by now, every single one of us has learnt the bitter reality that with the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, Eiselenism in relation to African education has ceased to be merely an abstract threat. Despite the strongest protests, despite the unanimous and unequivocal rejection of Eiselen schooling and the Bantu Education Act, the African people have been compelled by threats, blackmail and force, to accept this slave system of schooling. The bantuisation of African education, with its main, calculated purpose of producing helpless generations of dehumanised caricatures, of mentally and spiritually deformed black labour robots to satisfy the Gargantuan appetite of vested interests in all branches of capital enterprise in South Africa for more and more cheap, black labour, has begun its evil career. Only those who themselves have vested interests in either the bodies or the souls of the African people will deny that this is the sinister purpose of the Bantu Education Act and the Eiselen plan. This is why, on the issue of the Bantu Education Act, the African people have been betrayed left and right, not only by ruling-class agents alone, but by liberal political confidence tricksters and pious clerics, not to mention the political careerists who have always claimed to "represent" the African people. We cannot be too strong and hard in our condemnation of the political knavery of these self-styled, self-appointed "friends of the African" and particularly of the drooling hypocrisy of those respected gentlemen in cassocks and togas, who, while renouncing the Bantu Education Act "in principle", yet in practice accept and commend the bantuisied primary school curriculum, the practical programme for the retardation and mental enslavement of the African child. The African people have not gained anything from the academic opposition of these liberal laymen and churchmen to the Bantu Education Act; only the N.A.D. administrators and indoctrinators of Eiselenised neo-fascist "education" have benefited from what was in reality a tacit support of the Eiselen plan by this gentry. The African people will realise, if they have not already learnt, that they can expect only double-dealing and treachery from this gentry, those camouflaged upholders of the *status quo* and the social relations of the Colour Bar in South Africa. We need not tell the African people, the first victims of *apartheid*, Eiselenised education for slavery, that the defeat of the sinister aims and purposes of Eiselen schooling and, in a broader context, of the whole pernicious policy of Eiselenism as a "Native Policy", has become an ineluctable necessity in our struggle for liberation in this country. Nor is it necessary to warn the African people against those in their own ranks who, for material gain or considerations of "prestige", "honour", etc., are prepared in one capa-

city or another, to work the system of slave education for the *Herrenvolk* against the interests of their own people. But we want to make it understood that ONLY upon the basis of the independent, concerted efforts and positive struggles of the African people, assisted by all the other sections of the oppressed Non-White peoples of South Africa, must depend the fate of our perspective of a democratic system of education for all in South Africa, and that the struggle against Eiselenism in all its ramifications, educational, political and economic, is now an integral part of the national struggle of all Non-Whites for freedom from oppression. The struggle against Eiselen schooling and Eiselenism in politics therefore assumes a primary importance in the national democratic fight for freedom, and it behoves every conscious Non-White person, worker, politico, teacher, to make more than a mere mental note of this warning.

From the very day the infamous recommendations of the so-called Native Education Commission became known, we stated that the purpose of the transfer of African education to the Department of Native Affairs was to bring education in South Africa into line with the State policy of *apartheid*, i.e. the provision of entirely different systems of education for the so-called different racial groups, Whites and Non-Whites, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. And shortly afterwards our prognostication of the State designs to reserve the benefits of a democratic education for so-called Europeans only and to "reconcile" Non-White education with its general policy of national oppression of the Non-Whites, politically, economically and socially, was proved correct, when the De Vos Malan Commission on Coloured Education was appointed as the immediate result of the agitation in the Cape Provincial Council and elsewhere, for the transfer of Coloured education to its own political Group Area, the Coloured Affairs Department. The transfer of Non-White education to State departments of "Native" Affairs and "Coloured" Affairs means first of all the separation of White and Non-White education as two distinct entities, in the same way as Whites and Non-Whites are regarded as distinct entities in every other way in accordance with the holy laws of the cult of *apartheid*. Secondly, whilst the interests of so-called European education would continue to be fostered and superintended by the respective Provincial Councils, i.e. by the Europeans themselves through their elected representatives—a democratic system, Non-White education would be administered by a Department of State, i.e. by means of regulations—a fascist system. I would just add here that the aim of *Herrenvolk* rule in South Africa is clearly exemplified in this arrangement, viz., democratic government OF Whites, BY Whites, FOR Whites, on the one hand, through the medium of representative institutions, and fascist regimentation of Non-Whites by the *Herrenvolk*, FOR the

Herrenvolk through the medium of a State machine, on the other hand. This is no less the case in education than in politics in South Africa.

The separation of White and African education by the transfer of the latter to the State Department of Native Affairs was carefully conceived to enslave not only the African child, the worker of tomorrow, but also the African teacher as potentially the most important instrument in this dastardly operation. The main aim of "Bantu" education as devised by the *Herrenvolk* experts on the theory and practice of slave driving, is not only to produce an inferior type of teacher of the miserable "ja-baas" variety. The long-term perspective of "Bantu" education envisages therefore also the Eiselenising of the African teacher through the Eiselen system of teacher training; to condition him also to accept inferiority without question, so that he in turn shall indoctrinate the mind of the child with this inferiority and its by-products, and condition his behaviour accordingly; that he shall condition the minds of African children for a new kind of *aparte* society in which Africans will not desire, in the words of the inimitable Dr. Verwoerd, to "graze in the green pastures of European society", where they are not allowed. But this is a long-term perspective, as I have said, and the *Herrenvolk* has urgent, immediate problems in regard to the implementation of its policies.

The witch-doctors of "Bantu" education have long been aware that the organised African teachers have never been satisfied with the educational crumbs that fall off the *Herrenvolk* table. And over the past few years progressive teachers, armed with a clear understanding of education in relation to politics and in particular of the aims of the *Herrenvolk* State policy for the oppression of the Non-Whites *in perpetuo*, have mobilised and organised their forces in order to combat *Herrenvolk* policy, and struggle for a truly democratic system of education for all in South Africa. The growing militant spirit of the teachers, directed against the stifling by the *Herrenvolk* of the desire of the oppressed peoples for education, for cultural expression and the opportunity to develop their talents and abilities, assumed threatening and frightening dimensions to the *Herrenvolk*. Add to this the intransigence of the progressive teachers, the fearless, principled conduct of their struggle in the face of daily intimidation and petty tyranny, their growing influence in the progressive organisations of the people and their rôle of leadership in the vanguard of the struggles of the people for emancipation from oppression, and it becomes clear why the ruling-class devised such totalitarian measures in their desperate desire to bludgeon the African teachers into calculated, studied submission. The "Regulations governing the conditions under which Bantu community schools may be subsidised or assisted" and the conditions of appointment for teachers, published in *Government Gazette* No. 5401 of 14th

January, 1955, came into effect on the 1st of April this year. Drawn up for the guidance of school boards, they constitute only a part of the regulations that will eventually govern the lives of African teachers when the N.A.D. has completed its regimentation of "Bantu" education. Yet these interim regulations are a monstrous attempt to nullify the control of African teachers; to cancel whatever little personal freedom they still possessed as oppressed persons; to make it impossible for teachers to prosecute their struggle for a democratic system of education for all in South Africa, and to break the strength of the organised progressive teachers. These are the main aims of the regulations governing the control of teachers, expressed in the harsh, unambiguous language of a Draconian code. In our opinion, the so-called Conditions of Appointment of African teachers are nothing less than fascist, slave-driving regulations designed for the regimentation of people employed to work a system of slave education. Under these regulations, the service conditions of teachers are subject to the arbitrary powers of the Minister of Native Affairs, the Secretary of Native Affairs and the school boards. Salaries, for example, need not necessarily be paid according to a fixed scale, and annual increments are not "claimable as of right", but depend upon the good grace of the Minister and then only after a satisfactory report has been received as to the industry, discipline (i.e. obedience), punctuality, efficiency and conduct of the teacher concerned. In the words of the regulations, "every teacher shall place the whole of his time at the disposal of the school board" . . . and "no teacher may claim as of right additional remuneration in respect of any extra-curricula duty or work which he is required by competent authority to perform." If we take into consideration that the regulations provide that the school board shall work in conjunction with other departmental officials of the N.A.D., it will not be difficult to imagine the possible nature of this extra-curricula DUTY or WORK which the teacher is "required by competent authority to perform". If a teacher may be compelled to "place the whole of his time at the disposal of the school board", it will readily be seen how easy it can become to restrict his movements, and how easily he can be prevented from engaging in progressive activities such as, for example, attending teachers' and other conferences of a progressive nature. Further, "a teacher may be required by the school board to reside in a recognised hostel attached to the school or to reside within reasonable proximity of the school. The distance of residence from the school shall not form an excuse for non-participation in extra-mural activities."

It is in terms of the so-called misconduct section of the regulations that the *Herrenvolk* head-men of "Bantu" education hope to deal with "undesirable teachers", i.e. progressive, anti-Eiselen teachers. This catalogue of "offences" is not only a gross insult to

the dignity of the African teacher as teacher and educated man, but a disgraceful degrading of his public position and status as a professional man. The police-state attitude towards African teachers is well illustrated in the few definitions of "misconduct" which I wish to quote especially for the benefit of our non-teacher guests in order to expose the low methods of intimidation and the witch-hunting planned against progressive teachers whose great "crime" in the opinion of the ruling-class gauleiters and administrators of "education" is their stubborn refusal to acquiesce and assist in the enslavement of the minds and bodies of the coming generations of innocent African children:

"11. *Any teacher employed by the school board who:*

(c) *conducts himself in a disgraceful, improper or unbecoming manner, or while on duty treats with gross discourtesy a member of the public; or*

(b) *encourages through his acts or behaviour, disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State; or*

(i) *identifies himself actively with a political party, or body, or actively participates in political affairs or in the nomination or election of members of a school board, or Bantu tribal authority, or governing body, or school committee or Native local or advisory council . . . ; or*

(l) *contributes to the press by interview or in any other manner, or otherwise publishes a letter or article criticising or making unfavourable comment on the Department of Native Affairs, any State Department, a school committee, school board or any Bantu authority, or any officer connected with any of the bodies mentioned; or*

(m) *behaves, or acts, or neglects to act, in a manner which in the opinion of the school board is deleterious to his position as a teacher, is guilty of misconduct and action shall be taken against him as provided in these conditions of service."*

It will be observed that the misconduct of the *Herrenvolk* resides precisely in their determination not to "neglect to act" in a manner deleterious to the education of the millions of the African people.

I do not wish to discuss all the nauseating implications of this vulgar tyranny, born out of *Herrenvolk* desperation to maintain colonial fascism in this country. We as oppressed people know only too well the perverse interpretations they are capable of giving to a phrase such as "improper and unbecoming conduct". And if we remember what Dr. Verwoerd, the chief of "Bantu" education, himself has said, that "people who believe in equality are not suitable teachers for Natives", then we can be pretty certain of at least one interpretation of "improper and unbecoming conduct". It is possible, too, that refusal on the part of an African teacher to doff the hat in salutation to an official, major or minor, of the N.A.D., or school board official, might be construed

as "resisting" or "agitating", in which case it will surely be regarded as "improper or unbecoming" behaviour, if not as gross insubordination. Again, the phrase "gross discourtesy to a member of the public" can mean anything from refusal to address as "baas" any person who may happen to enter the school premises, to protesting against any of the well-known prevalent forms of rude treatment and gross discourtesy meted out to Africans daily in various public places. Further, the phrase "disobedience to the laws of the State", while embracing every oppressive piece of legislation framed against Non-Whites from the South Africa Act to the Senate Act of 1955, most obviously refers particularly to the Bantu Authorities Act and the Bantu Education Act and Eiselen slave schooling. Henceforth it will be an act of "misconduct" to campaign against "Bantu" education and for a democratic system of education, whilst the exercise of a universally-recognised, democratic right such as the strike weapon or the boycott weapon, will be regarded as "disobedience to the laws of the State", and therefore a punishable act. Perhaps the greatest "offence" is the "criticising or making unfavourable comment", not only on State Departments and local authorities but also on any individual/s connected with any of these bodies. The rejection of individual freedom, which includes freedom of speech and criticism, is the cornerstone of the police State; it was the late Adolf Hitler himself who said that ". . . the individual has no rights apart from his function as part of the State".

These, then, are the regulations as they will affect African teachers in future, and only the future therefore will tell us whether the teachers in their masses will surrender to this regimentation or resist it. But if the declared attitude of the Cape African Teachers' Association can be taken as an indication of the general spirit of resistance boiling in the bosom of the African teachers, then no number of totalitarian regulations will succeed in compelling and dragooning them into becoming acquiescent and willing tools in the vicious process of conditioning their own children for slavery. And so the Cape African Teachers' Association declares: "BECAUSE THESE REGULATIONS ARE IMMORAL NOBODY CAN FEEL THAT THEY IMPOSE ON HIM ANY MORAL OBLIGATIONS. Their success will depend entirely on our willingness to allow them to become so." In order that they should become inoperative we shall have to harness all our energies and work as one man to this end. Harsh as they may seem they may as well have never been drawn up, if, as we believe, their aim is to hinder our progress. Be the regulations what they may, NOTHING WILL CAUSE US TO DEVIATE BY A HAIR'S BREADTH FROM THE PATH WE HAVE CHOSEN—THE PATH OF STRUGGLE."—Official

C.A.T.A. statement on Regulations for African Teachers.

I have dealt with the totalitarian conditions in African education at some length in order to indicate the general pattern which *apartheid* in education for all Non-Whites will take in future if *Herrenvolkism* is to survive, as it hopes to do, for another 300 years. What I have indicated in regard to African education is the shape of things to come for Coloured education in general, and the fascist regulations which now apply to African teachers, the forerunner of similar measures intended to whip the Coloured teachers into a fearful, shameful acceptance of inferiority. But even before the publication of the Report of the Coloured Education Commission (De Vos Malan Commission), the Coloured teachers have been given a foretaste of what they can expect once Coloured education becomes an *aparte* system under the C.A.D. Some two months ago the Cape Provincial Council saw fit to amend in particular the misconduct sections of the Education Ordinance of 1921, in order to give the Provincial Administration added powers to deal with "certain Coloured teachers". In a statement to "Die Burger" of 12th March, the Administrator of the Cape declared that "... Our own officials and others, among them the C.I.D., have drawn our attention to the inciting activities of certain Coloured teachers." Not satisfied to wait until the De Vos Malan Commission

has reported its "findings" and Coloured education transferred to the C.A.D. in terms of a Coloured Education Act, the Provincial Administration has struck out at the Coloured teachers with the mailed fist in order to intimidate, demoralise and muzzle them.

As if to anticipate the "regulations" that we assume will be framed to govern the conditions of employment for Coloured teachers once the transfer of Coloured education is effected, the Provincial Council has decreed that a teacher may be dismissed if, *inter alia*, he "does anything or propagates any idea or takes part in or associates himself with any propaganda or activity calculated to cause or promote antagonism amongst any section of the population of the Union against any other section of the population of the Union" According to the Administrator, the Education Department wanted power "to take effective disciplinary action against some Coloured teachers who are trying to undermine the administration of the country by persistent anti-White propaganda". These powers, His Honour claimed, were also necessary to enable the Education Department to deal with those teachers whose activities or propaganda was calculated to "impede, obstruct or undermine the activities of the Provincial Administration or of any Government Department". The Ordinance also disqualifies as teachers, persons listed as communists by the Minister of Justice and the Liquidator, and provides further for the disqualification of others whose utterances and activities apparently qualify them for the designation "communist" according to the definition of a communist as stated in section one of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950. Such persons shall be deemed to be "undesirable persons to occupy a post as a teacher".

Since the amendments were mainly intended to give the Education Department added powers to deal with "certain Coloured teachers", it does not require any imagination to see how they can be used against those teachers who have made it their duty to fight the Colour Bar in education, who have consistently opposed and exposed State policy in regard to the schooling and indoctrination of Non-Whites for inferiority, and particularly against those teachers who have spared no effort to show up the evil designs of the De Vos Malan Commission on Coloured Education. It is our considered opinion that the main motive behind the amendments to the Ordinance was the desperate effort by the Provincial Council to try to arrest the campaign of the Teachers' League of South Africa against the De Vos Malan Commission, to silence the Coloured teachers in order to ensure the minimum opposition to the report of the Commission which is due to be hatched at any time. The Administration is fully aware of the League's attitude to the Coloured Education Commission, its views on the implications of the transfer of Coloured education to a Coloured Affairs Depart-



MR. W. P. VAN SCHOOR

T.L.S.A. President, 1951-5 Re-elected 1955-6

ment and its understanding of the reactionary nature of the changes envisaged in the so-called reorganisation of education. It is therefore no wonder that in the fulminations against Coloured teachers during the debate stage of the Draft Ordinance, the T.L.S.A. as an organisation of Coloured teachers would be specially selected for attack, slander and abuse.

We have a right as teachers and as a teachers' organisation to defend ourselves against the allegations, accusations and attacks by people who, in their own ruling-class interests, misrepresent our aims, ideals and aspirations, and who ascribe vulgar political and other motives to our sincere struggles. As a body of professional men and women it is more than just our right to defend ourselves; it is our bounden duty. It would be cowardice and shameful capitulation for us to stand by dumbly and meekly and have insult upon insult hurled in our faces and the name of our organisation besmirched. It has become a common practice in official quarters to brand the T.L.S.A. as chauvinist, as anti-White and as communist, and our struggle for a democratic system of education as a subversive activity. The general impression that this slander has conveyed to many who accept it at face value is that Coloured teachers, especially those who are members of the T.L.S.A., are in general professionally unreliable people who abuse their position as teachers outside as well as inside the classroom by disseminating anti-White propaganda; that they display a studied, cultivated attitude of insolence towards Europeans as such and that they are generally a disservice to their own people. I said at East London last year that we, the T.L.S.A., deny most vehemently that our struggle for the achievement of citizenship in this country is in any way an anti-White struggle. The fact that White State and White Church are opposed to our aspirations still does not make our struggle an anti-White struggle! The T.L.S.A. is as opposed to Black nationalism as it is to White *Herrenvolkism*. Unfortunately we cannot say the same of those in the Provincial Council who accuse us of anti-Whiteism. It will not be out of place here to remind His Honour, the Administrator, of the racialistic, "baasskap" speech made by Dr. De Vos Malan when as the then Superintendent-General of Education and newly-appointed Chairman of the Coloured Education Commission he addressed a White teachers' conference at Robertson two years ago. He said that the teachers should remind the children in their care that being White entailed tremendous responsibilities. He said it did not matter if you called it guardianship, leadership or "baasskap". There was no other means of maintaining the country's position than through superior education for Whites. To impress this upon the minds of the pupils was the great task of the teachers in maintaining White civilization in this country. In passing, it would be interesting to know just how, in the light of the recent amendments

to the Education Ordinance, the members of the Provincial Council would view a speech couched in this language, and whether a White teacher acting on this recent official advice, would not be regarded as guilty of making "propaganda calculated to cause or promote antagonism amongst one section of the population of the Union against another section". But this is merely said in passing.

Far from being racialistic or anti-White, the T.L.S.A. regards it as one of its most important responsibilities to combat Black nationalism by every means at its disposal, for, as I have already said, we are totally opposed to any form of chauvinism, White or Black. And we regard it as one of our very serious tasks, while struggling to free ourselves from the yoke of oppression in the course of our fight for citizenship, to imbue our people with a real sense of the duties and responsibilities implicit in common citizenship within a multi-racial society. Not so long ago, we witnessed the deplorable excesses to which Hitler's German nationalism, his Nordic *Herrenvolkism* went, so that it became quite conventional during the last World War to say that a victory for Nazi Germany would mean a return to the Middle Ages. And we cannot help saying, in a spirit of sincere conviction, that we as educated Non-Whites see in the South African *Herrenvolk* regime and especially in Afrikaner nationalism the dangerous emulation, conscious or unconscious, of that same system, with the same decrepit doctrines of blood and race and *volkswil* and the leadership principle or "Führerprinzip", the same false prophets, the same shoddy slogans. And we must frankly admit that the aspect of it all is frightening for the future. To conclude from this attitude that we are anti-White is, first of all, to distort our views, and secondly to accuse every White person in South Africa of subscribing to the *Herrenvolk* myths, theories and practices of the Master Race. Inasmuch as our opposition to Hitlerism never meant that we were anti-German, so our opposition to South African *Herrenvolkism* does not mean we are anti-White. We saw in Nazi *Herrenvolkism* not only the rude destruction of democratic institutions and democratic ideas and practices, but the complete rejection of the idea of individual liberty, the utter contempt for human life and human dignity, especially in regard to the treatment of the so-called "lesser breeds", Jews, Poles and Czechs. When we oppose the South African *Herrenvolk* policies and practices to keep an entire people in a state of permanent subjection as a voteless, voiceless, rightless, toiling mass, we are not being anti-White but anti-fascist. The Nazi attitude toward learning was characterised by a complete lack of respect for knowledge by the renunciation of international science and international learning and the burning of books that did not conform to the degenerate standards of the new Nazi scholasticism which put the whole of knowledge into a

totalitarian strait-jacket. In the realm of education the Nazi identified the end of knowledge with the prestige of a particular racial group so that all branches of knowledge, the sciences and the arts were distorted to glorify the Nordic "race" and boost the Nazi regime. Indoctrination of Nazi ideologies was the recognised practice of "education" for the regimentation of the individual. In our opinion, the educational policies and practices in this country, while conforming to a different pattern to suit conditions in South Africa, are nevertheless fundamentally fascist in concept, in form and in purpose. It is in this light that we look at the main features and manifestations of the South African system—*Christelike Nasionale Onderwys* and its ideological adjunct, viz., *moedertaalonderwys*, *Voortrekker-kultuur* and *Voortrekker-universiteit*, *aparte opvoeding*, with "pondokkie" schools and "kitchen" universities for Non-White tribalised schooling. Indoctrination for "baasskap" on the one hand and for permanent subservience on the other, is also the official educational practice of the South African fascist system. These are our honest convictions and we express them by way of honest, open criticism. They are the conclusions we have come to as the result of our understanding, our analysis and study of conditions as they obtain in South Africa, and not the misty theories or fantastic conclusions of Black chauvinistic intellectuals whose sole pre-occupation is "to undermine the administration of the country by persistent anti White propaganda". This is our reply to the base attacks and false accusations made against us and our organisation, and we trust it will penetrate into the ossified summits of the Provincial Council.

Officialdom has long resented the "truculent attitude" of "certain Coloured teachers" who, by their "studied obstruction of the authorities", have earned the disapproval, disfavour and, indeed, the ire not only of Provincial Administration, Education Department and school boards, but of local authorities as well, not to mention church dignitaries, mayors and others. Needless to say, this entire conspiracy is resolutely opposed to full citizenship and real education for Non-Whites, and consequently sees in every genuine, democratic demand for progress and educational reform a truculence and an insolence which they attribute to "communist" influences. And so "certain Coloured teachers" are discredited as "inciters" and "agitators" and have to be suitably dealt with. Before the war, the popular, almost ludicrous characterisation of the Coloured teacher, held by officialdom and shared by every spokesman of *Herrenvolk* society on either side of the Eiselen line, was as follows: He, the Coloured teacher, was "respected" as a well-dressed, dignified, respectable, tolerant, cheerful gentleman with a great abiding faith in the dispensations of the Almighty and the Government. That was before the last imperialist war, before

"equalitarian heresies" and "democratic notions" invaded his cranium. Ten years after World War II this professional species, while not yet extinct, is rapidly declining in numbers. The new generation of teacher, imbued with ideas of freedom and determined to stake his claim in the heritage of the country of his birth, is therefore *non persona grata* with officialdom, has lost its "ear" and its "confidence". And so today, officialdom has revised its opinion of the teacher: The average Coloured teacher is not fully mature professionally—*nie beeltemaal opgewas nie*—he is inclined to be unreliable and irresponsible; his smattering of education only tends to give him a false sense of values, and he is inclined to be dissatisfied and disgruntled, and an easy prey to the propaganda of "foreign ideologies"—*vreemde ideologieë*. The better his education, the more his frustration tends to make him a political agitator in his misguided desire to realise "unhealthy white-collar ideals" and equality with Europeans. I need hardly say that this opinion is held in the highest *Herrenvolk* quarters and is not a figment of my own fertile imagination. And we must not be so naive to ascribe this slander to an unduly large blind spot in their ruling-class make-up either, but see it as a political defence mechanism dictated by their ruling-class interests. The Coloured teacher who still possesses the *bywoner* mentality, who eschews politics and prefers to blame the force of gravity that his people are down, that they are oppressed, is hailed by officialdom as a desirable teacher, a "responsible" teacher and a "credit to his own people". In the coming period, officialdom, and the *Herrenvolk* in general, will more and more rely upon this element to work not only the slave system of schooling devised by the De Vos Malan Commission but also to make possible the administration of a Coloured Affairs Department with its own Coloured bureaucracy; in fact to assist in the implementation of the entire *apartheid* machinery as it will affect the Coloured people "as a separate race".

Everybody knows that long before the Provincial Administration decided to draw the sword against "certain Coloured teachers" and the Teachers' League of South Africa, a cold war has existed. The authorities have had their allies in the august conspiracy which I have named. One recalls with a sense of disgust some of the practices employed by school boards, inspectors, managers, etc., to discredit the T.L.S.A. and generally to wreak vengeance on its membership. There is abundant evidence, a huge repertoire of instances of daily brow-beating exercises and petty tyranny inflicted on teachers, especially by manager predikants, on account of their honest convictions and their professional affiliation to the Teachers' League. In the arbitrary dispensing of posts, appointments of glaring irregularity have been effected, and in many cases teachers eminently qualified to occupy a post were either not considered

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at all, or rejected as nominees even on the popular, unanimous recommendation of a School Committee. In at least one case a School Committee itself was threatened with disbandment if it persisted in nominating the same candidate for a certain post. In all these cases only teachers who were regarded as politically reliable, i.e. were known supporters of the *status quo* in education, or who were completely apolitical, were appointed. That the interests of the schools concerned and of Coloured education generally would inevitably suffer was apparently not considered a matter of major importance. The private interrogation of teachers by members of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. is on record too, as is the intrusion by this gentry into members' meetings and Regional Conferences of the Teachers' League. In concluding this "roll of honour", I shall merely state that we have also to contend with several instances where the official correspondence of the T.L.S.A. has been tampered with. It needs no imagination at all to guess at the sinister purpose of this unwarranted interference.

Throughout this cold war the Teachers' League of South Africa has stood as firm as a rock in the face of the formidable combination of reactionary forces arrayed against it. We had only the correctness of our ideas and the justice of our cause to guide us in the struggle. We still say tonight:

*"What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted?
Thrice is he arm'd that bath his quarrel just;
And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."*

—Shakespeare: King Henry VI.

It is to the great credit of the T.L.S.A. that we say it has not deviated in any way from the hard road of struggle which it took more than a decade ago. In paying the League this public tribute tonight, I want you to know how proud I feel to be its President, and to have been associated with it intimately, especially during the past decade of struggle. Without its honesty of purpose, and without its stubborn determination to prosecute its democratic aims and policies in a principled way, it is doubtful whether the Teachers' League of South Africa would have survived that struggle. But we cannot here review the course of all the struggles of yesterday. We have to look at today, and at tomorrow, and at the problems confronting us today, and the problems that will confront us tomorrow. And we must see the problems of today with the eyes of tomorrow, so to speak, if we wish to measure up to the demands of leadership that will be made on us tomorrow. We are standing on the threshold of the grimmest period in the history of Non-White education in South Africa, and the quality and strength of the

leadership that we shall be expected to give in the coming period will depend upon our own quality and strength, not only as an organisation of teachers, but as individuals. Herein lies our ACID TEST!

In conclusion, it cannot be expected of me at this public opening of our Conference to present our teachers with a prepared formulation of the strategy, in all its detail, that is best calculated to protect and strengthen our organisation and enable us to pursue our declared aims in the coming period when the ruling-class will not hesitate to use any brutal means to disanimate us and emasculate our struggle. This and similar considerations of a practical import affecting the concrete work of the T.L.S.A. in the educational field and in the field of politics are matters of the utmost importance and urgency. I might just single out the hypothetical question of the need for reassessment of the functions of the P.T.A.s in the light of the projected transfer of Coloured education to a Coloured Affairs Department, the tribalising of Coloured education and the labour camp "regulations" that we anticipate will be made applicable to Coloured teachers. Then also, there is the serious question of our perspective of unity with other progressive teacher associations and all the practical considerations it implies such as, for example, the work of the Teachers' Federal Council, joint C.A.T.A./T.L.S.A. meetings, etc., considered in the light of changed conditions. These are very vital matters that call for the most serious deliberation and decision of the teachers in their conferences and other councils. I only want to say to our teachers that they must realise that the future will make heavy demands on our sincerity and devotion to our struggle; above all, on our preparedness TO PRACTISE WHAT WE PREACH! Let us remember that in the final analysis, in the "rough-and-tumble" of the struggle, it is not so much what we are prepared to SAY in the defence of our children's education THAT COUNTS, however noble our ideas, however courageous our speeches; it is what we are prepared to DO! If we have never fully understood the significance of the teacher as the most powerful agency in education, for good or for evil, we shall not be kept in suspense for very long. The Non-European people, however, have the right to demand that the Non-European teachers shall not betray their children to the *Herrenvolk*; shall not be the instruments of the ruling-class to condition their children for slavery, but that instead of the mental and spiritual darkness that a decaying, despotic social system has prescribed for them, the Non-White teachers, in the noblest traditions of their profession, will bring that light of intellectual and spiritual FREEDOM which we all need to free a nation!

LET US LIVE FOR OUR CHILDREN!

Banqueting Hall

... TORCH FETE ...

29th October

Conference Resolution

At the closing session of Conference the following resolution, submitted by the Resolutions Committee, was proposed and unanimously adopted.

This Conference of the Teachers' League of South Africa, meeting in Cape Town from 27th June to 1st July, 1955, having carefully considered the content of education prescribed by the rulers for the various sections of the South African population, the manner in which these systems are controlled by State and other agencies, and the nature and purpose of the recent changes that have been effected in the systems of education, finds:

(a) *that the differential educational systems in South Africa have always been employed by the ruling class in order to promote and sustain white supremacy and to entrench the colour bar in South African Society;*

(b) *that the policy of Calvinistic Christelike Nasionale Onderwys and the concomitant political application of moedertaalonderwys are the educational means by which the Afrikaner section of the Herrenvolk intends to perpetuate its own hegemony within the ruling group;*

(c) *that the system of Eiselen schooling for the African people is purposefully calculated, both in the content of its tribalised syllabuses and the dictatorial control by the Native Affairs Department, to eradicate in South Africa the ideas of equality and freedom which have taken root among the colonial peoples, and the better to serve as an instrument of political domination intended permanently to subjugate the African people and so provide the cheap and docile labour reservoirs for exploitation by the ruling section in their own class interests;*

(d) *that the system of De Vos Malan schooling for the Coloured people, presently being devised by the De Vos Malan Commission, has a purpose identical with the system of Eiselen schooling, and its content and method of control will therefore follow the pattern already laid down in Eiselen schooling;*

(e) *that the new regulations governing the Non-European teachers are an integral part of the vicious system of Eiselen/De Vos Malan schooling because they are intended to produce a group of African and Coloured teachers who will assist the Herrenvolk in operating the new school systems and who will be compelled to indoctrinate the Non-European children with the belief in their own inferiority;*

(f) *that the Bantu Local Authorities, Bantu school boards and Bantu committees are devised to employ those quislings who will operate the Eiselen school system and to compel the parents to pay for the indoctrination of their own children not only through direct and indirect taxation but also through special discriminatory taxation.*

The Teachers' League of South Africa, therefore,

(i) *warns the Non-European people of South Africa that the successful implementation of Eiselen/De Vos Malan schooling can only result in ensuring the permanent subjection of the Non-White peoples and the entrenchment of South African Herrenvolkism;*

(ii) *calls upon the Non-White people in general, and the Non-White teachers in particular, to refuse to acquiesce in the mental enslavement of the Non-White people by operating the pernicious system of Eiselen/De Vos Malan schooling;*

(iii) *demands the abolition of the system of Eiselen/De Vos Malan schooling, and the provision of a system of free, equal, unsegregated secular education for all the people of South Africa, devised to develop to the fullest their skills and abilities and to provide the opportunities for the richest cultural development for everybody in a democratic South Africa free of all colour restrictions.*

Constitutional Changes

PROVIDENT FUND

In order to augment the Provident Fund the Annual Subscriptions paid by full members have been increased by 2/6 (with effect as from 1st June, 1955.)

Clause 4(c) has been amended to read as follows:

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Central Music Festival

The Cape Town City Hall was once again packed to the doors on Thursday, 30th June, when the annual Music Festival was held. The first part of the programme comprised the Wilton Shield Choir Competition in which ten choirs participated, while the second half was filled with items from Handel's "Messiah".

The competition was most pleasing, not only because each choir sang a different song, but also because the choice in each case was good and well rendered. The adjudicator, Mrs. P. Crighton (Miss Stevenson), in her report on the choirs said: "An excellent competition and a tremendous triumph for choir masters. It was an even competition with nothing below standard. The choice of songs was much better and more worthwhile, though there is still room for improvement. The quality of tone in most cases was good and well on the way to being *beautiful*. No longer do we hear rough chesty voices from the boys and thin breathy tones from the girls."

However, she had one serious criticism to make: "Interpretation of words. The words *must* live, the story *must* be told; pleasant sound is not enough, otherwise why not just sing on a vowel? Wooden faces make for wooden phrases, rhythm and a wooden picture. Think about the words and mentally act them. It can be done. Three choirs showed traces of it and the smallest member in the winning choir really enjoyed his story."

The result was: 1st, Coralbas D.R.C. School, Gouda, 92 per cent.; 2nd, E.C. Primary School, Kleinmondstrand, 85 per cent.

Rosmead Central, Claremont, and Spangenberg Moravian, Lansdowne, tied for third place with 84 per cent. The average mark gained by the ten choirs was 79.7 per cent.

"*The Messiah*".—There were in all fifteen school and two adult choirs combined—comprising over 500 voices in the rendering of choruses from "The Messiah", and these were well supported by the organist, Mr. J. D. Malan. With the exception of "Glory to God", which was noticeably defective in the contrapuntal sections, the other four choruses were remarkably well done by such very young voices, the "And the Glory of the Lord" and "Hallelujah Chorus" being particularly effective. Much of the success of the singing must be ascribed to the very good conducting of Messrs. R. Lesch, J. K. Zingu and M. Bezuidenhout.

The solos by Miss D. Carlse (soprano), Messrs. B. de Vries, H. Wannenberg (tenors) and M. Lewin (baritone) were well delivered, Miss Carlse and Mr. de Vries being exceptionally good. Mr. G. Petersen, the pianist, contributed his share by accompanying with sympathetic understanding. The whole programme was well prepared and provided a splendid evening's entertainment.

1955 Conference Diary

We publish this informal and unofficial diary, compiled by several delegates, in order to give a general picture of the Conference, especially to those who were unable to be present. The introductory papers on the various sections of the theme have been very economically dealt with because they are to be published in full in a special August issue of "The Educational Journal".

MONDAY, 27th JUNE: AFTERNOON SESSION

Contrary to custom, Conference commenced with organisational matters on Monday afternoon instead of with the official opening in the evening.

After steady enrolment and registration, and the election of scrutineers and registrars, the President, Mr. W. P. van Schoor, opened Conference. The first item on the agenda was a motion to effect a constitutional change relating to the procedure of recording and reading the minutes. This was passed. Thus Conference no longer commences with the reading of the minutes each morning.

The General Secretary then read the *Report of the Executive Committee*, which revealed the unceasing activity of the Executive and the Standing Committees during the past year to organise teachers and parents, to counter the attacks upon the educa-

tion of Non-Europeans, and to prepare the people for the struggle for democratic education and citizenship. The success of these activities was evident in the enhanced standing of the League amongst both parents and teachers and the co-operation between both sections. The report also revealed the strength of the League in most areas, the determination and solidarity of officials and members alike in the face of Commissions, regulations and amended ordinances. The League has ever been alive to attacks on C.A.T.A. and the education of Africans and has made its voice heard against all unjust and arbitrary measures by the authorities. The General Secretary wished members to note specially those sections of the Report dealing with Regional Conferences, the building of P.T.A.s, the calling of rally meetings, the strengthening of the Defence Fund and the "Torch" appeal.

MONDAY NIGHT: OFFICIAL OPENING

The spacious Zionist Hall was crowded to the doors by teachers, parents and other members of the public who came to listen to Mr. W. P. van Schoor deliver his fourth Presidential Address. Councillor R. E. Viljoen presided, and the other speakers were: Mr. E. L. Maurice (Vice-President), Mr. A. C. Jordan (C.A.T.A.), Mrs. J. Meissenheimer (Council of Peninsula P.T.A.s), Mr. A. Fataar (General Secretary), and Mr. B. M. Kies (Editor).

The Chairman, in welcoming parents and delegates, appealed to parents to stand together with teachers in the attacks on our children. He expressed his confidence that conference deliberations would be in the interests of all Non-European children.

From the tributes paid to the President by all the speakers on the platform and from the enthusiasm of the discussion the following day, it was evident that the Presidential Address (full text elsewhere in this issue) was one of the finest ever, and gave a particularly clear and inspiring lead. This was just what members wanted the President to say on their behalf. Its influence pervaded Conference from the beginning to the end, and was responsible for the high note of confidence and optimism.

The Vice-President thanked the President on behalf of the League for the clear way in which he had crystallised the problems confronting the people today.

Mrs. J. Meissenheimer, addressing the meeting on behalf of the Council of P.T.A.s, referred to the long way the League had come since it had its platform adorned by representatives of authority to the present time when a representative of parents was on the platform. She appealed for real understanding of the League's motto and for co-operation between parents and teachers in building a nation free of all discrimination.

Mr. A. C. Jordan (C.A.T.A.) referred to the important C.A.T.A. Conference being held at the same time in Queenstown, and stressed the similarities of the difficulties facing C.A.T.A. and T.L.S.A.

After Mr. B. M. Kies had spoken, the General Secretary moved a vote of thanks to all the speakers.

TUESDAY, 28th JUNE: MORNING SESSION

Discussion on Presidential Address.—It was a new experience to have to start the session without the traditional "period of grace" many members used to allow themselves while the Minutes were being read. Not all members could be said to have taken readily to the change.

Several speakers commented on the Presidential Address. They were all of one mind on its excellence in saying the right thing in the right manner at the right time. Particular mention was made of the "selflessness" of the leadership and of the stiffening of the membership which was seen when the organisation was being attacked. The prevalence of child

labour even before the Eiselen system was working came in for some discussion.

Mr. R. O. Dudley moved a vote of thanks on behalf of Conference.

Discussion on Report of Executive.—There were many speakers participating in this discussion. The main emphasis, as was to be expected during these times, was on organisational matters. In view of the Amended Ordinance and the Regulations to which they form the prelude, great stress was laid on two things: the improvement of the responsibility and purposeful activity of the members, and the strengthening of the bonds between parents and teachers. Conference adopted the Report unanimously.

The Educational Journal Report.—The Editor reported on the sound financial position, despite the fact that larger Journals had been issued and that the general cost of production had risen. The adoption of a new cover design had to be approved by Conference. In reply to a question, the Editor said that certain Branches continued to publish Newsletters regularly, but that many were erratic. The general standard of production was very high. And in answer to another question he said he was happy to be able to report that articles came in from all over the Province. He thanked all who had contributed to the success of the Journal and made special mention of the despatch staff of teachers, student-teachers and students.

Financial Statement.—This reflected a generally healthy state of affairs, with some of the soundest balances for years. Conference expressed its appreciation of the excellent work done by the Treasurer and the Finance Committee. The statement was unanimously adopted.

Lunch was provided by a special Catering Committee drawn from various Branches and under the convenship of Mr. S. J. Truter. Very many members stayed at the hall for lunch.

CONFERENCE THEME: THE CONTENT AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Section I: Ideological Changes in the Content and Control of Education for Non-Europeans: Their Nature and Purpose

When the Vice-President called upon the introducer of the first section of the Conference theme, Mr. A. F. Slingers, to deliver his address, the Zionist Hall was crowded with teacher and non-teacher members determined to add yet further to the arsenal of ideas which must be used in the struggle against Eiselen-De Vos Malan indoctrination and serfdom. One sensed immediately that the introducer had set himself the task not only of re-stating the basic purpose of Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling but, more important, of emphasising the social relevancy of the Conference Theme. Our attitude towards Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling, the introducer

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	A.0562	3/6
V	Die Vasteland van Europa	
	A.0563	4/6

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	A.0486	4/6

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stated, was defined by our position as the victims and opponents of *Herrenvolkism*.

The ideological changes in the content of education for Non-Europeans arise from the imprint of present-day social forces upon the S.A. Colour Bar System. The increased tempo of industrial development and the changed political behaviour of the Non-European oppressed have helped to emphasise the weaknesses in the existing social institutions from the point of view of ensuring the continued existence of the *Herrenvolk*. Gravely harassed by these developments, the *Herrenvolk* have enacted further legislative and administrative measures to buttress the system of labour segregation and wage discrimination in this country.

Through Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling, the speaker stated, the *Herrenvolk* were attempting to circumvent the consequence of urbanisation and mitigate the effects of the increasing political maturity of the Non-White people. The political and economic aspirations of the Non-Europeans must be prescribed by the nature and form of separate, servile social institutions that the *Herrenvolk* are attempting to re-integrate.

EVENING SESSION

Section II (a): The Child and the Administrative Control of Education: N.A.D., C.A.D., Mission School Management

This session of Conference was very well attended. Many parents and non-teacher members no doubt welcomed the opportunity to listen to and participate in the discussions.

In his address, the introducer, Mr. C. G. L. Pieterse, discussed the rigid, centralised control of the Eiselen-De Vos Malan system of schooling under the N.A.D. and C.A.D. There could be no talk, he emphasised, of State education or central administration as with the European child. For under the system of Eiselen schooling the administration of the schools becomes the control of the life of the child. The system of control, the introducer indicated, was to operate in conjunction with the machinery created by the Group Areas and Bantu Authorities Acts.

In their work the Native Affairs and Coloured Affairs Departments were seeking and obtaining the support of the churches both as a cover and for the purpose of intensifying denominational schism and rivalry. All churches were guaranteed representation on local committees and urban boards.

The administrative control also made provision for the separation of children in rural areas from those in urban centres. The Non-White child is to be entirely controlled by the N.A.D. and C.A.D. through local committees, urban boards and settlement councils.

For purposes of discussion the introductions to Sections I and II were taken together. Several

speakers contributed towards the discussion and emphasised that the Colour Bar system was not immutable. The recent legislation which the rulers have enacted was aimed at strengthening the institutional framework of the Colour Bar system so that *Herrenvolkism* could be maintained. But the problem remained insoluble for the *Herrenvolk*, for with every new sign of economic strain on the Colour Bar the problem of social parasitism became a grimmer prospect. It was necessary for the oppressed Non-Whites to be aware of the solution which must be applied to change the Colour Bar system.

Other speakers stressed the fact that the mass indoctrination of the Non-White children formed part of the control of the labour force. The essential character of Eiselen-De Vos Malan schools is therefore that of a transit labour-colony from where the children are drafted to various cheap labour markets.

Particularly stimulating was the discussion on the attitude of the various churches towards Eiselen-De Vos Malan schooling. The apparent differences of the churches with the Minister of Native Affairs on the question of the transfer of African schools had ceased almost completely and most of them were now operating the system of Eiselen schooling. It was clear from the statements made by various church leaders that they were concerned about the consequences of the social changes which were evident today in the colonial countries. Despite their criticism of doctrinaire *apartheid*, the church leaders were hostile towards the political aspirations of the oppressed people.

WEDNESDAY, 29th JUNE: MORNING SESSION

Section II (b): The Ideological Control of the Child: "Bantuisied" School Courses: Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys: Moedertaalonderwys

An excellent session. Telegrams were read from C.A.T.A. and T.I.C.T.A. A well-documented introduction with liberal quotations from original sources was delivered by Mr. E. Steenveld.

C.N.O. was characterised as being the articles of faith of the three Afrikaans churches combined with a narrow chauvinism summed up by the phrases "liefde vir alles wat ons eie is" and "God willed separate nations and peoples, and He gave each separate nation and people its special vocation, tasks and gifts", operating through schools that would be "not church schools, but schools of a definite Dutch Reformed character" with "die moedertaal as die basis van alle onderwys en opvoeding".

Its purpose was to "mould" every White child into a "Christian" and a national citizen. For the Non-White (as expressed by the first instalment—the Bantuisied Lower Primary Course) it has to be proof "against his own heathen ideology and all sorts of foreign ideologies" while equipping him to meet

the demands which the economic life of S.A. will impose upon him" and therefore the ability "to speak and understand both official languages" would be necessary, religious instruction fundamental, and *moedertaal* instruction essential.

A speaker from the floor, showing the basic similarity between C.N.O. and the doctrines of other churches, in passing referred to certain significant omissions from the R.I. Bantuised Syllabus, such as Genesis, Chapter 7, the Sermon on the Mount (this evoked a special reply from the N.A.D. in Pretoria, editorial comment in a leading Transvaal weekly, and various letters to editors!) and the Parable of the Rich Man.

Another speaker demonstrated how the ideological control of education changed as the needs of the rulers changed. He traced the evolution from the slave schools that had to break the rebellious spirit of the slaves, through the mission schools and the schools that taught servility and dignity of labour to the dispossessed tribalists, the emphasis on educational training in the period of the development of the mines, the shift of emphasis to discipline (Cape Coloured Commission's Report, 1937) with the growth of liberatory ideas amongst the oppressed to the slave schools of the Eiselen-De Vos Malan era.

Two speakers in Afrikaans showed how *moedertaalonderrig* was a weapon of the Afrikaner struggle for political supremacy now being used to stunt the political development of the Non-White. It was necessary, they said, to combat the whole *apartheid*-Black inferiority ideology that pervaded all Afrikaans literature and publications, not only to expunge obscene words.

On Wednesday afternoon there was no session at the Zionist Hall. The first of the Discussion Courses was held at St. Phillip's School. It dealt with the Group Areas Act and organisational tasks. It was very well attended and members discussed many theoretical and practical problems they have to face in their field-work.

THURSDAY, 30th JUNE: MORNING SESSION

Section III: Conditions of Service and the Control of the Non-European Teacher

For this session, too, the hall and gallery were well filled.

The President explained that the introducer, Mr. J. F. Bosch, had posted his paper to headquarters, but it had "disappeared" in the post. The introducer had had to prepare a fresh introduction between Conference sessions. Mr. Bosch dealt with the rôle assigned to the teacher in the new scheme of things—in the classroom to fashion the uncomplaining slave and in the community to create an atmosphere favourable to the acceptance of *Herrenvolk* ideas and values.

The radical change in outlook and orientation

undergone by teachers over the last decade was in direct conflict with this envisaged rôle and therefore teachers already in service were to be dragooned into the service of Eiselen-De Vos Malan indoctrination by the conditions of service and the Education Ordinance Amendment. Ultimately teachers would be specially nurtured, trained and moulded by the training institutions to serve these functions.

A speaker from the floor, speaking in Afrikaans, said that it was universally accepted that the task of the teacher was to inculcate an attitude of social responsibility and a spirit of inquiry in his pupils, and to impart universal standards to them. It would be unprofessional conduct for a teacher *not* to do this, amended ordinance notwithstanding.

Another speaker said that because we regard our children as human beings equal to other human beings we had necessarily to impart this awareness to them.

Another Afrikaans speaking delegate said there was very little that was "new" in the Ordinance. It was an intensification and streamlining of the old measures. It was a *bangmaak* policy. The policy of the T.L.S.A. was correct, and because it was correct there could be no turning back.

He was supported by a speaker who said that the administration hoped that the amended ordinance, directed against the T.L.S.A., would have the same result as the amendment directed against "certain school committees" where the Administrator could say that it was not necessary to sack any school committee because they had become "reasonable".

This speaker effectively dealt with the administration's allegation that the League was communist. He said that a certain M.P.C. had shown what was meant when he said that members of the T.L.S.A. taught the children "*om na volle gelykheid te streef*". The Administrator himself admitted that there was only one "communist" (in the teaching profession in the Cape) in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

At this stage the discussion was adjourned until after the introduction to the next section of the theme.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Section IV: The Control of the Parent: Bantu Authorities: "School Committees": "School Boards": Special Taxation

During the afternoon session Mr. R. O. Dudley introduced the discussion on "The Control of the Parent". The burden of the introduction was that the ruling classes were planning the removal of the Non-European peoples from spheres where their economic, political and cultural needs and aspirations could be satisfied only *wisbin* the boundaries of modern industrialised society and the creation of separate societies with cultures based on quasi-

religious foundations. He described the Eiselen schooling system as a brainwashing to make such a society possible. Stating that equality was the choice of the Non-Europeans themselves, Mr. Dudley examined the principle of "Cash, Competence and Consent" laid down by the Eiselen system, and showed how special taxation, special conditions for subsidies, the working of Local Authority School Committees and Boards, the acceptance of inferiority and "Bantu culture", the establishment of organisations by the people themselves for the propagation of Bantu/Coloured culture were all part of that principle. Speaking of the parallel efforts to prevent the growth of an industrial proletariat and to inveigle parents into working the Bantu Education Act, Mr. Dudley said that in that process the new system would engulf the lives of the Non-Europeans, block all roads to modern civilisation and leave open only those leading to the new societies.

The discussion following dealt with the papers of both Mr. Bosch and Mr. Dudley. Valuable contributions were made by very many delegates. The main points raised were that teachers and parents had an important common task to perform, that teachers should not take their standing with the parents for granted, that inherent in the control of teachers and parents were widespread propaganda and devices by the State to drive a wedge between teachers and parents and to turn one against the other. Conscientious, intelligent teaching methods were required for our work amongst both parents and pupils, for we were faced with the task of bringing both parents and pupils on our side—or would we find them on the *Herrenvolk's* side.

This part of the theme brought out more clearly than ever before the vital rôle of parent-teacher co-operation, and the discussion was robust, full of vitality and really bracing.

THURSDAY EVENING: CENTRAL MUSIC FESTIVAL, CITY HALL, CAPE TOWN

Tickets had been sold out days before. It stormed, but the Grand Hall was crowded out. The Festival, reported elsewhere in this issue, was acclaimed "as an outstanding success."

FRIDAY, 1st JULY: MORNING AND AFTER-NOON SESSIONS

Section V: The Content and Control of Education in a Democratic Society: Our Demands

Mr. B. M. Kies introduced the final section of the theme and set himself the task of answering the question: "What do we mean when we say we want a democratic system of education in a democratic South Africa?" Regarding our demands as a matter of the dynamics of the struggle, he stated our fundamental educational demands in relation to fundamental changes in the broad struggle as outlined and analysed under the previous sections of the theme.

On the basis of the League's aims as set forth in

Clause 2 of the Constitution, and of the 10-point programme of the Non-European Unity Movement, the introducer sketched the more fundamental political, economic, educational, social and cultural changes which would be effected by the democratisation of South Africa. He began and ended with the insistence that our demands are not merely *ends*: they are the *means* to those ends, the practical programme of our active daily struggles.

The first speaker to discuss this section (incidentally, the only woman speaker at Conference—except for the discussion courses) strongly supported the section in which Mr. Kies had shown the great importance of the nursery, preparatory and primary school teachers in the process of bringing about a democracy in South Africa. The discussion continued after the luncheon interval. This was one of the most eloquently discussed sections of the theme. Important points raised were that the whole process of South African and world change should be regarded as dynamic and not static or mechanically following a rigid pattern or time-table, that we are not interested in any form of "parallelism" but want a unified system for the nation considered as *one*, that we are not merely fighting against an Eiselen-De Vos Malan system but FOR democratic education in a democratic society, and that the S.A. *Herrenvolk*—when seen against the world background, were not as strong as they claimed or might appear to be.

Various changes to the Constitution, considered necessary because of changed and changing conditions under which our work has to be carried on, were approved without controversial discussion. (The changes appear elsewhere in this issue.)

Mr. H. E. Strydom, Convener of the Music Festival, delivered a brief report on the previous evening's festival.

The President announced that the N.E.U.M. Report was considered an internal matter and would be considered by the Executive meeting on the following Monday.

On a late motion, Conference passed a resolution disapproving of the formation of a separate Anglican Teachers' Association; in the same way, the T.L.S.A. has previously disapproved of other sectarian, denominational teachers' organisations.

The Rev. D. M. Wessels and the Rev. D. S. Kroneberg, a life member, presided over the induction of the President and the other officials. Conference closed in traditional manner, with the singing of the Doxology.

On the following evening a very successful dance was held in the Grand Hall, City Hall.

The Discussion Courses continued on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the following week. They were the most successful the T.L.S.A. has ever organised. There were never fewer than 100 members at a session.

FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

RETIRED TEACHERS

Clause 3(b) has been amended to read as follows: "Teacher-members who retire, or who retire on pension from active service, or who leave the service, shall be eligible for full teacher membership of the League, and shall be entitled to the rights and privileges accorded to teacher-members in service."

LIFE MEMBERS

Clause 13(b) has been amended by the deletion of the words: "... but shall not be eligible for office, or serve on the Executive."

Clause 13(e) has been amended by the deletion of the words: "... and his written reply requested within a given period."

CONFERENCE MINUTES

The former Clause 9(h) has been deleted and the following is the new 9(h): "The reading of the Minutes of Conference proceedings shall be heard by a special committee consisting of a member of the Secretariat as Convener, the Conference Recorders elected by the Executive, and such other members as Conference may choose to elect; this committee shall report on the correctness or otherwise of the Minutes to the Executive which shall finally confirm the minutes."

INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS

Kindly note that the subscriptions of teacher members and pensioners have been increased by 2/6, this amount to be earmarked for the Provident Fund. Conference has made the increase retrospective to 1st June, 1955, so that your Branch must collect the additional 2/6 from every full member and pensioner who up to date has paid at the old rate. All members who pay from now on must pay the additional 2/6. Stickers with the new rates on them are available; these could be pasted to any old forms in your possession. If you require additional forms with the new rates on them please let me know. **The arrear half-crowns must be collected and sent to me by not later than AUGUST 31st.** If your Branch has, say, 30 paid-up full members then you owe us 30 half-crowns. Keep your own records, merely send us the total sum due. If you have any subscriptions in your possession that have been paid at the old rate please add the 2/6 in each case when you remit the amount.

A. FATAAR, General Secretary.

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