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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES LEADING TO THE NATIONALIST APARTHEID PHILOSOPHY OF BANTU EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES LEADING TO THE NATIONALIST

APARTHEID PHILOSOPHY OF BANTU EDUCATION

IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES LEADING TO THE NATIONALIST APARTHEID PHILOSOPHY OF BANTU EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The South African racial policies have become popular subjects for writers in recent years. Apartheid's being somewhat of a political and social anomaly in the mid-twentieth century accounts for much of its popularity as a subject for books and newspaper articles.

Despite the great volume of literature dealing with South Africa, however, it is difficult to find evidences of genuine efforts at understanding the cultural forces that have resulted in the policy of White supremacy. Indeed, one must search this literature in order to find either the faintest indications of any degree of objectivity, or any efforts at explaining why the majority of white South Africans think as they do.

On its face, the policy of apartheid appears to be nothing more than an effort on the part of a white minority to suppress and dominate a black majority. While this view may be in some ways technically correct, it is a distorting overgeneralization.

Since 1954, Bantu education in South Africa has been primarily controlled by the Nationalist Government and directed along apartheid

lines.[1] Within the framework of this racial policy, educational policy has been geared toward Bantu traditional culture with a view toward establishing a society within which Black and White are almost totally segregated. It is claimed by the Nationalists that education should assist Bantu people in the development of their own semi-autonomous society, such development beginning from the "natural" basis of Bantu tribal tradition.

Opponents of Nationalist Bantu education policy claim that the Government is in fact trying to suppress the Bantu by providing educational opportunity that trains them to be nothing more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The Problem

It is not the purpose of this study to cast judgment on the Bantu educational program of South Africa; nor is it the primary purpose of this study to describe the administrative or curricular aspects of the program. Rather, this paper represents an effort to trace the complex cultural development of the major interest groups in South Africa as it relates to the racial attitudes reflected in the Nationalist Government's philosophy of Bantu education. While the analysis specifically deals with Bantu education, it, in a broader sense, cannot be separated from the overall question of South African racial attitudes.

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[1] Initially referred to as "kaffirs," then as "Natives," the Blacks in South Africa came to be referred to as "Bantu" during the period from 1910 to 1940. The designation is taken from the anthropological name for the general language group within which fall the native Africans living in South Africa (Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa [3rd. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1962], p. vi).

The hypothesis may be stated as follows: The segregation-oriented, White-supremist program of Bantu education in South Africa is the explainable result of over three hundred years of cultural development during which religious, political, and economic forces have instilled in the ruling Afrikaner a nationalistic spirit of self-preservation. It is believed that an investigation of the validity of this hypothesis will provide the student of South African Bantu education with the essential understanding of the motivations underlying apartheid.

The Method

The historical method will be used for this area study. As previously indicated, many of the secondary sources are of little value because of the strong biases of the authors. A good example of this type of biased writing is the chapter dealing with South Africa in Peter Ritner's book The Death of Africa.[2] Other examples, but in the area of fiction, are the books written by Alan Paton and Stuart Cloete.

On the other hand, some highly objective scientific studies about South African problems have been published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a nonprofit, voluntary association of people concerned with improving racial relations in South Africa. While the members of the Institute are generally in opposition to Nationalist policies, most of the research sponsored is objective and accurate. The work of Muriel Horrell, of the Institute, is especially helpful in the area of recent Bantu education history.

In the general areas of early Bantu education history and South

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[2]Peter Ritner, The Death of Africa (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960).

African history in general, A. Victor Murray's The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of Native Education in Africa and Leo Marquard's The Peoples and Policies of South Africa provide excellent secondary sources.[3] Murray's book has come to be considered in South Africa as a classic work so far as early mission education is concerned. Marquard, who is a South African, has written an analytical history of the country which appears not to be influenced by group loyalties, e.g., Afrikaner, English-speaking White, Bantu. This is not the case with many historical sources.

Heavy reliance will be placed on the impressions received and the information obtained during the author's visit to South Africa from March through November in 1962 on a Rotary Fellowship; and the stay during June, July, and August of 1964, which was for the specific purpose of doing research for this paper. The Rotary Fellowship program provided extensive opportunities to become acquainted with the racial attitudes of South Africans in the various opinion groups while, at the same time, providing the opportunity to learn something about South African problems by attending lectures on economics and social anthropology at the University of Cape Town. The lectures by H. M. Robertson, Professor of Economics, and Monica Wilson, Professor of Social Anthropology, were particularly educational.

During the period of research in 1964, a considerable amount of secondary reference material was gathered from private individuals, various associations, such as the South African Institute of Race Relations and its

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[3] A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938) and Leo Marquard, op. cit.

counterpart the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (S.A.B.R.A.). In addition, both secondary and primary materials were obtained from libraries, the Government Archives in Pretoria, the South African Department of Information, and various bookstores. Especially useful among the materials gathered will be the copies of reports of the various government commissions which have studied Bantu education at various times.

Use will be made of the information obtained from personal interviews held with administrators in the Department of Bantu Education, and with inspectors and teachers in Bantu schools and colleges. In addition to the interviews, use will be made of information obtained when classes were visited at several Bantu primary and secondary schools and at two of the three Bantu colleges.

The Approach

The attitudes that have resulted in the current social conflicts in South Africa have been developing for over three centures, during which time several distinct national unities have developed within the boundaries of what is now the Republic of South Africa. In order to explain the racial attitudes within today's complex South African society, it will be necessary to trace the history -- especially the political history -- of the three key population groups: the Afrikaners, the English-speaking Whites, and the Bantu. In addition, it will be necessary to consider the nature of traditional Bantu culture and the effects upon this culture resulting from contact with the Europeans. In the consideration of European influences on Bantu culture, special attention will be given to the effectiveness of the early mission schools in educating the Bantu.

With a general understanding of the effect of historical forces on racial attitudes, it will be possible in Chapter III to turn attention to the racial policy of apartheid, the policy of the predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist Party which has been in power since 1948. An effort will be made to use the policy statements of Nationalist leaders along with an examination of race legislation to gain an understanding of the attitudes that underlie apartheid.

Chapter IV will be an effort to relate racial attitudes of the Afrikaner as reflected in apartheid to education in general, and then to Bantu education in particular. The reflection of the apartheid philosophy in the views concerning Bantu education will be sought, among other ways, through an examination of the parliamentary debates which preceded the passage of the Bantu Education Act which transferred the control of such education from the provinces to the Central Government.[4] Also in Chapter IV, a brief look will be taken at the administration of Bantu education since 1954.

Chapter V will be an effort to summarize the findings of the study in order to test the validity of the hypothesis.

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[4]Union of South Africa, Bantu Education Act, Act No. 47 of 1953, amended; as reproduced in Gordon Davis, Urban Native Law, Acts and regulations reproduced under Government Printer's copyright authority, (Port Elizabeth: Grotius Publications, 1959), pp. 558-564.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

General Historical Background

The present-day South African social structure has its origin in the mid-seventeenth century when African tribes were migrating from central and eastern Africa into what is now the northeastern part of the Republic. The non-Negroid aborigines of southern Africa, the Khoi-Khoin and the Bushmen, lived primitive lives, the two groups often fighting each other.

In 1652, Jan van Riebeck, an officer in the Dutch East India Company, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, with orders to establish a refreshment station for Dutch merchant ships on their way around the Cape.[1] He was asked by the Company officials to confine his activities to provide fresh vegetables and meat for these ships without disturbing the indigenous inhabitants.

Resenting the strangers who were taking over some of their land, the Khoi-Khoin, being a primitive, pastoral society, often stole from or attacked the Dutch.[2] As a result of two short wars, however, the Khoi-Khoin were forced to accept the new settlers and, in time, became employees of the Dutch either as servants or as farm workers.

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[1] Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 3.

[2] The derisory term applied to these people by the Dutch was "Hottentot."

The other indigenous group, the Bushmen, were a pygmy-like people with a stone-age culture, based on hunting with poisoned arrows. Being culturally and intellectually inferior to both the European newcomers and the Khoi-Khoin, the Bushmen gradually disappeared from the Cape. They became almost extinct, though a few Bushmen can still be found in Southwest Africa.

Although the Dutch East India Company settled at the Cape primarily to provide supplies for merchant ships, van Riebeck soon thought it necessary to bring in free colonists to establish farms and to assist the Company with its assigned task. In the 1680's, Simon van der Stel, who succeeded van Riebeck, began bringing more and more immigrants to the Cape. As a result of this immigration, the town of Stellenbosch, located a few miles east of Cape Town, was established by French Hugenot, Dutch, and German settlers.[3]

Two factors resulted in the emergence of a colored population group. The need for labor on the Cape farms was met by slaves being brought in from Java and Madagascar in 1657; and during succeeding years miscegenation between the slaves and the non-Negroids resulted in the beginnings of the Colored population at the Cape.[4] In addition, because of a shortage of European women, van Riebeck encouraged

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[3]About two hundred of the Hugenots arrived during the period from 1688 through 1700. D. Hobart Houghton, The South African Economy (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 2.

[4]It is interesting to note that the first appearance of Negroid people among the European inhabitants of southern Africa resulted in part from the importation of slaves from outside the African continent.

intermarriage between the black and the white races.[5] According to the 1960 census, Colored numbered 1,509,000, and they are today defined as a legally distinct non-European ethnic unit in South Africa even though their cultural background is common with that of most Europeans.[6]

By 1708, the Cape Colony had about 3,400 inhabitants, divided almost evenly between Europeans and non-Europeans. But colonization continued at a rather slow rate, as compared with the rate of migration to the American continent. The Company remained opposed to any major increases in the population of the Cape, and by 1740 the total white population was only 5,500, with 1,500 of these being officials of the Company and their families.[7]

Expansion of the Frontier and the Encounter with Bantu-speaking Africans

Despite a Company policy to the contrary, some colonists began to push farther inland to occupy the free veld, which was well suited to raising cattle. These farmers became known as trekboere, meaning semi-nomadic pastoralists. As a result of this geographic expansion, along with the slow rate of immigration, the small white population became dispersed. The white frontiersman led an isolated life that instilled in him a strong desire for total independence from "outside" authority. Although he was living at little more than a subsistence

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[5] A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa (2nd ed.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), p. 27.

[6] Houghton, op. cit., p. 33.

[7] Ibid., p. 2., and Marquard, op. cit., p. 4.

level, his isolated farm made him economically self-sufficient while at the same time forced him to provide for his own security against hostile forces.

In order to explain the trekboere's attitude toward non-Europeans, one must look at Calvinism as it is found in the Dutch Reformed Churches. In his The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of Native Education in Africa, A. Victor Murray discusses the effect of Dutch theology on the Boer's racial philosophy.[8]

> A Calvinistic doctrine of election, and a verbal inspirationist view of the Scriptures which went along with it, characterized Dutch theology, and easily lent itself to a rigid division of classes and races . . . To the Dutch Calvinist the coloured races were of the 'perishing progeny of Ham,' and the Old Testament religion of those days sanctioned a complete denial of the human rights of any races outside the pale of divine election.[9]

This religious interpretation of racial worth, along with the paternalistic Boer family, provided the framework for the trekboere's attitudes.

After some 50 years, the colonial government, through the organization of local administration in the outlying areas of the colony, caught up with the frontiersmen. By this time the attitudes of the trekkers, or trekboere, toward government regulations and taxation had become increasingly hostile; and, as a result of this hostility, strong resentment grew over what they considered to be infringements on their natural liberties.[10] As a result of this resentment, they continued to move farther east until the last quarter of the eighteenth

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[8]"Boer," the Dutch word meaning "farmer," came to be used in English to refer specifically to the Dutch-descent South African farmer.

[9]Murray, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[10]Marquard, op. cit., p. 5.

century when they encountered African tribes, who had been moving gradually south and west from the Natal and Transkeian areas. The line of Boer-African encounter was at the Great Fish River which extends southeast across the eastern part of the present boundaries of the Cape province.

The origin of these Africans whom the Boer encountered was in the equatorial areas of Eastern Africa, where Negroes from the Congo and West Africa had mixed with Hamitics to form the Bantu language-group tribes. Tribal wars, along with other forces such as growing population pressures, caused these tribes to migrate southward during the succeeding centuries until, in the middle of the eighteenth century, some of these tribes had reached the Great Fish River.[11]

The vanguard of the Bantu migrants was the Xhosa tribe. As with the white frontiersmen, cattle played an important role in their social organization, generally speaking, and a key role in their economy. More culturally advanced than the Khoi-Khoin, the Xhosa traditionally cultivated land in addition to raising cattle, thus making their society more semi-nomadic than nomadic.[12] Their social organization was well defined in terms of kinship patterns along with associated codes of behavior and authority, the latter culminating in the office of the paramount chief.[13] Because the Xhosa were formidable military opponents of the trekkers, there followed a long period of border clashes between the two groups.

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[11] Marquard, op. cit., p. 6.

[12] Houghton, op. cit., p. 4.

[13] Union of South Africa. Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. No. 53/1951 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), p. 12. Traditional Bantu culture is considered in more detail later in this chapter.

British Occupation of the Cape

In 1795, about the time the Fish River encounter was becoming violent, the British occupied the Cape at the invitation of the Dutch king. Napoleon's invasion was keeping Holland too busy to be concerned with governing its distant settlement in Africa. With the Treaty of Amiens in 1803, however, the Cape was returned to Dutch control. Without invitation, the British in 1806 reoccupied the Cape, which was formally ceded to them under the general European peace settlement of 1814. When the British took control for this second and final time, the Cape was an area of 80,000 square miles with the Fish River as its eastern boundary.[14]

In hopes of eliminating some of the severe post-war unemployment in Britain and, at the same time, of providing a bulwark against the Bantu on the eastern frontier of their new colony, the new rulers undertook a program for the emigration of English people. Thus, 168 years after the Dutch arrived, the first significant appearance of British settlers occurred with the arrival of 5,000 of them at the eastern part of the Cape. With their arrival, all but one of the present-day population groups of South Africa became clearly defined: Dutch-origin Whites, British-origin Whites, Cape Coloreds, and the Bantu-speaking Africans.[15]

But the British rule of the Cape is significant for another reason. The Boers had never liked being regulated by the Dutch colonial authorities, but they liked even less the new British colonial rule. In addition to imposing central government control, the British brought

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[14] Houghton, op. cit., p. 4.

[15] It was not until the 1860's that the owners of sugar plantations in Natal brought in Indian indentured labor which marked the beginnings of the fifth population category, "the Asians" (Marquard, op. cit., p. 85.).

with them strong liberal ideas about racial equality and freeing slaves, ideas totally incomprehensible to the majority of the Boers. Murray has this to say about the conflicting philosophy of the British settlers concerning racial equality and slavery:

> The British had a different tradition . . . /from the Dutch/ . . . the French Revolution had produced on the one hand a romantic humanitarianism which blended well with the doctrine of 'free grace' of the Evangelical Revival, and on the other hand, by reaction, a suspicion of the popular movements. The Industrial Revolution glorified the work of men's hands, and made industry a means by which a man might wrest the secrets of nature from her.[16]

In 1834, the British abolished slavery in the Empire, which of course included the Cape.

Added to their intense dislike for the new racial policies, the Boers disapproved when the British declared the English language to be the only official language, a decision which continues to affect the thinking of many Dutch-descent South Africans.[17]

British rule being intolerable to them and the Bantu people to the east of the Fish River being formidable enemies the Boers began the Great Trek in the 1830's. Going north in order to avoid the Bantu territories, they trekked across the Orange River and into what is now called the Orange Free State. From there, one group, under the leadership of Piet Retief, travelled east toward the present province of Natal. There was a violent encounter with the Zulu, during which Retief was killed, but the trekkers were victorious and established Pietermaritzburg as the capital of their new republic. The only other Europeans in the

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[16]Murray, op. cit., p. 28.

[17]Marquard, op. cit., p. 9.

area at the time were English traders who had founded the small village of Durban at the Natal harbor in 1824. Relations between the two white groups were good.[18]

The native unrest which resulted from the Zulu encounter spread to the Cape borders. This unrest, along with the economic competition that was feared might develop between the Natal Harbor and the harbor at Cape Town, resulted in the Cape Governor's persuading the British government to annex Natal in 1843.

After annexation, some of the angry trekkers moved back over the Drakensburg mountains, then westward into the present Transvaal and Orange Free State areas. With little economic incentive to govern the territories involved, the British government formally withdrew all claims to both areas at the Sand River Convention of 1852, and the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854.[19] Hence, the two areas were established as independent Boer republics with constitutions that provided for the Boers to settle on vast tracts of land, often at the expense of the traditional land rights of the Africans. For the moment, the Boer was able to live free of hated outside interference.

Continued Boer-British Friction and the Anglo-Boer War

Several factors caused growing friction between the Boer and British interests: (1) the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1870, (2) the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand,[20] (3) the imperialistic policies

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[18] The State of South Africa, 1964 (Johannesburg: De Gamma Publications Ltd., 1964), p. 17.

[19] Marquard, op. cit., p. 12.

[20] The Witswatersrand is a 1,000 square-mile strip of land in the southern Transvaal near Johannesburg. The area is often referred to simply as the "Rand."

of Britain as epitomized by Cecil Rhodes, and (4) the general status quo attitude of the agricultural, independent Boer republics.

The Cape Colony had been granted representative government in 1853, and full responsible government in 1872. Beginning in 1848, when the Cape was still under full British rule, the territory between the old Fish River boundary and the Natal boundary had been annexed, and European magistrates had been placed in charge of these Bantu areas. British missionaries had begun their work among the Bantu by establishing missions, schools, and hospitals.[21]

In 1895, the suspicion of the leaders in the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics, resulting from this continual territorial expansion of the Cape, was confirmed. In that year, the Jameson Raid occurred, being no less than a devious military effort on the part of Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape, to seize political control of the Transvaal Republic. An immediate failure because of poor planning, the raid was nonetheless an important factor leading to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899.[22]

From the first, the outcome of this war was predictable -- the two tiny Boer republics, joined in alliance fighting against the British Empire. In 1902, after a relatively short but valiant fight, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were made subject to the Empire. With the election of a Liberal Government in Britain, however, the two former republics were granted responsible government in 1906 and 1907. Also, the Dutch language was recognized as being officially equal to English. The question of the African franchise was deferred.

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[21] Marquard, op. cit., p. 16.

[22] Houghton, op. cit., p. 5.

In 1910, the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State were joined together to form the Union of South Africa under a central form of government, with the administrative capital at Pretoria in the Transvaal and the legislative capital at Cape Town. Then in 1931, the Union was recognized as a sovereign and independent member of the British Commonwealth by the Statute of Westminister. Thirty years later, on May 31, 1961, the Union became a republic and withdrew from the Commonwealth.[23]

Despite this subsequent political unity of English-descent South Africans, the Anglo-Boer War has embittered many Dutch-descended people in the country. To these people, the War was simply one more link in the chain of unforgivable events that stretched back to 1795 and always aimed at the destruction of their cherished Afrikanerdom.[24] British thought and action had been a constant threat to the vital elements of the Boers' national cohesion, for example, their language, their concept of destiny and related racial views, their independent agricultural way of life, and their rigid Calvanistic religious views. In the minds of many Afrikaners, all elements of their unity had been in constant jeopardy in the face of liberal British thought and modern British industrialism.[25] To these people, political union would never mean the loss of their cherished Afrikaner national unity.

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[23]Houghton, op. cit., p. 6.

[24]The word "Afrikaner" refers to the individual with Boer ancestors who associates himself with trekker traditions.

[25]Even today, the scorched earth strategy of the British and the woefully inadequately provisioned concentration camps, established to house the Boer refugees during the War, are vividly remembered by many Afrikaners. But these more specific elements are merely outward signs of the deep-seated bitterness that exists between considerable numbers of people in the two European language groups.

The psychological schism between the European language groups is evident today in practically all phases of South African life. At one extreme, Afrikaner speeches may well include comments about the suspected mixture of ground glass in the porridge of the women and children in the British concentration camps during the War. At the other extreme, some English-speaking South Africans are capable of scathing accusations of inhuman Afrikaner brutality toward the Bantu; or of supposed Afrikaner disrespect for parliamentary government and the rule of law when these appear to him to be threats to achieving his purposes. Between these extremes are seemingly limitless variations on the same themes. It is only the fairly recent threat of possible Bantu enfranchisement, a threat viewed as stemming mostly from outside the country, that seems to make a somewhat united White front of opinion possible.

The following quotations have been selected to illustrate the extreme variance of viewpoints concerning the Afrikaner National and his attitude toward the Bantu. In the first quotation, Afrikaner nationalism is referred to as a "tribal tyranny" geared toward the bondage of the Bantu; while in the second, Afrikaner attitudes toward Bantu are considered totally secondary to a natural desire to conserve a cultural heritage--a desire common to all national groups.

> The point that needs to be made . . . is that Afrikanerdom is not now, and never was, a 'nation.' It is a tribe, whose sole principle of unity all along has been the securing of the proper conditions in which to work its will on the African. And during the whole history of the community it has resisted every temptation to assess itself at more or less than this. The Great Trek was not the tempering of martyrs that Afrikaner myth makes it out to be. It is merely the last, if the largest, chapter of the escape drama of the tribe into the solitudes, a drama that had commenced 150 years earlier with small groups of Afrikaners fashioning their tribal tyranny in the face of the opposition of their own ruling classes. And by the time the

> British occupied the Cape the Afrikaner tyranny had come more and more to depend on a single, immovable pin: in the words of an Afrikaner pronunciamento of 1795, the African's 'bondage from generation to generation.'[26]

In contrast:

> At the root of the separate development program lies the nationalism . . . of the Afrikaner volk. It is indeed an error to see apartheid as expressive only of an attitude of the white man toward the black. For nationalism as such is not a question of color feeling, and it is nationalism, rather than racialism, that the honest inquirer has basically to comprehend. . . . It is easy for the foreigner to deride a nationalism which he does not share; but nowhere in human history has nationalism ever been destroyed by foreign scorn. Admittedly, Afrikaner nationalism is a form of collective selfishness; but to say this is simply to say that it is an authentic case of nationalism. For what is nationalism anywhere if not collective self-love? What underlies apartheid is at bottom an attitude not toward the black man, but toward the forefathers--and the future--of the Afrikaner people. It is to these that a responsibility is felt, to conserve a cultural heritage in defense of which white men fought against white men from 1899 to 1902.[27]

The Development of South African Political Alignments

For a better understanding of the structure of South African society, it will be necessary to trace the evolution of the major political parties that have developed since the Act of Union. As can be seen from the historical patterns of events already considered, no pervading social philosophy has arisen to create a generally common philosophical groundwork within the ruling white class. Political differences of opinion run deep into the society yielding severe controversy on practically all social issues.

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[26]Peter Ritner, The Death of Africa (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960), p. 32.

[27]Charles A. W. Manning, "South Africa and the World in Defenseoof Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review (October, 1964), p. 140.

The Act of Union, therefore, did little more than to establish a central form of government. Whereas the nationalism of the Afrikaner, beginning with the first clashes with the East India Company, had been geared toward independence and isolation, the Anglo-Boer War had proved it impossible for them to achieve independence. As has been pointed out, however, this realization that political independence could not be achieved, by no means meant that the convintionas of the Afrikaner nationalist had died. The English were still to be reckoned with. The Act of the Union, when considered in this light, had the single effect of pulling this struggle for national identity into the framework of a single parliamentary political system.

The first Union cabinet was formed by Louis Botha, an Afrikaner general in the War. He had been elected leader of the provincial Afrikaner parties of the Transvaal, the Free State, and the Cape, the three having elected 66 members to the Assembly in the 1910 election. These three parties were later consolidated into the South African Party. The predominately English Unionist Party got 39 seats in the first election, some candidates in Natal having run on independent tickets.[28]

The English-Afrikaner conciliation policy that Botha developed proved highly unpopular, however, with the Afrikaners in both the Free State and the Transvaal. As a result, these groups formed the Nationalist Party in 1912 under the leadership of Hertzog. The overall purpose of this new party was to prevent the destruction of Afrikaner identity, and its members were, therefore, concerned with the political implications of the growing Afrikaans language--a language which had been gradually evolving

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[28]Marquard, op. cit., p. 154.

from the original Dutch under the influence of the Huguenots, the English, and the indigenous groups. Another important factor leading to the establishment of this new party was the growing "South Africa first" attitude of many Afrikaners toward the British Commonwealth.[29]

With the death of Botha in 1919, another politically moderate Afrikaner general, Jan Smuts, became leader of the South African Party and Prime Minister of the Union. The ineffective economic policy of the Smuts government after World War I proved a successful campaign issue for the Nationalists in the 1920 election and thereby enabled them to gain a majority of the seats in Parliament. Smuts, however, was able to form a loose coalition with the Unionists which made it possible for him to remain Prime Minister. As an Afrikaner, Smuts did not appear to be anxious to establish a formal alliance with the predominantly English Unionist party; but the growing differences between the Nationalist and South African parties over the question of secession from the Empire, along with certain other differences about policy, made combination with the Unionists a logical step for Smuts. The two parties formally merged and agreed to be called the South African Party, with Smuts as its leader.

The newly formed party did not however retain control of the government for long. In 1922, white miners instigated what turned out to be a violent strike against their Rand employers. To meet the post-war labor shortage, the mine owners had announced a policy of encouraging the employment of more Africans in skilled work resulting in Smuts' calling out the Defense Force to suppress the strike. Because of this act, the small socialist Labor Party considered him to be a puppet of the capitalists,

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[29]Marquard, op. cit., p. 155.

while the Nationalists believed that his strike action indicated support for the industrialists' employment policies, which to the Nationalists were threats to the white race. Being somewhat a freak of circumstances, a coalition was formed between the Labor Party and the Nationalist Party after the 1924 election. This combination was strong enough to form a majority in Parliament and a new government was formed with the Nationalist Hertzog as Prime Minister. One of Hertzog's first actions was to place the Afrikaans' language in an official status equal to English and Dutch.

From the outset, many Afrikaners did not like the idea of a Pact Government, as it was called, formed by Nationalist combination with a predominantly English-speaking party whose members had liberal ideas. The resulting intra-party friction increased as a result of what some more strongly nationalistic members considered to be pro-Empire policies and activities of the Hertzog government.

As a result, for the same general reason that Hertzog had left the Botha group, the influencial Afrikaner leader, Malan now pulled out of the Hertzog group to form the "purified" Nationalist Party.[30] Deserted by a considerable number of supporters, Hertzog believed it necessary to join his now generally more moderate group with Smuts' South African Party to form the United South African Party, generally known today as the United Party.[31] Although Hertzog still favored republicanism, as opposed to Smuts' supporting Commonwealth membership, he was now convinced that total independence from Britain would have to wait until English-speaking South Africans were ready to accept it.

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[30]Marquard, op. cit., p. 28.

[31]The State of South Africa, 1964 (Johannesburg: De Gama Publications Ltds., 1964), p. 26.

Nevertheless, the Hertzog-Smuts alliance was an uneasy one and ended with the failure to reach party accord over the question of South African participation in the Second World War. Smuts could see no course other than to form an alliance with Britain, while Hertzog and his followers because of their basic nationalism, were totally opposed to "fighting Britain's war."[32] Smuts won a narrow victory over Hertzog in 1939 when the Assembly voted 80 to 67 in favor of a declaration of war against Germany. As a result of this dramatic defeat, Hertzog withdrew from the United Party to join the Opposition.[33]

Many Afrikaners had hoped that a Smuts-Hertzog split would result in reuniting of the Afrikaner political groupings. But Hertzog's republicanism was still based on a hope for gradual acceptance by the English-speaking people, while Malan's republicanism was becoming, more than ever, one of Afrikaner political domination. Although for a short time an opposition group was formed by an alliance between Hertzog and Malan called the Hereigde Nasionale of Volksparty, Hertzog and his lieutenant Havenga soon withdrew to form the Afrikaner Party.

The United Party won a substantial victory in 1943, the campaign having been fought mostly on the war issue. But after the war, the Nationalist Party began a strong campaign against the domestic policy of the Smuts government. An immigration policy--"an attempt to flood the country with unassimilable elements"--was attacked as a threat to jobs.[34]

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[32]Marquard, op. cit., p. 159.

[33]The State of South Africa, 1964 (Johannesburg: De Gama Publications, 1964), pp. 26-27.

[34]Marquard, op. cit., p. 161.

Above all, the United Party was accused of having no effective Native policy to stave off the threat that the Bantu posed to South African European civilization.

Hertzog retired from political life during the War; and the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party coalition, organized by Malan and Havenga, won the May, 1948, election. Malan became Prime Minister with Havenga as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. Then three years later, the two Afrikaner parties with Malan as leader officially joined to form Die Nasionale Party, a party which steadily increased its parliamentary majority in subsequent elections. For the first time since the Botha-Hertzog split, the predominantly Afrikaner political groups were united. Party leadership passed from Malan to Strydom in 1954, and then to the current Prime Minister, Verwoerd, in 1958. The moderate-extreme intra-party struggles led first to the election of Strydom and then to Verwoerd, both elections being won by the more extreme interest groups. The desire for Afrikaner political unity, however, has held the party intact.

The leading opposition party, the United Party, has not been able to maintain a similar cohesiveness. Four major defections have occurred. In 1953, a group led by Ballinger broke away to form the anti-White-domination Liberal Party. In the same year, a splinter group from Natal formed the Federal Party in opposition to the United Party's policy on provincial rights. A year later, a group of conservative United Party M.P.'s broke away to form the National Conservative Party. Finally, in 1959, favoring an immediate, qualified non-racial franchise, a fourth group left to form the Progressive Party. At the present time, of these

four new parties only the Progressive Party has representation in the House of Assembly. It holds one of the 160 seats.

Historical Summary

The preceding discussion of South African history has been undertaken in full recognition of the possibility of both extreme overgeneralization and injustice. Though not overabundant, source material has been selected on the basis of the apparent objectivity of the authors. It is hoped that the sources used, together with this writer's impressions and observations collected while living in South Africa, provide a framework for further consideration with as little distortion as possible.

It is clear at this point that South African society has developed in a peculiar and emotion-laden atmosphere. The prime elements of this atmosphere are not only the question of national identity, reflected in the friction within the ruling white class with the highly significant element of a nationalistic Afrikaner spirit, but also the question of the preservation of this ruling class's domination in the face of a rapidly growing non-white, particularly Bantu, population group.

It is this latter White versus non-White element, within the framework of Afrikaner nationalism, that contains the taproot of the philosophies of Bantu education that exist in the Republic today. In order to have a meaningful understanding of these often seemingly illogical philosophies, it is necessary to shift consideration from general observations to more specific observations about the Bantu people themselves. It will first be necessary to consider the nature of their traditional culture and also the social changes that have occurred during the period of contact with Western civilization. Within this context, it will then be

possible to look at the early education of the Bantu provided by the Whites. The general Bantu policies of the Nationalist government and the methods for executing these policies then will be considered preparatory to the specific discussion of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Traditional Bantu Culture: The Impact of European Civilization

As previously mentioned, the South African Bantu forms one part of the greater Bantu language group of Negroid-Hamitic tribes found in the southern part of the African continent. In discussing such a vast group of people as a unit, there is the danger of falling into the error of stereotyping--an error which is commonplace, but appears particularly general in considerations of the native African. Since this stereotyping is a danger in a cultural area study, from the outset it should be clearly noted that the South African group of Bantu people, like all groups, is made up of individuals with limitless individual distinctions. There are certain somewhat common attitudes, such as the conservatism which stems from a status quo traditional societal structure; but even here, a more liberal European influence has made its mark on many Bantu individuals.

Bantu Population and Classification in South Africa

According to estimates based on the last formal census taken in 1960, there were 10,927,922 Bantu in South Africa out of a total population of 16,002,797. The Bantu, therefore, constituted 68.3 per cent of the population with the balance being: Whites, 19.3; Coloreds,9.4; and Asians, 3.0 per cent.[35]

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[35]South African Institute of Race Relations. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. Compiled by Muriel Horrell, assisted by Mary Draper (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 74.

These nearly eleven million Bantu can be subdivided on the basis of three major categories of residence:

Urban areas	31.8 per cent
Farms owned by Whites	31.2 per cent
Bantu reserves	37.0 per cent[36]

Social anthropologists divide these Bantu people into four major ethnic groups with numerous tribal sub-groupings. The only percentage breakdowns for these groups include not only South Africa but also the Bantu populations of the three British High Commission Territories: Swaziland and Basutoland, which are both within the general borders of the Republic; and Bechuanaland, which extends north from the north-central border of the Republic.

The largest ethnic grouping in the defined area is the Nguni, numbering about five million or nearly 60 per cent of the Bantu population of the Republic and High Commission Territories. Nguni sub-groups are found in all four provinces of the Republic; but by far the two most important tribal groups are the Xhosa, in the eastern part of the Cape, and the Zulu with related tribal groups of Natal, the Free State, and southern Transvaal. These two tribal groups constitute approximately 50 per cent of the Bantu in the area defined. The Swazi and Ndebele tribes are also in the Nguni group.

The second major ethnic grouping, the Sotho, number about three million and constitute about 36 per cent of the total southern Bantu population.[37] The sub-groups are: (1) the Southern Sotho tribes of Baustoland,

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[36] Estimated by Horrell through the combined use of the National Census of 1960, and the Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production for 1959-1960 (Ibid., p. 75).

[37] Sotho is pronounced S$\overline{oo}$ t$\overline{oo}$.

the Free State, and northeastern Cape (16.7 per cent); (2) the Tswana of Bechuanaland, northwest Cape, and western Transvaal (9.8 per cent); and (3) the Northern Sotho of northern and northeastern Transvaal (9.3 per cent).

The two remaining major groupings are small relative to the Nguni and the Sotho. The Venda group numbers approximately 133,000 (1.6 per cent), and is found in an area east of Louis Trichardt, a northern Transvaal town located some 70 miles south of the Rhodesian border. The fourth group, the Tsonga, numbers about 350,000 (3 per cent), and is found chiefly in northeastern Transvaal.[38]

Traditional Bantu Cultural Patterns

The traditional cultural patterns of these groupings and sub-groupings of Bantu are varied and fascinating. Unfortunately, however, it will not be possible to undertake a detailed social anthropological consideration of them. Nevertheless, since over 60 per cent of the Bantu population of South Africa still live in a primarily traditional pattern and since current government plans for Bantu economic, social, and political development are closely connected with consideration of traditional Bantu culture, it will be necessary to review this culture as carefully as possible within the limitations of this study. If it is remembered that there are many points of difference among the various groups and subgroups of Bantu, the cultural similarities among them make general observations possible.

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[38]Union of South Africa, op. cit. pp. 1-2.

The basic unit in the social organization of the Bantu is the tribe having a nucleus made up of a group of families descended from common ancestors. According to the principle of inherited status, from this central group of families come the men of authority for the tribe, the most important of whom is the chief.

Family relationships, based on the patrilineal system, are a strong element in the effective cohesion of the tribe. Every family member, in accordance with a complex system of kinship relationships, has several "fathers," "mothers," "brothers," and "sisters." A child, for example, is required by tribal law and custom to view his mother's sisters in the same way that he does his mother. The customary acts of respect and duty that are required of him toward his natural mother are also required of him toward the sisters of his natural mother. This horizontal integration of heirarchy in lineage, as evident in all traditional Bantu family relationships, results in a large group of mutually dependent people with mutual privileges and responsibilities.[39]

The household which is the local territorial unit, consists of a man, his wives, his sons and their wives and children, his unmarried daughters and other dependent kin. The social prestige of the household is measured to a large extent by the number of cattle in its possession. Marriages, closely regulated by tribal law, can only be entered into with the transfer of cattle from the family of the husband to the family of the wife.

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[39]Union of South Africa, op. cit., p. 2.

Cattle so used are generally referred to as "lobola," and in recent years there has been some tendency to substitute other forms of wealth for cattle.[40] Often this substitute is money earned by the groom at the mines and deposited with his father over a period of time.[41]

Within the social structure as a whole each individual has his special position, rights, duties and responsibilities. As the father is head of his own family, responsible for exercising control and authority over its members, so the chief is the "father" of the entire tribe. Reciprocal rights and duties in the economic, political, and religious spheres knit chief and tribesmen together. With the tyrannical Zulu Chief, Chaka, as a notable nineteenth century exception, the traditional social system has sufficient checks on the chief to prevent his becoming a despot.[42] He is normally expected to pay great attention to his councillors and advisers, who meet with him to discuss problems or try cases. Such discussions are open to anyone who cares to participate. Great attention is paid to the etiquette which demands deferen ce to age and rank according to the kinship patterns.

The chief as ruler, guardian, and judge of his people has many responsibilities. Among the most important of these is to act as the

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[40] A. W. Hoernle and Ellen Hellmann, "An Analysis of Social Change and Its Bearing on Education," Race Relations Journal, Vol. 20, No. 4, (1953), p. 35.

[41] Interview tih Xhosa initiates at Ncera in Middledrift District of Alice, Cape Province, August 12, 1964. Interpreter was Victor Gitywa, curator of the museum at Fort Hare University College.

[42] Hoernle and Hellmann, op. cit., p. 35.

religious head of the tribe, resulting from his being considered the living link with the spirits of departed ancestor-chiefs.[43]

The religious system of the Bantu is closely aligned with the kinship patterns which are based on seniority and hereditary status. These patterns are extended into the hereafter with dead ancestors believed to be leading the same sort of existences as they did on earth. The ancestors are supposed to play many roles; among them: (1) They expect certain behavior of their descendants in conformity with the tribal norms, (2) they punish kinsmen for derelections, and (3) they demand regular offerings and sacrifices. The chief's ancestors are thought to exercise decisive influence not only over their immediate kinsmen but, through them, over the entire tribe.[44]

Stemming from these religious beliefs is a complex of practices based on the supposed manipulation of supernatural powers for good or evil purposes. Here the witchdoctor plays his role.

It is also important to remember that the traditional Bantu economy is almost totally agricultural. Although cattle raising takes up a great deal of the time and resources of the tribe, it is primarily an uneconomic enterprise--cattle being valued more for their ritual than their economic uses. Most of the means for subsistence results from hoe cultivation of maize and kaffercorn by the women of the tribe. Although produced by most inefficient techniques, the tribe depends highly on these grains both for food and for beer, the latter having nutritional as well as ritual value.[45]

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[43]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. No. 53/1951 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1951), p. 12.

[44]Hoernle and Hellmann, op. cit., p. 35.

[45]Union of South Africa, Summary of the Report of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa, U.G. 61/1955 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955), p. 3.

As is clearly evident in the Bantu reserves, the emphasis on cattle raising, along with the primitive agricultural techniques, has resulted in extreme soil errosion. The substantial and enduring power of tradition has become clear to white government officials who have been trying for many years to teach the Bantu more efficient techniques of grazing and cultivation.

Before the coming of the European, education was an integral part of the Bantu social structure. If viewed only as the passing on of culture to new generations, the education of the Bantu child was tremendously efficient. The Eiselen Commission Report, which will be discussed later, devotes this one short summarizing paragraph to traditional education:

> Bantu traditional culture makes ample and sufficient provision for the education of its youth. Each social institution inculcated the attitudes, emotions and values which were important to its continuance and preservation. The family developed character, religious attitudes and knowledge of technical and economic matters. The local and tribal organization developed a knowledge of and a care for matters on a wider scale. The numerous rites which marked the growth and development of the individual from birth to death not merely affirmed certain ideas and values but created them in the minds of the participants. There was thus a harmony between the values and patterns expressed in the life of tribal institutions and the lessons which the individual learnt in his progress upwards in the hierarchy of tribal life.[46]

European Influence on Bantu Culture

The influence of European culture upon traditional Bantu culture has not been uniform. Some Xhosa tribes were being strongly influenced by the teachings of white missionaries in the eastern part of the Cape during the nineteenth century, but even today there are somewhat isolated areas in the Republic where traditional social patterns and customs are still clearly evident.

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[46]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, pp. 12-13.

European influence on the political aspects of Bantu culture has been direct. Old hereditary chieftainships have been abolished and replaced by chiefs who are appointed by the Republican government. Chiefs no longer have the political, economic, and military power that they once enjoyed. Along with the change in status of the chief, Bantu law has been gradually transformed, the greater part of Bantu criminal law having been replaced with European criminal law.

New Bantu governmental bodies have been established, grouping together tribes that previously had not been linked together politically; for example, the Transkeian Legislative Assembly, which will be considered briefly later.

The economic impact of the European society on the traditional patterns of Bantu life has been most significant. Traditionally, every Bantu man was entitled to the use of common grazing land for his cattle, while also being given the use of a plot of ground for each of his wives. With the geographical expansion of the white population, the amounts of land available for the Bantu tribes has been legally established in a system of reserves and locations. Although these areas contain some of the finest land in the Republic, the traditionally semi-nomadic and exploitative techniques of cultivation and grazing employed by the Bantu have reduced much of this land to waste. This is particularly true of the Xhosa in the Transkei area.

While European society has affected the traditional Bantu economy by reducing the production of goods for human consumption, the "demonstration effect" has raised the expectations of the Bantu for acquiring material things and thus has encouraged the Bantu laborers to migrate to the

industrial centers.[47] The requirements for the payment of taxes also encouraged this move from barter to economic activity involving money.

The social and moral results of the system of migratory labor that has developed have been tremendous. For many Bantu men, the sale of their labor away from home constitutes their primary income. They may travel to the mines where they contract their services for a period of months, during which time they live together in male dormitories. This has undermined the authority of the father and caused great changes in the relative status positions within the family. This separation of men from their families for long periods of time has also caused considerable decay of the moral structure--traditionally, highly effective--with the result being rising rates of illegitimacy and other types of crimes.

The restructuring of social patterns is also clearly seen in the approximately one third of the Bantu families who have moved as units to the Bantu "locations" on the outskirts of European towns and cities. The possibility for women to earn wages has raised their status and given them a great deal more independence and authority. The family structure is becoming less authoritarian and is tending to consist not of an extended kinship group but of the elementary family of father, mother, and children.[48]

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[47]The term "demonstration effect" is used in economic analyses of underdeveloped countries to refer to consumption pressures that result from contact with consumption patterns of more advanced economies (Adamantios Pepelasis, Leon Mears and Irma Adelman, Economic Development: Analysis and Case Studies (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 102).

[48]Hoernle and Hellmann, op. cit., p. 37.

The Historical Role of the Christian Mission School

All of the social changes that have been occurring within the Bantu community have tended toward making the traditional educational patterns totally ineffective. In traditional Bantu society, elementary economic skills and the knowledge of rigid social patterns of behavior could be handed down to children without separate educational institutions. The only formal institution, the initiation ceremony at puberty, simply "placed a seal on the long process of informal education and served, essentially, to ritualize the change in status to adulthood and to reinforce the society's attitudes and values."[49] Also, in traditional society, the range of occupations was so limited and the future adult role so fixed that it was possible to train a child for a predictable adult role.

The first efforts to teach Bantu children on a European pattern, however, were made not to help the Bantu child better adapt to his modified society but rather to Christianize him. The British colonial philosophy of guardianship included as a primary rule the conversion of the heathen to Christian convictions. At the same time, the Dutch Reformed Churches, while teaching racial inequality, nevertheless considered evangelization of the Bantu a basic social responsibility of the Afrikaner. Under these influences, the first school was established in the Cape in 1799; in Natal, in 1835; in the Transvaal, in 1842; and in the Free State in about 1833.[50]

The history of the Bantu mission schools is complex because of the number of administrative bodies involved. As a generalization, it

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[49]Hoernle and Hellmann, op. cit., p. 39.

[50]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p. 31.

can be noted that genuine attempts at systematically developing teacher-training facilities and school curricula or at financing programs for the education of Bantu children were few in number. A few outstanding mission schools are significant; particularly in the Cape where institutions such as Lovedale offered industrial- and teacher-training as early as the 1840's.[51] Also, a few men and women had vision of Bantu education beyond literacy levels sufficient for Bible reading. Sir George Grey, an early governor of the Cape, is an outstanding example of a person who had this vision.[52]

So far as academic standards are concerned, Horrell reports in African Education: Some Origins and Developments until 1953:

> It would seem that in the mid-nineteenth century the standard of secular education provided at most of the mission schools then in existence was a very low one. In 1862 Dr. Langham Dale, the then Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, found, as the result of a tour of inspection, that only five per cent of the African pupils in these schools had any useful knowledge of reading, writing or arithmetic. Few of the teachers had passed even Standard IV. At outstations unqualified African assistants were in charge of so-called schools, with the nearest missionary some days' journey away. No school books were available in the African languages. There was sufficient school accommodation to admit only a very small fraction of the children of school-going age, and those who did attend came irregularly. Few of the pupils possessed any Western clothes. Sir Thomas Muir, who succeeded Dr. Dale, found that 60 per cent of the African children at school were below Standard 1. Mr. Donald Ross, the then Inspector-General of Schools in the Cape, reported that . . . /of the schools/ . . . in the Colony that were attended exclusively or mainly by Africans, half could be closed without loss to educational advancement.
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> Mr. Ross submitted an excellent report on Lovedale, however, stating that it was "probably the greatest educational establishment in South Africa."[53]

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[51]Muriel Horrell (ed.), African Education: Some Origins and Development until 1953 (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 7.

[52]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[53]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

While probably in all cases missionaries were personally convinced that their motives were unselfish in educating the Bantu, and while this unselfishness was most assuredly the case at times, denominational rivalries and petty proselytizing were common. In 1906, the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, R.H.W. Shepard, deplored the denominational rivalry he observed among Bantu schools.[54] In a book published in 1917, C.T. Loram of the Native Affairs Commission wrote about the provinces in general:

> The jealousy and unedifying quarrels of missionaries of different denominations have brought their work into disrepute in many parts. Attempts at proselytising are not unknown, and sometimes material advantages are offered to natives to induce them to join a particular church.[55]

Up until 1910, mission schools throughout South Africa were generally uncoordinated, offering for the most part a European classical curriculum. Government financial assistance was universally poor.

Finance of Bantu Education

After the Act of Union in 1910, Bantu education remained primarily a missionary undertaking. However, the Act declared the provinces responsible for the control and financing of Bantu education. In 1922, the Union government passed the Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act, which forbade the direct taxation of Bantu by the provinces. This taxation had been a primary source of the money used by the provinces for subsidizing the mission schools. To prevent the reduction of these subsidies,

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[54] Horrell, op. cit., p. 14.

[55] C. T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native (1917), p. 17 as quoted in Ibid., p. 15.

the Act provided Central government grants to the provinces on the basis of the amounts that each province had spent for Bantu education in 1921-22. With a total of £340,000, the provincial breakdown was as follows: the Cape, £240,000; Natal, £49,000; Transvaal, £46,000; and Free State, £5,000. Although the 1922 Act did not prohibit provinces from spending additional money from general revenues, they now "regarded the obligation to extend and develop native education as having been taken over by the Union Government."[56] In addition to this, the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1935-36, observed that the system "penalised from the start those Provinces which had lagged behind, owing to their parsimonious attitude in previous years toward Native education."[57]

That the Union Government was little more concerned about Bantu education than were the provinces is indicated by subsequent financial history. In 1925, the Union Government passed an act establishing the Native Development Fund to provide for education, general advancement, and welfare of Africans. The Minister of Native Affairs was to decide how much of the money was to go to each province. The £340,000 mentioned earlier was paid into this fund, along with one fifth of the general tax paid by Africans -- the other four fifths remaining in the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Government.

The percentage of African tax paid into the Native Development Fund was gradually increased as illustrated in the following sequence: seven-twentieths of the total tax in 1935; two fifths, in 1936; three fifths, in 1937; two thirds, in 1940 five sixths, in 1942; and finally

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[56]Horrell, op. cit., p. 27.

[57]Union of South Africa, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36, U.G. 29/1936 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1936), par. 299.

the whole amount in 1943. In 1944, the total contribution of Bantu to the fund through their taxes was £1,459,831, while £340,000 continued to be the limit of the contribution from European taxes.[58]

The Native Education Commission of 1949-51, summarized the general deterioration under this financing scheme.

> The significance of these Acts of 1922 and 1925 was profound. The taxation of the Bantu had been changed from a provincial to a Union matter, and the provision of funds for Bantu education became entirely the responsibility of the Central Government. But the administration of education still remained with the provinces.
>
> Nevertheless, the most important change was the acceptance by implication of the principle that any development or extension of Bantu education beyond the standard reached in 1921-22 should be financed out of direct taxation paid by the Bantu.
>
> The period 1926-1945 was marked by increasing financial difficulty due to the operation of a number of factors over which the Native Affairs Commission had no control. The Bantu population was increasing at the rate of 1.95 per cent per annum (compound interest), growing from 5,225,100 in 1925 to 7,686,000 in 1945. The years from 1927 to 1931 were marked by a sharp drop in the national income. The urbanization of the Bantu was taking place at a rapid pace: the number of Bantu classified as urban in 1921 was 587,000; by 1946 this figure had risen to 1,794,212. This urbanization was accompanied by all the usual maladjustments of people: overcowding, shortage of housing, the breakdown of family control and the consequent cry for more schools in the urban areas to combat neglect of children and juvenile delinquency. In short, the desire for education by the Bantu and their needs for education grew far more rapidly than the funds available under Act No. 41 of 1925.[59]

During the years 1925 to 1935, the number of Bantu children in school increased by nearly 75 per cent, while during the same period of time expenditures on their education rose only 50 per cent.[60] As a

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[58]Horrell, op. cit., p. 31.

[59]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1941-51, p. 37.

[60]Oscar D. Woolheim, "Crisis in Native Education: The Present Position," Race Relations Journal, Vol. 10, No. 2, (1943), p. 2.

result of this deterioration, the Government appointed a committee in 1935 (Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education) to study the situation. In its report, the Committee recommended that the Union Government finance Bantu education on the same basis as White education; that is, on the basis of 110 per cent of the children in attendance the previous year. A per capita annual grant of £3.12.9 was recommended[61] -- a 41.3 per cent immediate increase in expenditure.[62]

TABLE 1

ANNUAL PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR SELECTED YEARS DURING THE PERIOD 1930-45, BY RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

Year	Racial Classification		
	Whites	Coloreds and Asians	Bantu
1930	£22.12. 0	£4.12.3	£2. 2. 8
1935	23.17. 2	5. 4.1	1.18. 6
1940	25.14. 2	5.15.6	2. 4. 4
1945	38. 5.10	10.16.2	3.17.10

Source: National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Bulletin of Educational Statistics for the Union of South Africa, 1947 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1948).

In 1945, action was finally taken on the Committee's recommendation. An act was passed declaring that increased expenditure on Bantu education

[61] The corresponding grant for White children was £20 (Union of South Africa, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-36, par. 304-305, p. 60).

[62] Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Native Education, 1949-51, p. 42.

would no longer be limited by the amount of taxes taken from the Bantu. Each year the Parliament would determine the allocation which would then be taken entirely from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Under the new system, £4,747,657 was voted for Bantu education in 1949 -- under the old system the amount would have been only 1,540,000.[63] The expenditure continued to rise until it reached 7,856,194 in 1953-54.[64]

TABLE 2

ANNUAL PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR SELECTED YEARS DURING THE PERIOD 1930-45, BY RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

Year	Racial Classification		
	Whites	Coloreds and Asians	Bantu
1930	£4.13.2	£0.10. 5	£0.2. 1
1935	4.14.7	0.16.10	0.2. 0
1940	4.19.5	0.18.11	0.2.11
1945	7. 4.7	1.19. 8	0.6. 0

Source: National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Bulletin of Educational Statistics for the Union of South Africa, 1947 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1948).

Since the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, as will be noted in the next chapter, the Central Government has reverted to the old principle of a fixed government expenditure for Bantu education.

[63] Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p. 38.

[64] Horrell, op. cit., p. 33.

Summary

Bantu traditional society has been greatly changed by the influence of the European. The geographic expansion of the white population has resulted in the concentration of many Bantu into legally defined reserve areas where the traditional Bantu agricultural techniques have devastated much of the land. At the same time, attitudes of the Bantu under European influence are becoming more materialistic. This change has resulted, in part, from the development of a system of migratory labor, which has, at the same time, worked toward the destruction of the traditional social patterns of the Bantu.

About one third of the Bantu have moved from the reserves to the cities under economic pressures, a second one third, over the years, moving to European-owned farms. Those in the cities are gradually westernizing in all social spheres.

Despite increasing social and economic disruption, education for Bantu children was first established for the primary purpose of Christianizing the Bantu rather than for helping him adapt to his shifting environment and his changing social status. The general character of the Bantu education under the missions was both paternalistic and sporadic in its growth -- one of the greatest barriers to the expansion of mission education being the parsimonious attitude of subsidizing governmental agencies up until 1945.

In short, the influence of European civilization had steadily been in the direction of destroying the social, economic, and political fabric of traditional Bantu society without effectively working for the provision of adequate educational facilities to help the Bantu child adapt to his changing social environment.

CHAPTER III

APARTHEID AND THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT

Introduction

Many writers on contemporary South African affairs view the establishment of the Nationalist Party-Afrikaner Party coalition in 1948 as the turning point in South African Native policy. Since the merger of these parties to form Die Nasionale Party, the legislation that its leaders have sponsored, within the framework of their apartheid racial philosophy, is often considered to be nothing other than an overt effort not only to suppress the non-White people economically, socially, and politically, but also to encourage and insure the national spirit of the Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, as well as the subsequent policies established under the authority that this act provides the Government, is considered by many critics to be logically consistent with the total apartheid program.

The need at this point in the present analysis of the social causal patterns, which culminate in the Bantu Education program, is for a more accurate picture of what is meant by the term apartheid as it is used by Nationalist leaders. Also, an understanding is needed of the motives of these leaders as viewed by the White and non-White opponents of the Government. In order to understand these motives, it is essential to review the enactments and administration of the various elements of the apartheid program since 1948. Preliminary to this review, it is necessary to re-examine the race policies in existence up to 1948.

With a broader understanding of the apartheid policy, it will be possible to consider the philosophy underlying the Bantu education program itself and to trace its evolution. The clearest picture of this philosophy will be found in the parliamentary debates preceding the enactment of the Bantu Education Act, the act whereby the Government gained the power to develop an educational system in harmony with its philosophy. These questions of philosophy and policy as they relate to Bantu education will be considered in Chapter IV.

The Nationalist Philosophy of Apartheid

In the closing paragraph of "South Africa and the World in Defense of Apartheid," Charles Manning comments:

> South Africa knows that it is not she that has lately changed; that never at any time were her peoples a single community or her constitution other than oligarchic, and that it is nevertheless essentially for this that she is now being blamed. And, from the fact that in their reviling of her, critics rely so largely on misconceptions as to what she is doing, she can draw a measure of hope. For perhaps it will not be too long before persons of independent outlook, who as of now are apparently accepting the fashionable evaluation of her policies, will begin to perceive and to appreciate those policies for what they are.[1]

Manning's article is not so much an apology for as it is a cultural explanation of the Nationalist Party policy of apartheid. As he correctly points out and as has been concluded early in this paper, the raison d'etre of the Nationalist Party is the preservation of Afrikanerdom against possible destruction by both English-speaking Whites and Bantu-speaking Africans. The position of continued power for the party is

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[1]Charles A. W. Manning, "South Africa and the World in Defense of Apartheid," Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review (October, 1964), p. 149.

dependent upon policies that are pursuant to and consistent with Afrikaner nationalism. For this reason Manning indicates earlier in his article that "to inveigh against a government for not attempting the politically impracticable may be emotionally rewarding . . . but it is otherwise rather pointless.[2]

Apartheid as a Political Expedient

It is not semantically correct to say that racial prejudice is at the heart of the apartheid philosophy. It is not semantically correct because the motivation for national self-preservation stems not from the unreasoned fear and suspicion of people of dark skins -- though this fear has existed historically -- but rather from a fear of cultural assimilation by all non-Afrikaner social elements, regardless of race. For this same reason, it is not correct to regard apartheid solely as an ideology. Instead, it should be regarded as a political expedient by a political party whose representatives have been elected on a platform totally based on preserving the Afrikaans culture -- the obvious prerequisite being the preservation of the white rule.

The essence of apartheid as it is presently defined by the Government is cultural segregation and separate development. In a speech delivered to a study group of the Institute of Race Relations in 1956, W. E. Barker of the State Information Office claimed:

> Not for one moment can it be denied that the colour of a man's skin is also a factor of importance in the viewpoint of the average white man in South Africa. If colour were the only factor of difference between the groups, however, it would be impossible to justify the separation viewpoint on socio-ethnic

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[2] Ibid., p. 139.

> grounds; the whites would have to admit that their outlook was based simply on crude emotion unsupported by any higher motivation.[3]

Baker claims that the policy of separation stems mostly from the development of "cultural awareness" and that the "colour emotion" is a natural development since the most observable distinction of a culture is the physical appearance of the people who are part of that culture.[4]

The consistency of Barker's logic rests on three premises: (1) the value of the judgment that is implied in the term "cultural awareness," and (2) the undefended assumption that cultures are made up of single races of people. Inconsistency of logic is unimportant in the analysis at this point, however, because all that is needed is a clear understanding of what apartheid -- whether defended by arguments based on reasonable or unreasonable assumptions -- implies to those who use it as a guide for governing South Africa. Continuing on this question of why apartheid is supported, Barker claims this:

> The separation policy is an honest endeavor, inter alia, to rationalise the present situation and the convictions of the majority of whites in South Africa. For a score of reasons the whites prefer to live in a separate social milieu from that of the Bantu. Their culture differs from that of the Bantu; their general standard of living; their customs, their outlook, their past history; and, they trust, future generations of white South Africans will continue to retain their own identity and cultural separateness from that of any other race group.[5]

The Fear of Possible Black Domination

No "middle way" between racial integration and total separation is seen as acceptable, not only by the vast majority of Afrikaners

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[3] W. E. Barker, "The Implementation of the Tomlinson Report," A talk presented by Barker, State Information Office, to a study group of the Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, November 20, 1956.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

but also by many English-speaking Whites who associate themselves with apartheid not because they are dedicated to preserving Afrikanerdom but rather because they see in apartheid safety from possible Bantu enfranchisement.

The logic that supports this fear of Black domination is well summarized in the report of the Tomlinson Commission appointed by the Government in 1950 to establish a positive plan for geographic apartheid which had become seen as a possibility.[6] In establishing the need for segregation of ethnic groups, the Commission observes that there has been a tendency for White and Bantu societies to become more and more "interwoven" culturally, politically, and economically. The Commission continues by saying that "Historical data show that, in a society where development takes place in an evolutionary way, i.e., where social, economic and other factors have free play, the following consequences may be expected from such intermingling of interests."[7]

(i) cultural assimilation as the result of contact, i.e. that the gradual diminution of differences in culture and level of civilisation, until these differences eventually disappear for the great majority of each of the respective population groups;

(ii) the removal or disappearance of all economic measures differentiating between the two groups. This leads to the development of a socio-economic stratification based not on colour, but on purely social-economic consideration;

(iii) cultural and economic equality leading to political equality, and the creation of a common society in the political sphere;

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[6]The Tomlinson Report will be considered in more detail later in the present chapter.

[7]Union of South Africa, Summary of the Report of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa, U.G. 61/1955 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955), p. 102.

(iv) these conditions give rise to increased social contact and association, with the consequent disappearances of any stigma attached to such contact and association. Personal relationships come to be based upon socio-economic preferences or prejudices; and

(v) the ultimate result--though it may take a long time to materialise--is complete racial assimilation, leading to the creation, out of the two original communities, of a new biological entity.[8]

The Commission then asked itself whether such an evolutionary solution could be expected for South Africa. The conclusion was that such an evolutionary process would necessitate White acceptance of Bantu rule, because of the overwhelming majority of the Bantu as a population group. This, it concludes, is not acceptable for these reasons: (1) "The responsibility and task laid upon the European to Christianise and civilise the indigenous peoples, demand that the former should retain the direction of affairs in the foreseeable future," and (2) "the European population of the Union has developed into an autonomous and complete national organism, and has furthermore preserved its character as a biological (racial) entity."[9]

As a general conclusion to its consideration of the possibilities for successful evolutionary racial integration in South Africa, the Commission states:

> On the part of the European population, there is an unshakeable resolve to maintain their right of self-determination as a national and racial entity; while on the part of the Bantu, there is a growing conviction that they are entitled to, and there is an increasing demand for, the fruits of integration, including an ever-greater share in the control of the country. . . . Seeing that a peaceful evolutionary development towards

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[8] Ibid., p. 102.

[9] Ibid., p. 103.

> a common society is out of the question, the policy of integration could only lead to problems and dangers of the gravest intensity.
>
> It is clear that a continuation of the policy of integration would intensify racial friction and animosity, and that the only alternative is to promote the establishment of separate territories where each will have the fullest opportunity for self-expression and development.[10]

When the Commission refers to a situation of "integration" as being descriptive of the social situation up to the time of reporting, it does not interpret integration in the full social sense of the word. It refers, rather, to a degree of geographical integration, that is, Bantu moving into White areas, primarily as a result of Bantu employment by White-owned and -operated industry.[11] Integration, when thought of as increasingly free interchange between races in all social spheres, had been fought against even before the Act of Union. A large body of legislation geared toward the protecting of White social supremacy was already in existence when Malan took office in 1948.

The Legal Framework of Union Racial Policy as it had Developed to 1948

The general aspects of apartheid having been reviewed, it will be necessary to examine early racial policy in South Africa preparatory to the survey of the laws enacted and administrative policy decisions made in the name of apartheid. An understanding of these laws and administrative policy is prerequisite to an intelligent discussion of the positions held by opponents of the program.

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[10] Ibid., p. 105. (Italics added.)

[11] Ibid., p. 102.

Early race legislation in South Africa follows no specific pattern since the laws were not enacted with a specific racial policy as a guide. The race attitudes of the White electorate, however, become evident when this legislation is reviewed. Although these laws may not have been formulated under a specific policy and voiced by a particular political organization, the underlying attitudes were based largely on the fear that the Bantu might become socially, politically, and economically dominant.

In the political sphere, the liberal policies of the early British colonials gradually gave way to total Bantu disenfranchisement. In the South Africa Act of 1909, which was drafted by a national convention in South Africa and later passed by the British Parliament, it was declared that the pre-union franchise policies would continue to exist in each of the four provinces. The effect of the Act in the Cape province was that all male citizens who were literate and who either earned £50 a year or owned fixed property valued at £75, were qualified to vote. The effect in Natal was similar with the exception that property value qualifications were higher, and non-White registration procedures were restrictively complex. As would be expected, in the Transvaal and the Free State the franchise would be extended to White men only. Additionally, the South Africa Act declared that it was illegal for non-Whites to sit in Parliament and specified that franchise rights in the Union could be altered only by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament while sitting in joint session.[12]

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[12]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 1.

The Representation of Natives Act of 1936, passed by the required two-thirds majority, modified the Bantu franchise. It provided that (1) Cape Bantu voters would be registered on a separate roll to elect three White members to the House of Assembly; that (2) Bantu throughout the country would elect four White senators; and that (3) a Natives' Representative Council should be created under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Native Affairs, with five appointed White members, four appointed Bantu members, and twelve elected Bantu members.

The nature of the Natives' Representative Council was purely advisory and the Bantu leaders, wanting full franchise, became increasingly dissatisfied. In 1947, Smuts suggested that the Council be entirely composed of elected Bantu, and also that it be given certain legislative, financial, and administrative powers. The suggestion was opposed both by the Bantu leaders and by the Nationalist Party, the Bantu opposing it because they insisted on full franchise; and the Nationalists, because they opposed any increase in Bantu political control. Nothing had been decided about Smuts' suggestion by the time of the general election of 1948.[13]

By 1948, the rights of Bantu in White urban areas had already been severely restricted. The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923, as amended in 1930, required municipal authorities not only to establish segregated areas for Bantu residence, but also to require Bantu to register their employment contracts. The registration of contracts was enacted to provide a means

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[13] Ibid., p. 2.

to control the movement of Bantu into urban areas, commonly referred to as "influx control" and also to assist in the removal of "surplus," that is the unemployed, Bantu persons from towns and cities.

The Native Urban Areas Act also provided a system for greater uniformity among the provinces of the "pass laws" since all provinces previously had some type of requirements for Bantu to carry identification papers for control purposes.

To further protect White urban interests, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 prohibited the acquisition of land by Bantu from non-Bantu in urban areas. Exceptions to this law could be made only with the Governor-General's consent. In addition, the 1937 Act provided for further tightening of influx control. Under the Act, local authorities, could apply for their towns to be "proclaimed" as areas closed to the entry of Bantu other than (1) those employed in the town, (2) those admitted to seek employment, or (3) those admitted as visitors.[14]

The Act not only restricted Bantu movement into urban areas but also restricted further the activities of Bantu who were permitted to live in towns and cities. The Act provided that no new church, school, or other institution catering mainly for Bantu could be established in an urban area outside an African location without the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs.[15]

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[14]The Native Administration Act of 1927 had given the Governor-General the power to issue orders without prior notice requiring any tribe, section of a tribe, or individual Bantu to move from one place to another. (Gordon Davis, Urban Native Law; Acts and Regulations reproduced under Government Printer's Copyright Authority /Port Elizabeth: Grotius Publications, 1959/, p. 369).

[15]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 3.

By 1948, a restrictive legal framework had also been developed for those Bantu living in the rural areas. The Natives Land Act of 1913 set aside nearly 23 million acres of land for Bantu "reserves." This act prohibited Bantu from acquiring land from Whites in rural areas outside the Reserves -- a prohibition which did not apply to the Cape until 1936 because of a legal technicality. An additional 15 million acres was provided for reserves in 1936.[16]

Under the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Governor-General was given the power to govern the reserve areas by proclamation. The Act also provided for the establishment of special courts for Bantu where customary tribal law would be recognized in civil cases.[17]

A section of the 1927 Act, later incorporated into the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1930, rendered it an offense to say or do anything likely to promote any feeling of hostility between Blacks and Whites. It also gave the Government power to regulate and control Bantu meetings.[18] Limited political powers had been given to local councils of chiefs under the Native Affairs Act of 1920, which also provided a framework for the establishment of such councils at the request of the Bantu.[19]

The basis for the control of Bantu labor employed by White industry was a series of "Masters and Servants Acts," passed in the four territories between 1856 and 1904 and remaining in force after 1910. The acts provided that the breach of an employment contract was a criminal offense.

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[16] Ibid., p. 4.

[17] Gordon Davis, op. cit., pp. 371-378.

[18] Ibid., p. 381.

[19] Ibid., p. 387.

They were held by the courts to be applicable only to unskilled labor, performed mostly by non-Whites.[20] It was reiterated in the Native Labor Regulation Act of 1911 that a breach of contract by a Bantu was a criminal offense.[21]

By viewing a series of acts beginning in 1911, a clear pattern of the racial differentiation of rights for industrial workers emerges. The Mines and Works Act of 1911, together with the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926, provided for the issuance of certificates of competency for skilled workers while, at the same time, limiting the granting of such certificates for many skilled occupations to Whites and Coloreds.[22] In addition to occupational restrictions, the rights of Bantu to organize into industrial unions were limited under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924. This act provided for (1) the registration and regulation of trade unions and employers' organizations, (2) the establishment of industrial councils and conciliation boards, and (3) the appointment of arbitrators. In the Act, an "employee" was defined so as to exclude Bantu men, who were thus denied membership in unions. Strikes by Bantu could be held to be criminal offenses either under the Masters and Servants Acts or under the Native Labor Regulation Act.[23]

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[20] Gordon Davis, op. cit., pp. 44-56.

[21] Ibid., p. 61.

[22] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 8.

[23] Ibid., p. 9.

In 1941, the passage of the Factories, Machinery, and Building Works Act empowered the Governor-General to make different regulations for persons of different races or color in respect to the accommodations and conveniences provided in factories.[24]

In summary, the legal framework for the Bantu people as it had developed up until 1948, included the following: (1) Residential segregation--urban and rural, (2) severe restriction on Bantu residential mobility, (3) the establishment of White monopoly in many occupations, and (4) severe general restrictions on Bantu labor.

The Legal Framework of Racial Policy under the Nationalist Government

When the Malan Government was established in 1948, it was dedicated by its leaders to a new racial policy for South Africa. There was a considerable amount of doubt in the country as to what was meant by apartheid, the term used to identify the new approach. In 1948, Malan, when asked to clarify his party's policy, stated that total territorial apartheid was advocated by the Dutch Reformed Churches and would provide the ideal state of affairs; however, to have separate territories was not possible because of the heavy dependence of White industry on Black labor.[25] He later said that there must be separate "spheres," though not necessarily set off with absolute territorial dividing lines, but within which each population group could develop its ambitions and capabilities in the service of its own people.[26] The Malan approach to apartheid, then,

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[24]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 9.

[25]South Africa, Assembly Hansard (September 2, 1948), col. 1486.

[26]South Africa, Assembly Hansard (April 12, 1950), cols. 4141-2.

appears to be little more than one of increasing the volume of racial legislation of the same basic type that existed previous to 1948. This approach to apartheid is sometimes referred to by opponents of the Nationalist Government as baaskaap, a term which can be loosely translated to mean White supremacy.

Territorial apartheid, however, was declared feasible in the Tomlinson Commission Report of 1951. After this report was issued, a goal was set for the establishment of semi-autonomous Bantu homelands, with the hope that in the long run some form of federation of White and Black states would be created. A series of parliamentary acts led to the establishment in 1963 of the first homeland, the Transkei. The beginning of the homeland scheme, however, caused no slackening in the pace of the passage of laws geared toward establishing a greater degree of ethnic segregation in all social spheres.

Because of the complexity of the problem, it will not be possible to review all the steps that have been taken toward this goal of general ethnic segregation. But, in order to understand apartheid, which is the declared philosophy underlying the Bantu education program, it will be necessary to review the most significant pieces of race legislation. Measures dealing specifically with Bantu education will be dealt with later in this chapter.

Early Apartheid Legislation Other than That Dealing with the Homeland Scheme

With the goal of apartheid being ethnic segregation, an essential step toward achieving this goal was the legal classification of the population into racial categories. Previous legal definitions of race were

inconsistent and loose, thus making it easy for people to "pass" from one category to another if their physical characteristics were not racially distinctive. To clarify racial categorization, the Nationalists passed the Population Registration Act of 1950. This act required both the registration of the entire population for the purpose of classification and the issuance of identity cards specifying race. In almost all cases, the criteria for established race determination -- general physical appearance and community acceptance -- presented no classification problems. The exceptional borderline cases, however, resulted in considerable humiliation and resentment. The Act specified the categories to be White, Colored, and Native people (Bantu). Subsequent alterations have resulted in further divisions, including Chinese, Indian, and "other Asiatic."[27]

In order to keep race categories as "pure" as possible, by reducing the degree of miscegenation, the Prohibition of Mixed Marraiges Act was passed in 1949, declaring marriages between Whites and non-Whites illegal.[28] Also to preserve racial "purity," the Immorality Amendment Act was passed in 1950, prohibiting illicit carnal intercourse between Bantu and Whites.[29]

Residential segregation.--There had been residential segregation based on race before 1948, but the Group Areas Acts of 1950, and also of 1957, sharply increased this type of segregation. Under these Acts, the Group Areas Board decides on a plan for the division of a town or city into

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[27]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 11.

[28]Gordon Davis, op. cit., p. 273.

[29]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 11.

various sections, one for each racial group in the area. The Board reports its plan to the Minister of Community Development who announces a date by which each person must have changed his residence if his original home area has been designated for a racial classification other than his own. The laws specify that the Minister must give at least three months notice to the affected people, with one year being the maximum time allowed between the Minister's announcement and compliance.

When a person owns the property from which he must move, he may keep his legal claim, but he may not occupy the premises. If he bequeaths it to another "disqualified" person, however, the new owner must sell the property within twelve months to a member of the race designated for the area.

Business establishments, with the exception of banks, mines, and large factories, are also given race classifications. These classifications are made on the basis of the race of the person who owns the controlling interests. The owners of a disqualified company must sell their interests, with certain exceptions, within ten years after the firm is disqualified.[30]

To control the property speculation that accompanied the group areas program the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 was passed, establishing a Group Areas Development Board. This board's functions are to assist disqualified persons to dispose of their property and to re-establish themselves. The Board also has the responsibility for establishing new housing developments when necessary. When the Development Act is applied, the Board lists affected properties and then establishes their "basic

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[30]Gordon Davis, op. cit., pp. 490-515.

values," that is, the market value of the land at the time the group area is declared, plus the cost of erecting the buildings minus depreciation. If the Board so wishes, it has the pre-emptive right to purchase the property within a thirty-day period beginning at the time of valuation. If it does not exercise this right, the owner may sell to any qualified person. However, if he does sell and if the price he receives is above the "basic value," he must pay 50 per cent of the difference to the Board; if the price he receives is less, the Board pays him 80 per cent of the difference.[31]

Because the framers of the Group Areas Act of 1950 had failed to define the term "occupation," there was some confusion as to the scope of the Act's provisions. In 1956, a judge of the Supreme Court ruled that non-Whites who had attended a theatre in a White area were not guilty of "occupying" the premises. In order to clarify the scope of its intent, the Government passed the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1957, specifying that "occupation" should be considered: (1) being present on the premises for a substantial period of time, (2) being present for the purpose of attending a form of public entertainment or partaking of refreshments at a commercial establishment, or (3) being a member of, or guest in, any private club.[32]

Segregation in social amenities and professional organizations.-- With the 1957 Amendment Act, it was again reaffirmed that the general aim of the Government was not only residential segregation, but also

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[31]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 21.

[32]Ibid.

general social segregation to as high a degree as possible. This intent had previously become clear with the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which not only makes it legal for officials to restrict public vehicles and premises for use by particular races, but also makes such actions legal when separate facilities are not provided for each race.[33]

Various other actions of the Government, including legislation and Ministerial declarations, have extended social segregation as follows:

1. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957, specified that the Minister of Native Affairs, after considering factors such as the number of Bantu involved, has the authority to require that Bantu not (1) attend religious services, (2) be admitted to schools, hospitals, clubs, or similar institutions, or (3) attend places of entertainment in group areas designated as White.[34]
2. The Motor Carrier Transportation Amendment Act of 1955, authorized the National Transport Board to restrict the use of certain motor vehicles to a specified class of persons.[35]
3. The State-Aided Institutions Amendment Act of 1957, authorized boards of directors of cultural institutions such as art galleries, museums, zoos, or libraries, to specify hours of attendance and other conditions for attendance on the basis of race. The Minister of Education, Arts, and Science must approve such action.[36]

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[33]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 30.

[34]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[35]Ibid., p. 31.

[36]Ibid.

4. The Minister of Native Affairs declared in 1957 that voluntary social, social welfare, or recreational organizations for Bantu would not be approved by his office if the control of such organizations was under committees composed either of Whites exclusively or of Whites and non-Whites.[37]

5. The Minister of Education, Arts, and Science announced in November, 1962, that the Government expected professional organizations to have separate branches for the various racial groups. Subsequently, notices were sent to eleven government-subsidized scientific and professional groups informing them that they had to provide separate non-White societies, amending their constitutions if it was necessary to comply. Failure to comply meant the loss of subsidies.[38]

6. On February 9, 1962, the Minister of the Interior stated that sports activities should not include persons of different races, whether the activities took place within South Africa or involved competition in foreign countries.[39]

Further control of Bantu mobility and employment.--Although it should not be implied that there can be no other social bases for controlling the mobility of Bantu, various restrictions in this category have been imposed, in part, to meet apartheid objectives. To facilitate this control, the previous "pass system" for Bantu was modified through the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952. This Act

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[37] Ibid., p. 32.

[38] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 32.

[39] Ibid., p. 33.

requires that all men and women declared to be in the Bantu race classification who have attained the age of sixteen years must possess a prescribed "reference book" instead of a variety of documents previously required. The act included new restrictions on the movement of Bantu women, while abolishing a system for exempting certain classes of Bantu from the "pass" laws.[40]

One of the most important laws restricting Bantu movement is the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, as it was amended in 1952, 1955, and 1957. In its amended form, this Act forbids Bantu from remaining over seventy-two hours in an urban area unless he or she (1) has lived there since birth, or for at least fifteen years while working for one employer, without having been sentenced to a fine over £50, or to imprisonment for over six months; (2) is a son who is under eighteen years of age, or a daughter who is unmarried, or the wife of a Bantu man who qualifies for residence, provided they live with him; (3) has been granted special permission by a qualified authority.[41]

In addition to the seventy-two hour restriction, the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, Number 69, of 1956, gives an urban government the power to order a Bantu to leave an area if his presence is considered to be detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order.[42]

The Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956, gave the Government the power to proclaim that no court of law may issue an interdict to suspend the execution of specified removal orders issued to Bantu.

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[40] Gordon Davis, op. cit., pp. 274-276.

[41] Gordon Davis, op. cit., p. 460.

[42] Ibid., p. 477.

Applications for interdicts may be made only after the Bantu has complied with the orders to move.[43]

Various measures have been taken since 1948 to restrict further the employment opportunities of Bantu. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 not only gave the Minister of Native Affairs the power to prohibit Bantu urban employment in specified occupations, but it also gave the Governor-General power to prohibit African business and professional men from working in urban areas.[44] A clause in the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 provided for "job reservation," that is, the monopoly right of certain races to engage in specified types of work.[45]

The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 completely removed the possibility of official registration and status for Bantu unions, which the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 had allowed only in rare cases. In the 1953 Act, the term "employee" was redefined to exclude all Bantu, while registered trade unions were forbidden to have Bantu members. While not specifically prohibiting the existence of unofficial Bantu unions, the Act (1) forbade Bantu from striking against employers, and (2) forbade sympathetic strikes by workers, or lock-outs by employers, of other races.[46]

Summary of early apartheid legislation.--The government actions

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[43] Ibid., p. 566.

[44] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 24.

[45] Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press,,1962), p. 34.

[46] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 34.

discussed in this section have been selected with the view toward illustrating not only the general intent behind apartheid, but also the degrees to which the Nationalists have been willing to go to preserve White social domination. Race categorization has been made as rigid as possible, while measures have been taken to prevent miscegenation. At the same time, a thorough system of residential segregation for urban areas has been established, even to giving business establishments racial designations and to defining the word "occupation," that is, residence, as including the attendance of a theatre. In addition, various measures have been taken to insure a minimum of social contact between races in various activities, including social welfare programs and professional associations. The use of public facilities and the participation in sports activities have been segregated on the basis of race. The free movement of Bantu has been generally restricted and their employment opportunities have been severely curtailed.

The Tomlinson Commission Report and Legislation Toward Territorial Apartheid

Before considering the reaction of the Bantu to the early apartheid social restrictions, the more recent efforts toward complete territorial apartheid should be considered. Malan's opinion that complete territorial separation of races was impossible did not leave much hope for even extremely long-run success for Nationalist plans. Early segregation measures could be considered no more than stop-gap in nature -- efforts to maintain White supremacy.

Another view of apartheid was needed, one which offered at least some hope for solving South Africa's race problem

In a speech before a London audience in 1961, Prime Minister Verwoerd attempted to explain his country's dilemma:

> Cannot you understand us fighting to the death for our existence? And yet we do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our /White/ survival, but seek one which will grant survival and full development, politically and economically to each of the other racial groups as well, and we are even prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings for their future.
>
> The moral problem just like the political problem, is to find a way out of this extremely difficult and complicated situation, caused by the fact that no longer as in the past is the black man incapable or undesirous of participation in the control of his political destinies. Nor is there any longer anyone prepared to oppress him by refusing the fulfillment of such ambitions in a form fair to all. Again I ask: What is the solution?[47]

Verwoerd contines by explaining his view that some form of multiracialism -- especially in the political sphere -- is out of the question for South Africa. He points out that Black political control is justified in the "countries of Africa which undoubtedly belong to the black man by settlement and inheritance." In other African countries, however, Verwoerd maintains that since Whites have lived there for generations, they have earned for themselves certain political and economic rights. In certain of these countries, "some form of racial 'partnership' was tried" with the inevitable result that the "black majorities soon demanded, and are quickly receiving, the right to what amounts to full control with the white man pushed out of politics to all intents and purposes.[48]

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[47] Speech delivered by H. F. Verwoerd before the South Africa Club in London March 17, 1961; as quoted in Department of Information, Progress Through Separate Development: South Africa in Peaceful Transition (Pretoria: n.d.), p. 15.

[48] Ibid., p. 16.

Verwoerd states that neither the granting of political control to Bantu nor the establishment of some form of partnership are possibilities for South Africa.

> Neither of these solutions would therefore suit the already described quite different South African situation. Not only are the whites less outnumbered than anywhere else, and not only do they claim the empty country settled by their forefathers as really theirs, but they know that if they gave way to some preliminary form of partnership it would become the end of white civilization in South Africa too -- and white civilization in the world would lose its only anchor in Africa.[49]

Verwoerd sees a third method for dealing with his country's racial situation:

> There is another method, however, and that is to take your example from the nations: live and let live -- apart. We prefer each of our population groups to be controlled and governed by themselves, as nations are. Then they can cooperate as in a commonwealth or in an economic association of nations where necessary. Where is the evil in this? Or in the fact that in the transition stage the guardian must keep the ward in hand and teach him and guide him and check him where necessary? This is our policy of separate development.[50]

But Malan, and many others, had seen this type of solutions as economically impossible. The first step necessary, therefore, before beginning such a program, was a feasibility study. For this purpose, the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa had been appointed in November, 1950.[51] The Commission is more generally known by the name of its chairman, F. R. Tomlinson. The general term of reference given to the eight-man

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 17.

[51] Leo Marquard, South Africa's Internal Boundaries, South African Institute of Race Relations, Presidential Address, 1958 (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1958), p. 11.

commission was this: "To conduct an exhaustive inquiry into and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based on effective socio-economic planning."[52] The full report presented to the Government on October 1, 1954, consists of 51 chapters comprising 3,755 pages, as well as 598 tables and 66 maps.

A summary of the Tomlinson Report was prepared by its authors and published in March, 1956; and, because of the length of the original report, only this summary has been published for circulation. The published report is broken into five parts:

1. "A Broad Perspective"
2. "The Bantu Areas"
3. "The Development of the Bantu Areas"
4. "The Execution of Development Proposals"
5. "Recommendations and Possible Implications"

The scope of the present area study on South African Bantu Education does not allow a detailed consideration of the Tomlinson Report. It will be necessary, however, to look both at the recommendations of the commission, and at the use of these recommendations made by the Government in planning the more current apartheid legislation.

The Commission summarizes its conclusions and makes a series of recommendations as follows:

1. That "the people of South Africa" choose a plan for "separate development" over one for complete integration. No "middle course" is seen as possible.

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[52]Union of South Africa, Summary of the Report of the Commission for Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa, U.G. 61/1955 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955), p. xviii.

2. That "full-scale" development of the Bantu Areas be the initial step toward the "practical realisation of separate development."
3. That economic development plans be made for "a fully diversified economy, comprising development in the primary, secondary, and tertiary spheres."
4. That the development program should include provisions which will create possibilities for the Bantu to "take his place and climb to the highest rungs of the social ladder in all spheres of life."
5. That economic development plans be made with the goal of a diversified economy. The first steps toward this should be improvement of agricultural productivity, and the creation of urban centers in order to make industrial development possible.
6. That economic security for the Bantu be increased through the replacement of the tribal system of common ownership of land with a system of private property.
7. That "economic" development efforts be supplemented with emphasis on the development of "ecclesiastical, educational, medical and other welfare services."
8. That the Department of Native Affairs be reorganized to include a "Development Council, chiefly charged with research and planning," and also a "Development Corporation, chiefly charged with promotion of Bantu enterprises."
9. That approximately Ł104,000,000 be allocated for the first ten-year phase of the program, "about Ł55,000,000 of which will be of a private-economic nature, and about Ł49,000,000

of a socio-economic nature." (Presumably, the £55,000,000 will be recoverable.)

10. That consolidation of the Bantu Areas be undertaken on "a basis of the historico-logical homelands of the principal ethnic groups." The present "fragmentary" geography pattern of the areas make an effective development program impossible.[53]

If its recommendations were followed, the Commission envisages a "de jure population of 10,000,000 in the Bantu Areas within a period of 25-30 years," two million of these still being dependent at that time on economic activity outside the Bantu Areas. Within this same period, the ratio between Bantu and White population in the White Areas would have been stabilized.

In a matter of days after the publication of the Tomlinson Report, the proposals became the subject of public debate. Some people were very cautious in their approach to the Report because of the political implications stemming from its underlying assumptions. It has been reported that a leading newspaper, which is declared in opposition to the Nationalist Government, offered unconditional support for the implementation of the development proposals. Other groups were vehemently opposed to the plan in its entirety.[54]

The importance of the Tomlinson Report, when considered in connection with apartheid and Bantu Education, lies in the use that the Government has made of it. Barker, of the State Information Office, has attempted to explain the political problems that the Government faced when implementation

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[53] Ibid., pp. 207-208.

[54] W. E. Barker, op. cit., p. 4.

of the Commission's recommendations was considered.[55] The majority of the Government's supporters had reservations about undertaking such an expensive and far-reaching program. Barker stated:

> . . . The Tomlinson Commission was far ahead of the times in one sense that its five-year study of South Africa's problem led the Commission to realise the importance of a positive total policy, and also the urgency of applying such a policy; where as the majority of those who support the separation policy are as yet unconvinced of the need or inevitability of any far-reaching programme. Thus it was apparent that an outright and immediate acceptance of the Commission's programme in toto was simply not good statecraft. If there are rocks in the sea one does not wrect the ship by insisting on following a straight course in order to reach one's destination.[56]

The Government White Paper that was published in April, 1956, reflects political expediency in its cautioned acceptance of the Tomlinson Commission's plan. In the White Paper, the Government first commends the Commission for its unequivocal rejection of any policy of racial integration, and also for its acceptance of the policy of apartheid or separate development. The Government also states that it will "pay heed" to the specific administrative recommendations made in the Report, but then emphasizes that it must "consider views based upon much wider practical experience of administrative affairs, the existing /administrative/ machinery, and the country's financial resources."[57]

The specific reservations and objections of the Government concerning the development plans were substantial. In the area of agricultural development, the Government rejected the idea of replacing tribal land ownership

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[55] Ibid., p. 4.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Government White Paper of 1956 dealing with the Tomlinson Report, summarized in D. Hobart Houghton, The Tomlinson Report: A Summary of the Findings and Recommendations in the Tomlinson Commission Report (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956), p. 75.

with private ownership. Further, while agreeing with the Commission's position on urban development, the Government rejected the proposal for encouraging White industry to move into Bantu Areas. This rejection is purported to be based partly on a fear that White industry in Bantu Areas would impede the opportunities for the development of Bantu-owned industry. As an alternative to White industrialization in the Reserves, the Government announced a plan to encourage the location of "industries owned by Europeans in suitable European areas near Bantu territory -- often referred to as "border industries."[58]

In order to facilitate the growth of Bantu industry, the proposal for the establishment of a Development Board as a division of the Department of Native Affairs was rejected on the grounds that such administrative subdividing would impede the effectiveness of the general plan. According to the Government, "all administrative and other functions are so interwoven that they must be carried out within a unitary organization."[59]

In general, the Government supports the Commission's opinion that there is a need for the development of health, welfare, and educational services. The White Paper specifically states that "the educational policy has already been embodied in legislation."[60]

The cost estimates for the first ten-year period of development, £104,000,000, were discounted in importance in the White Paper. The position taken was that since the extent and rate of development cannot be determined accurately in advance, the financial allocations should be

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[58] Ibid., p. 76.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid. The White Paper on the Tomlinson Report was published three years after the passage of the Bantu Education Act, which Act gave the Government control in this area.

made on a year-to-year basis. Shortly after the publication of the White Paper, it was announced in Parliament that £3.5 million was being allocated for the first year of initial development work.[61]

The Transkei Experiment

Legislation leading to the establishment of the Transkei as politically semi-autonomous.--Perhaps the most significant effect of the Tomlinson Report was the general momentum which it gave to the Nationalist program of territorial apartheid. For many years, both internal and external opposition to baaskaap apartheid legislation by Whites as well as non-Whites had been forcing the realization that some alternative race policy had to be developed. Since the social attitudes of the majority of Whites made integration on any basis unacceptable, the only other possibility seemed to be the development of a territorial federation of White and Bantu states. But the mere statement of an intent to develop Bantu states was not enough. With world opposition to South African racial policy increasing, some concrete steps had to be taken by the Nationalists in order to demonstrate that their intention to grant some degree of self-government to the Bantu was sincere. A series of acts was passed that built toward the creation of politically semi-autonomous Bantu states. The first such "state," or self-governing "homelands," was created by the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 can be considered to be the first legal step toward the establishment of self-governing homelands. This act provided both for the establishment of Bantu tribal, regional, and territorial government, and for the gradual delegation of certain executive

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[61] W. E. Barker, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

and administrative powers to these governments. The Natives' Representative Council, established in 1936, was abolished under the Act, thus partially removing the voice of the Bantu in the Central Government.[62] Many chiefs welcomed this act because it had the effect of reinforcing tribalism. For the same reason, urban Bantu often viewed the Act as a retrogressive step in Bantu political development.

In 1959, the remaining provisions for Bantu participation in the government of the country were abolished with the passage of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. No longer would Bantu be allowed to elect White members to the Parliament as had been the case since the Representation of Natives Act of 1936. In speaking in Parliament for the passage of this act, Verwoerd made it clear that territorial apartheid was the ultimate intent behind such legislation.[63]

The Bantu Self-Government Act delineated eight Bantu national units as nuclei for homeland development -- North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Tsonga, and Venda. Provision was made for the appointment of Commissioner-Genrals to represent the Government in these areas.[64]

A further step toward the establishment of homelands was the Constitution Amendment Act of 1963. This act states that an act of Parliament, which establishes a Bantu Area as self-governing, may also provide for the recognition of one or more Bantu languages as official.

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[62]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 16.

[63]South Africa, Assembly Hansard (May 20, 1959), cols. 6215-6 as quoted in Ibid.

[64]Ibid., p. 17.

[65]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), 1963, p. 17.

The Bantu languages would be in addition to English and Afrikaans.[65]

The political structure of the Transkei.--Later in 1963, the establishment of the first Bantu self-governing homeland was provided for in the Transkei Constitution Act.[66] An area about the size of Denmark and located on the southeastern coast of the Republic, the Transkei is the home area of the Xhosa-speaking Bantu, as well as of other smaller tribal groups.[67] The Xhosa had been the first to be met by the trekboer as they moved east from the early Cape Colony. By 1800, the Xhosa were well established in the Transkei region. Of the 3,044,000 Xhosa people living in the Republic in 1960, approximately one-half lived in the Transkei.[68]

The Transkei Constitution Act establishes a Legislative Assembly composed of sixty-four chiefs and forty-five elected members. The electorate is designated as being all Bantu adults (1) who were born in the Transkei, (2) who have lived there for at least five years, or (3) who, while living outside the Transkei, are members of tribes resident there.[69] [70]

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[65]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), 1963, p. 17.

[66]Ibid.

[67]South African Department of Information, The Transkei: Emancipation Without Chaos, 1963, p. 2.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 17.

[70]It was reported that 880,425 people registered during the designated period from June 17 through August 17, 1963. Of these registrants who constituted some 90 per cent of those persons eligible, 270,000 reside outside the Transkei: Muriel Horrell, "The New Look in the African Reserves," A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963, p. 17

Under the Transkei Act, the Assembly elects a cabinet consisting of a Chief Minister who also acts as Minister of Finance, plus Ministers of Justice, the Interior, Education, Agriculture and Forestry, and Roads and Works. All acts passed by the Assembly must receive the assent of the State President of the Republic.

The Republican Parliament retains complete control of matters concerning defense, external affairs, internal security, postal and related services, railways, immigration, currency, banking, customs and excise, and the amending of the Transkeian constitution.

The Act provides for a Revenue Fund into which is paid (1) all taxes paid by Transkeian citizens, (2) fees accruing from public services, (3) an annual grant from the Republic which is equal to the amount spent in the area the year before "transfer," and (4) additional subsidies which may be granted by the Republican Parliament.[71]

Criticisms of the Transkei experiment.--There has been much criticism -- often more a matter of skepticism -- of the motives behind the experiment with territorial apartheid. Most of this criticism falls either in the area of the question of the economic feasibility for success, or in the area of the soundness of pursuing a policy which reinforces tribalism.

Representative of the economic criticism of the Transkei program are the viewpoints of Harold Fridjohn, Financial Editor of the Rand Daily Mail. Fridjohn has maintained that the Government's rejection of the Tomlinson Commission's proposal for the establishment of White industries in the Transkei "means that economic needs /are being/ subjugated to

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[71]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

political expediency and policies.[72] He views the "border industry" approach as economic totalitarianism because it makes the impersonal forces of the free market unworkable. Furthermore, Fridjohn does not foresee that the establishment of sufficient "border industries" will absorb the surplus population of the Transkei from agriculture, this absorption being essential to the success of agricultural development.

Monica Wilson, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, criticizes the Transkei experiment on the basis of what she considers to be its deleterious effect on Bantu social well-being. Wilson considers absurd the argument that it is wrong for a people to be drawn away from their traditional culture -- an argument which is basic to the "federation of states" concept.[73]

> . . . in fact the traditional customs are modified from the moment young men go out to work in the mines, or fighting between tribes is stopped, or the missionary wins his first convert and any attempts to classify the traditional law or political forms is like storing new wine in old bottles. The tribal system no longer exists; it depended upon isolation and ample land; traditional chieftainship no longer exists; the old checks on tyranny went with limitation of bureaucracy in which the so-called chiefs are minor officials of the Bantu Affairs Department, not answerable to the people they administer. So traditional culture is not, in fact, maintained by keeping people in Reserves. . . . The notion of the Transkei as a sort of zoo or nature reserve in which people can maintain traditional customs is one to be rejected absolutely.[74]

In reference to the emotional and economic impacts on the people of South Africa from the program of territorial apartheid Wilson concludes:

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[72] D. Hobart Houghton, "Economic Development in the Reserves," Race Relations Journal, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January - March, 1962), p. 21.

[73] Monica Wilson, "The Principle of Maintaining the Reserves for the African," Race Relations Journal, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January - March, 1962), p. 5.

[74] Ibid.

> If South Africa is cut up into several states, her people will be both poor and vulnerable, and also bereaved, for they are really as dependent on fellow citizens of different complexions emotionally as they are economically. No South African really wants to live in a separate White society, or in a separate Brown one; nor can partition ever be achieved on a basis which is acceptable. The wealth of the towns and industries has been built up by the labour of all races and no group will accept being excluded from them.[75]

As previously noted, Bantu reaction to territorial apartheid has been varied in nature. Representative of the viewpoint of the more liberal elements of the educated Bantu is a statement made by a leading Bantu, Professor Z. K. Matthews, in an article published fourteen years before territorial apartheid was first legislated. In 1949, Matthews wrote:

> The obvious flaw in this conception of the 'ultimate goal' is that it contemplates the setting up of 'separate self-sufficient socio-economic units' under the final control of a government in which Africans will not be directly represented. Unfortunately, the ingenuity of man, including apartheid-man, has not yet devised a political system under which the legitimate interests of any people or a section of a people can be safeguarded by an institution or institutions in which they are not directly represented. By vesting in the White Union Government the ultimate political control of these 'separate self-sufficient socio-economic units' the advocates of apartheid desire to make sure that the permanent 'baasskap'of the White man is safeguarded. Whatever may have been the case in the past, no scheme under which the 'baasskap' of the White man is entrenched either directly or indirectly can ever receive the approval of the modern African.[76]

Summary.--A detailed discussion of the Transkei experiment, or opposition to it, is outside the scope of this analysis of the attitudes leading to the program of Bantu education in South Africa today. It is important, however, to note that the policy of apartheid has been applied at least to a limited extent in this most complete form of separate development. The sincerity of the Nationalists -- strongly questioned in some

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[75] Ibid., p. 7.

[76] D. G. S. M'Timkulu, "The African and Education," Race Relations Journal, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1949), p. 76.

quarters -- remains to be seen. At this point, four factors might be noted: (1) "Self-government" in the Transkei is, in fact, very narrow in scope, (2) the Nationalists have announced that no further "self-governing" Bantu homelands are being considered;[77] (3) the strongest competitor to the current Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Poto, opposes apartheid in favor of multi-racialism, and he also opposes the tribal orientation of the current political structure -- an orientation which is basic to the apartheid philosophy of an ethnic group developing from its own cultural framework.[78]

The fourth factor that should be noted has to do with educational control in the Transkei. The Transkei Constitution Act provides for authority in education matters to be transferred to the Transkei Legislative Assembly. For an interim period, however, the Act provides for a White Secretary for Education, "seconded by the Republican government but responsible to the Transkei Minister of Education."[79] The debate at the first session of the Assembly indicated that some significant changes in the areas of instruction-medium and syllabi might be expected in the near future.

Opposition to "Apartheid" and Efforts of the Government to Suppress this Opposition

As could be seen from the criticisms of territorial apartheid cited

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[77]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 18.

[78]Muriel Horrell, "The New Look in the African Reserves," A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, (1963), p. 12.

[79]Muriel Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1964), p. 42.

earlier, it is difficult to categorize criticism of the Nationalist Party race policies. The underlying principles of apartheid are the same regardless of the particular application of the policy being considered; and to criticize one aspect is necessarily to criticize the whole program.

Since the purpose of this study is to isolate the cultural patterns and the concomitant attitudes which culminate in the Bantu Education program of South Africa, it is the mainstream of social development that must be emphasized. Social opposition to public policies can only be emphasized when this opposition has the effect of changing public policy. At the same time, however, since cultural development is totally dynamic -- making the necessarily static nature of an area study a great handicap to the researcher -- no major concentrations of opposition can be presumed to be totally without effect.

For this reason, criticism of apartheid is not unimportant in this study. However, because of the wide range of opinion, it will be possible here only to attempt to explain what the author considers to be the most common bases for criticism.

The general position taken in opposition to apartheid by both Whites and Bantu, is illustrated by an excerpt taken from a letter written by Chief Luthuli to Prime Minister Strijdom in 1957. At that time Luthuli was president of the African National Congress, a group declared in opposition to apartheid.[80] In the letter Luthuli wrote:

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[80]Since 1957, Luthuli has been prohibited by the Government from attending public gatherings, and the African National Congress has been declared an "unlawful" organization (Muriel Horrell, Action Reaction and Counteraction; A Companion Booklet to "Legislation and Race Relations" /Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963/, p. 56).

> . . . We /of the African National Congress/ believe in a common society because we honestly hold that anything to the contrary unduly works against normal human behavior, for the gregarious nature of man enables him to flourish to his best in association with others who cherish lofty ideals. 'Nor for good or worse,' but for 'good and for better things' the African has accepted the higher moral and spiritual values inherent in the fundamental concepts of what, for lack of better terminology, is called 'Western Civilization.' Apartheid, so far, has revealed itself as an attempt by White South Africa to shunt the African off the tried civilized road by getting him to glorify unduly his tribal post.[81]

This statement shows how the criticism of apartheid stems from its underlying philosophy. The effectiveness of the organized opposition, based on this criticism, can be described best by briefly reviewing some of the measures that have been taken by the Government to combat opposition. The passage of this legislation has also been a primary element in the development of much of the foreign criticism of South African policies. The following acts are illustrative:

1. The "Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 defined communism as "any doctrine or scheme which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within South Africa by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or by unlawful acts or ommissions, or which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between Black and White, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of doctrines or schemes such as those mentioned."[82] The Governor-General (now the State President) was empowered to declare any organization unlawful if he were satisfied that

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[81]Letter from Chief Luthuli to the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, May 28, 1957, p. 5.

[82]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 48.

it was furthering "communism" as defined in the Act. In addition, the Minister of Justice was given power to list members of "unlawful" organizations whom he could then prohibit from (1) holding public office, (2) belonging to specified organizations, (3) attending gatherings, or (4) leaving defined areas. The Act also empowered the Minister of Justice to ban publications or prohibit gatherings when he considered these furthering, or likely to further, the aims of "communism."[83]

2. The Public Safety Act of 1953 gave the Governor-General the power to proclaim a "state of emergency" when he believes any action or threatened action is endangering public safety or the maintenance of public order. In a "state of emergency," regulations may be issued which suspend the provisions of any laws except those concerning defense, the operation of legislatures, and industrial conciliation.[84]
3. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953, among other things, declared it an offense to "advise, encourage, or incite anyone to commit an offense by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign against a law." Penalities for doing so may be R1,000 or five years imprisonment, or ten lashes, or a combination of any two of these.[85]
4. The Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1954 gave the Minister of Justice power to prohibit

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[83] Ibid., p. 49.

[84] Ibid., p. 50.

[85] Ibid.

either "listed" communists or persons convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act from attending meetings of any description. The Minister neither has to give his reasons for such prohibitions, nor does he have to allow the affected persons to make "legal representations" in their own defense. The Act also empowered the Minister to prohibit any particular gathering, or all gatherings, in any public place for specified periods of time.[86]

5. The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Amendment Act and the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955, among other things, gave policemen the power to search without a warrant when in their opinion, the delay caused by obtaining a warrant would defeat the object of the search.[87]
6. The Prisons Act of 1959 made it unlawful to sketch or photograph a prison or prisoner, or to divulge any information about a prisoner, an ex-prisoner, or the administration of any prison.[88]
7. The General Law Amendment Act of 1961, gave the Attorney-General power to direct that an arrested person shall not be released on bail or otherwise for twelve days if he considers this action necessary in the interests of public safety and order.[89]

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[86] Ibid., p. 51.

[87] Ibid., p. 52.

[88] Ibid., p. 54.

[89] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

8. The General Law Amendment Act of 1962, among other things, made sabotage an offense equal to treason and punishable by death or at least five years imprisonment. The Act defines sabotage as "any wrongful and wilful act whereby any person damages, destroys, or endangers the health or safety of the public; the maintenance of law and order; water supplies, the supply or distribution of light, power, fuel, foodstuffs or water, or of sanitary, medical or fire extinguishing services; any postal, telephone or telegraph services or installations, or radio transmitting, broadcasting or receiving services or installations; the free movement of any traffic on land, at sea, or in the air; any property, whether movable or immovable, of any other person or of the State."[90]

   The Act also established a system of "house arrest" and made it an offense to publish statements of persons prohibited from attending gatherings.[91]

9. The General Law Amendment Act of 1963, gave policemen the power to arrest individuals without warrants and to detain them for up to ninety days. Other than a weekly visit by a magistrate, no visitors are allowed the prisoner without special permission.[92]

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[90]The General Law Amendment Act of 1962, as quoted in Department of Information, The Safety of the State is Priority No. 1: The Anti-Sabotage Act and What it Means (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1962), p. 4.

[91]Muriel Horrell, Legislation and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), pp. 58-59.

[92]Ibid., p. 60.

10. The Defense Amendment Act of 1963, enlarged the Government's power to use members of the South African armed forces to assist police in preventing or suppressing internal disorder.[93]

This selected list of laws illustrates the extent to which the Nationalist Government has gone in order to control various forms of opposition. The Government claims that much of this legislation is necessary, not because of public opposition stemming from its policies, but because of communist activities. There can be little doubt that there is some basis for the claim of communist-instigated disturbances, if for no other reason than the strategic location and the economic wealth of South Africa. The facts remain, however, that "communism" has been defined in the broadest possible terms; and that legislation, such as the Suppression of Communism Act, has been used to combat opposition which most likely does not stem from Marxian organizations.

Regardless of opposition, or of purported reasons for its existence, the prospects for a change of government, or for a significant change in the policies of the current government, are very slight in the foreseeable future. The program of apartheid, despite all opposition, is being pushed forward; and the sponsoring political party has been receiving larger majorities steadily in the national elections. In 1948, the ratio of seats won by the Nationlist-Afrikaner coalition to those won by opposition parties was 79 to 74.[94] The Nationalist-opposition parties ratio in the 1961 election was 105 to 55.[95]

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 162.

[95] Ibid., p. 167.

CHAPTER IV

BANTU EDUCATION: AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF NATIONALIST APARTHEID

Before considering the Nationalist philosophy of Bantu education as it relates to apartheid, it is essential to consider two additional historical elements with direct importance to the Bantu Education Act:

(1) The development of the "Christian-National Education" concept of the Afrikaner community, and (2) the report on Bantu education prepared by the Eiselen Commission at the request of the Government. These two developments had profound effects on the final form of the Nationalist policies for the education of the Bantu

The Christian-National Education Policy

The Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys Beleid (Christian-National Education Policy) had its origin in a national conference of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (F.A.K.) in 1939.[1] At the Conference, an Institute of Christian-National Education (I.C.N.E.) was organized to insure "the continual propagation and furtherance of the historically-developed ideal of Christian and National education and for ensuring that the general lines of policy laid down . . . /by the

[1]Translated: Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (F.A.C.S.).

Institute/ . . . should find acceptance in a systematic way."[2]

Ten years after its establishment, the executive committee of the Institute published its policy statement. According to the preface of the publication, written by the Chairman of the F.A.C.S., the policy as presented had been endorsed by all Afrikaans organizations that are connected with education. Van Rooy writes as follows:

> Various drafts of this policy were considered by the full Institute, all the executive bodies of the F.A.C.S., and all the bodies and institutions represented in the I.C.N.E. and the F.A.C.S., and that means all the Afrikaans bodies and institutions which are in some degree interested in education. The document in its present form has therefore been approved of by the whole of Afrikanerdom in so far as it is represented in its organized ranks in the F.A.C.S.[3]

Perhaps more indicative of the totally Afrikaner-oriented nature of this educational policy is the dedication that was written by the Executive of the I.C.N.E. Appearing on the front page of the booklet, is this dedication:

> . . . to all the men and women who work with love and devotion for the education of the youth of our people and who wish to be true to the ideal of handing over unspoilt to the younger generation all that is good and pure and noble in our people's past and of helping to build on the foundation of our people's history the future of the Boer nation.[4]

There is, of course, nothing historically surprising about this total devotion to preserving the Afrikaner "nation." It is fully consistent with the early development of bitterness between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking White South Africans and, at the same time, with

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[2]Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies, Christian-National Educational Policy; Drawn up and Published by the Institute for Christian-National Education (Johannesburg: F.A.C.S., 1949), p. 2.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

the related struggle for the recognition of the Afrikaans language. However, the approach toward the effort to preserve the nationalism of the Afrikaner people as it is found in Christian-National Education was somewhat new and proved to have profound effects on Bantu education.

The C.N.E. policy statement is divided into two parts: (1) The policy for primary and secondary schools, and (2) the policy as it applies to "nursery schools, higher education, vocational education, adult education, etc."[5] Part I, Article 1, is a summary of the premises upon which the total policy was formulated.

> . . . Afrikaans-speaking children . . . must be educated on the basis of the Christian-National view of life and the world of our nation. In this view of life and the world, the Christian and National principles are of fundamental significance, and their object is the propagation, protection and development of the Christian and National nature and character of our nation. The Christian foundation of this view of life and the world is based on Holy Scripture and formulated in the Articles of Faith of our three Afrikaans churches. By the National principle we mean love for everything that is our own, with special reference to our country, our language, our history and our culture. We believe that both these principles must be applied to the full in the education of our children, so that these two principles may be characteristics of the whole school as regards its spirit, aim, curriculum, method, discipline, staff, organization and all its activities. Corresponding to the basic structure of our Christian-National life and world view, the National principle must always be under the guidance of the Christian principle: the National must grow on the Christian foundation.[6]

This summary makes what is meant by "Christian" and by "National" very clear. "National," as is indicated in the dedication, means only the Afrikaaner nation, while "Christian," means the Calvinism of the three Afrikaans churches, that is, the three Dutch Reformed Churches in

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[5] Ibid., p. 2.

[6] Ibid.

South Africa. The purity of this Calvinism is indicated by a statement in Article 4, expressing the Institute's beliefs concerning the child "as the object of education."

> We believe--that owing to the Fall sin has penetrated through to each successive generation by inheritance, and that therefore the child, as the object of education is a sinful and not sinless being; . . . We believe that all education is essentially the controlling guidance and formation of a child's development into an adult in submission to the Word of God in all things, and that the highest aim of all education is the formation of the man of God, 'thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'[7]

The curriculum proposed by the I.C.N.E. clearly reflects its philosophy of education. The most important subject should be the "doctrine of faith" of the Dutch Reformed Churches.[8] Not only is the subject of religion considered the most important subject, but "it /religion as defined/ must occupy such a central place in the teaching that it determines the spirit and trend of all subjects and of the whole school."[9]

The most important secular subject is the study of the "mother-tongue." The "mother-tongue" is so highly important that it alone should be the medium of instruction throughout primary and secondary school. "Bilingualism cannot be made the aim of teaching . . ."[10]

Further recommendations for the proper content of Christian-National Education can be summarized:

Civics: Civics should teach the child to preserve the

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[7] Ibid., pp. 283.

[8] Ibid., p. 5.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

Christian and nationalist character of home, church, society, and state.[11]

Geography: Georgraphy should teach that every nation is rooted in a country given to it by God. Further, the knowledge of geography "should be imparted to the pupil in such a way that he shall develop a love for . . . /his/ own native country, also in comparison and in contrast with other countries."[12] Geography should instill in the child a feeling of "being-rooted-in" the land -- a feeling which "should induce him /the child/, if necessary, to defend his own native land, to preserve it from impoverishment, to cultivate it and to improve it for his descendants."[13]

History: Second only to the teaching of the mother-tongue, the teaching of history is highly valuable for instilling nationalism. According to the policy, "history should be taught in the light of God's revelation, Holy Scripture, and be viewed as the fulfilment of God's decreed plan for the world and the human race . . . "[14] That the text should be the Bible becomes clear when the proposed content for history study is outlined: (1) "The great facts of the creation." (2) "the Fall and the breaking of the covenant," (3) "the incarnation, suffering, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ," (4) "the regeneration in Christ Jesus and the

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

> end of the world," and (5) a general emphasis on Jesus Christ as the "great turning-point in the history of the world."[15] In addition, the child should be taught "that God, in the fulfillment of the great task He has imposed on man, willed separate nations and peoples, and has given to each separate nation and people, its special calling and task and talents, that each nation and people, in the fulfillment of its calling and task, is a builder of culture by the controlling formation of given talent, structure of condition."[16]

Because the envisioned nationalism includes only the Afrikaans-speaking South African, the children of the two White population groups should not attend the same schools. This position is clearly stated in Article 8, Section 1, along with the implication that separate schools should be considered for other population groups.

> We believe that there should be <u>at least</u> two kinds of schools for primary and secondary education, one for the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents with their common creed and language, with Afrikaans only as medium, and the other for the children of English-speaking parents with English as medium.[17]

The statement on the role of parents and the church in organizing and controlling education has important implications for the structure of Bantu education that was soon to be built. While the church must encourage parents to support education, and also help those same parents financially when necessary, churches are not to establish schools

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[15] <u>Ibid</u>.

[16] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 7.

[17] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 8.

under normal circumstances. Only when the "existing schools are unchristian /sic/ and unnational . . . ," or when operating in the "heathen world," should the church establish schools. The control and establishment of schools "should, in the first instance, be in the hands of the parents; the church may exercise the necessary control only through agency of the parents; but the state should see to it that justice is maintained between the parents, the teacher, the church and the state . . ."[18]

The proposed plan for the participation of parents in educational control and support is a blueprint for the plan established five years later for Bantu education. Individual schools should have "school committees" or "parents councils." "School boards" should be established for areas including several schools, and should include representatives of school committees, the state, and the teaching profession.[19] Above the school boards should be the provincial educational authorities. In typically vague terms the policy statement describes the representation on the Council of Education for each province: "The school boards, the state and teaching profession . . . but also educationists and other subject--specialists /should be represented/."[20]

Very little is said about the role of the teacher in Christian-National education. Not surprising, however, Article 9 specifies that the teacher must be a man "with a Christian view of life and the world,

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[18] Ibid., p. 10.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

without which he is for us (Afrikanerdom) nothing less than a most deadly danger."[21] Bearing in mind the earlier discussion of the Christian aspect of Christian-National education, "a Christian" means one who espouses Calvinism and belongs to the Dutch Reformed Church.

Higher education should follow the same basic pattern as primary and secondary education. University education is to be "thetic rather than antithetic, never purely ecletic and never reconciliatory." Vernacular instruction is not specifically suggested, but as with teachers of primary and secondary education; "professors and lecturers must be convinced Christian-and-National scientists."[22] Speaking specifically about adult education, but with little likelihood that it was meant to exclude higher education generally, the statement specifies that "such education should be given with due observances of the principle of cultural 'apartness,' and that, so far as the Afrikaans-speaking citizens are concerned, it should be given on the basis of the Christian-National life and world view of the Boer nation."[23]

Part II, Article 15, deals specifically with Bantu education. In order to avoid misinterpretation, this article is reproduced in its entirety.

> We believe that the calling and task of white South Africa with respect to the native is to christianise /sic/ him and to assist him culturally, and that this calling and task has already found its clearly defined expression in the /three/ principles of /:/ guardianship, no levelling, and segregation. Therefore we believe that any system of education of the native should be based on these three

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[21] Ibid., p. 11. (Italics by writer.)

[22] Ibid., p. 12.

[23] Ibid., p. 14.

> principles. In accordance with these principles we believe that the education of the native should be based on the life and world view of the European, more particularly that of the Boer nation as the senior European guardian of the native, and that the native should be led to a mutatis mutandis but independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in education, as these principles are more fully described in the foregoing articles 1, 2, and 3. We believe also that the mother-tongue is the basis of native education, but that the two official languages of the country should be learned as subjects because they are the official languages of the country and are for the native the key to that 'culture-adoption' which is necessary for his own cultural advancement. Because of the cultural immaturity of the native we believe that it is the right and duty of the State in cooperation with the Christian Protetant /sic/ churches to provide for and control native education. We believe, however, that the education of the native and the training of native teachers should be undertaken by the natives themselves as soon as possible, but under the control and guidance of the state; with this proviso, however, that the financing of native education be placed on such a basis that it does not take place at the cost of European education. We believe finally that native education should lead to the development of an independent self-supporting and self-providing native community on a Christian-National basis.[24]

The historical forces leading to the development of the policy of Christian-National Education are the same forces that molded the Afrikaner people together and resulted in their belief in apartheid. The whole range of religious, economic, and social forces are common; but the focus of these forces was now on the question of education and on a specific educational program that was aimed at the protection of Afrikanerdom from its two domestic cultural threats, that is, the English-speaking Whites, and the Bantu masses.

Both the definition of "Christian" in terms of Afrikaner concepts of Christianity and the definition of "national" purely in terms of the

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[24] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

Boer nation neatly preclude the participation of the predominantly Anglican, English-speaking White. Afrikaner Calvinism, in turn teaching God-ordained racial inequality along with the concept of Afrikaner guardianship, logically led to the formulation of some type of separate educational program for the Bantu.

Briefly summarizing C.N.E. policy as it applies to Bantu education, it should be emphasized that the primary element of Bantu education, according to C.N.E., is to be a mutatis mutandis form of "Christianity" and of "Nationalism." Unlike the mission schools in 1949, where an official language replaced the mother-tongue after the first two or three years of a child's education, instruction must be in the vernacular throughout primary and secondary schools. Both Afrikaans and English are to be taught as subjects; and again this was contrary to the curriculum policies of most mission schools in 1949.

The state has the "right and duty" to control Bantu education; whereas, in 1949 the provinces had control.[25] While the policy includes support for a more active participation of Bantu in the control of their children's education and in the education of Bantu teachers, the state maintains general control and guidance. State finance of Bantu education is to be limited in that it must never be at the expense of "European education."

Perhaps somewhat revealing of the significance of the C.N.E. policy, and that of the F.A.C.S. generally, is the concluding sentence of the

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[25] Ibid., p. 10. It might be argued that the use of the term "state" implies inclusion of provinces. In Part I, Article 7, however, the state and province are clearly considered separate entities.

[26] Ibid., p. 15.

policy statement. The sentence takes on special significance when it is remembered that the C.N.E. statement was prepared by the non-governmental organization and also that it was published three years before the Tomlinson Report was completed. Here again is the sentence:

> We believe finally that native education should lead to the development of an independent self-supporting native community on a Christian-National basis.[26]

There can be little doubt either that the Institute had some form of territorial apartheid program in mind, or that it saw Bantu education as an instrument by which to create the skills and attitudes necessary to make the program work.

As a further indication of the political influence of the political influence of the F.A.C.S. and the I.C.N.E., it can be cited that two of the ten members of the I.C.N.E. executive committee, T.E. Donges and E.G. Jansen, were ministers in Malan's cabinet.[27] Other influencial members of the committee included an advocate, G.F. de V. Hugo, and the president of the Afrikaans-speaking Teachers' Association of the Transvaal, J. H. Greijbe.[28]

But the best indication of the influence of the Institute for Christian-National Education is that Bantu education administration since the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 has closely followed "Christian-National lines." Practically all of the suggestions of the I.C.N.E. have been placed into practice.

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[26] Ibid., p. 15.

[27] The Education League, Blueprint for Blackout: A Commentary on the Education Policy of the Instituut vir Christelik-Nationale Onderwys with an abridged translation of the recent pamphlet in which the Policy is stated (Johannesburg: The Education League, 1963), p. 1.

[28] Ibid.

Organized Opposition to the Christian-National Education Policy

Before discussing the Eiselen Committee Report, it should be noted that organized opposition to C.N.E. was almost immediate.

The Education League, a voluntary association made up of primary and secondary schoolteachers, university professors, and parents was organized to combat the C.N.E. policy. The League has published booklets explaining why it considers Christian-National education to be neither Christian nor in the nation's best interest. Two booklets, Blueprint for Blackout, published in January, 1949, and Blackout, published in 1959, were efforts to create enough public opposition to prevent the execution of C.N.E. policy. Here are a few excerpts from Blackout that reveal the position of the Education League:

> As propaganda it /the C.N.E. policy statement/ is skillfully prepared. Its appeal to the ignorant and ill-informed is ominous, for God and the Fatherland are called upon in almost every paragraph. We believe that this policy is not Christian and aims at destroying any hope for a united South African nation. It is not aimed at education but rather at indoctrination.
>
> Our booklet, in its earlier edition, was entitled Blueprint for Blackout. How unhappily opposite that title has proved! . . .
>
> By means of the Bantu Education Act the control of African education was transferred to the State . . . .
>
> Control has been the pattern of South African Nationalists. In no other sphere have they hesitated to use the power that is their's by virtue of their control. They will not make education the exception, for it is the key to control, the means by which all authoritarian regimes hope to perpetuate their power.[29]

Another booklet, Christelik Nasionale Onderwys Beleid: A Threat to Freedom, was published in 1949 by the Standing Committee of the

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[29]The Education League, Blackout: A Commentary on the Education Policy of the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys (I.C.N.O.) (Johannesburg: The Education League, 1959), pp. 7-9.

Associated South African Church Schools, an organization representing the Anglican secondary schools for boys in the country. The Association has connections with non-Anglican private schools, and with the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Private Schools.[30] Two members of the Standing Committee, R. F. Currey, Headmaster of St. Andrew's College and F. R. Snell, Rector of Michaelhouse, co-authored the booklet.[31]

The general position taken in this booklet concerning C.N.E. is similar to that taken by the Education League. Understandably, however, special emphasis is placed on the implications for private schools.[32]

> Nowhere in the Beleid is any reference made to Private Schools. This may mean that in the view of the I.C.N.O. /I.C.N.E./ the Private Schools are so unimportant a part of the educational system of the Union as not to require notice or mention. It may mean that in its view such schools can find no useful place in a compulsory Union-wide system of Christian National Education. Even reading between the lines one can find no indication of the views held on this matter by the Beleid.
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> But there is no need to read between the lines; for it cries aloud from every page that the whole attitude to education set forth by the Beleid is something entirely alien to that freedom for which the Private Schools stand, and without which they cannot live.
>
> Nor, indeed is it only the Private Schools whose freedom is threatened. If the I.C.N.O. has its way, freedom in education will wilt and die in every university and school in the land. All will be enslaved alike, Afrikaans- and English-speaking, Christian and non-Christian, Native and Coloured. When freedom is dead education becomes a thing of bricks and mortar, desks and registers, from which the spirit has departed and the soul perished.[33]

R. F. Currey, Christelik Nasionale Onderwys Beleid (Christian National Education Policy): A Threat to Freedom (Johannesburg: Hayne and Gibson), n.d., p. 1.

[31] Ibid.

[32] It should be remembered that in 1949 nearly all Bantu schools were private mission schools.

[33] R. F. Currey, op. cit., p. 11.

The Eiselen Commission

Despite the opposition that was expressed to the C.N.E. statement, it is evident the policy was in harmony with the aims of the Nationalist Government.

In 1948, shortly after the formation of Manal's coalition government, it was decided to appoint a commission to study the general question of Bantu education from the angles of (1) the advantages the Bantu himself received from the existing system, (2) the value of the current system for the country as a whole, and (3) the effects of the current system on racial relations in South Africa.[34]

More specifically, the "terms of reference" that were given to the Commission on January 19, 1949, were these:

(a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
(b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabusses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.
(c) The organization and administration of the various branches of Native education.
(d) The basis on which such education should be financed.
(e) Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding.[35]

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[34]South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, The Commission on Native Education (1949-1951), Summary of Findings and Recommendations (Stellenbosch: S.A.B.R.A., 1952), p. 2.

[35]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p. 7. (Italics by the writer.)

These terms of reference include basic assumptions that are consistent with the philosophy of Christian-National Education policy. It is clear that the Commission was expected to consider its task within the framework of a society characterized by racial segregation, this segregation being a basic premise because of "inherent racial qualities" and "distinctive /racial/ characteristics and aptitude."[36] Only after the aims and principles for Bantu education are derived from the basic premise assigned to the Commission are specific policy suggestions to be made to the Government.

Eight men were appointed by the Governor-General, G. B. van Syl, to undertake the task. The Chairman of the Commission, W.W.M. Eiselen, had been Chief Inspector of Native Education for the Transvaal and was Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Pretoria in 1949. He was later appointed Secretary for Native Affairs.[37] The remaining seven members of the Commission had had extensive experience in Bantu education.

The investigation procedure of the Commission was based on a questionnaire which was sent to "education departments, church bodies, universities, teachers' associations, principals of Bantu educational institutions and others interested."[38] In addition, the Commission encouraged those interested in contributing to the study to submit

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[36] Ibid.

[37] K. B. Hartshorne, Native Education in the Union of South Africa: A Summary of the Report of the Native Education in South Africa - U.G. 53-1951 (Eiselen) (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1953), p. 1.

[38] Union of South Africa, op. cit., p. 7.

memoranda.[39] Over two hundred such memoranda were received along with about three hundred completed questionnaires -- many being received from Bantu individuals and Bantu agencies.[41]

In order "to gain a wider perspective of the problems of Bantu education," three members of the Commission visited the British Protectorates; while Eiselen, along with two other members, visited the countries then called Southern and Northern Rhodesia; also Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, and the Congo.[41]

After three years, the Commission presented its findings and recommendations to the Government as a 233-page report. The Report is divided into three parts: (1) "The Bantu and the Present System of Education," (2) "Critical Appraisal of the Present System of Bantu Education," and (3) "Proposals and Recommendations."[42]

In Part I, the Commission surveys the history of the Bantu: their origin, ethnic grouping, and societal structure. Also discussed is the development of Bantu education, beginning with the early period which was characterized by mission finance and control. In analyzing the development of Bantu education up to the time of its writing, the Commission considered questions of administration, finance, and purpose. Its general conclusions are, in principle, little different from those reached in Chapters II and III of this paper.

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., pp. 7, 183-190.

[41] Ibid., p. 7.

[42] Ibid., pp. 3-5.

In Part II, the Commission offers its evaluation of Bantu education as it existed in 1949. Summarizing its criticisms, the Commission emphasizes four points:

(a) Bantu education is not an integral part of a plan of socio-economic development.
(b) Bantu education in itself has no organic unity; it is split into a bewildering number of different agencies and is not planned.
(c) Bantu education is conducted without the active participation of the Bantu as a people, either locally or on a wider basis.
(d) Bantu education is financed in such a way that it achieves a minimum of educational effect on the Bantu community and planning is made virtually impossible.[43]

The Commission's General Philosophy

The body of the Eiselen Report is filled with statistical detail which is not directly relevant to this study. The importance of the Report in a cultural analysis of Bantu education as it relates to apartheid is to be found in the basic attitudes of the Commissioners, as revealed both in their general approach and in their recommendations.

Perhaps most revealing of the intent of the Commission are its statements concerning the "best" aims for Bantu education, made preparatory to the specific recommendations. The premise from which the Commission begins its analysis of these aims is that "the function of education is to transmit the culture of a society from its more mature to its immature members, and in so doing develop their powers."[44] When the Commission uses the term "culture," it means "the sum total of all those patterns of thought, behavior and feeling which characterise

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[43] Ibid., par. 752.

[44] Ibid., par. 754.

the social life of a group or society."[45]

Although, the Commission continues," . . . the more primitive or underdeveloped the culture of a society is, the simpler is the task of education . . . ," Bantu social organization has undergone significant changes under European influences.[46] The political and economic control of the European has made the "smooth-functioning" of traditional Bantu social institutions, such as the family or the tribe, increasingly difficult. More specifically, the traditional educational function of these institutions has become ineffective with the coming of the predominance of European-type civilization.[47]

The European-type schools which have been established for the Bantu, the Commission concludes, are schools "which are concerned primarily, not with reinforcing or being reinforced by other social institutions of Bantu society, but more largely with the transmission of ideas, values, attitudes, and skills which have not been developed in Bantu society itself and are often not in harmony with its institutions."[48] The Commission illustrates this separation of "social education" from schooling:

> The harmony which should exist between the 'social' or institutional education of the child and his 'schooling' has been disrupted. His school teaches the virtues and merits of modern hygiene; the traditional family knows nothing of this and both its organization and economic facilities made the practice of such hygiene impossible. The school teaches modern agricultural theory (and some practice); the traditional family is both unable and unwilling to allow this practice.[49]

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., par. 757.

[47] Ibid., pars. 758-59.

[48] Ibid., par. 759.

[49] Ibid., par. 760.

Under these circumstances, the Commission believes that if the Bantu social institutions do not evolve to "bridge the gap" between themselves and modern schools, the conflicting purposes of Bantu society and these schools will continue to "tend to develop persons who are compelled to reject either the school or those ideas which are basic to their own social institutions."[50] In order to prevent this from happening, the Commission recommends that the development and growth of Bantu education be considered only in the framework of "governmental action to assist the growth and development of social institutions which will be able to cooperate with, benefit from, and support the work of the schools."[51]

It should be noted at this point that the Commission has established a framework of reference which assumes that Bantu society is to continue to exist as a separate entity in South Africa. Furthermore, although the Commission does not specifically use the word "apartheid," it is clearly implied that the execution of government policy should be facilitated through the Bantu educational program.

With the conclusion that Bantu education should be coordinated with the Government's general plan for Bantu development, the Commission suggests eleven "guiding principles" for Bantu education. These can be summarized as follows:

(a) Bantu education must be broadly conceived so that it can be organized to provide adequate schools "with a definite Christian character," along with social institution to

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[50] Ibid., par. 762.

[51] Ibid., par. 763.

harmonize with the schools.

(b) Bantu education should be planned and administered by a Government department "to secure efficient and thorough co-ordination of planning . . . "

(c) "/Bantu/ education must be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies," with special emphasis on economic development.

(d) "Increased emphasis must be placed on the education of the mass of the Bantu to enable them to co-operate in the evolution of new social patterns and institutions."

(e) The Bantu languages must be developed to include both terminologies for expressing modern scientific concepts, and also to include more effective numerical systems.

(f) The limited funds available for Bantu education must be "spread . . . as far as is consistent with efficiency."

(g) "/Bantu/ schools must be linked as closely as possible with existing Bantu social institutions, and a friendly though not necessarily uncritical attitude maintained between the school and these institutions."

(h) "The mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction for at least the duration of the primary school." As the languages are developed, "they should in increasing measure be recognized as media of instruction." The importance of this lies in the positive contribution which the schools can make in the development of the Bantu languages both for their own use and for other institutions of Bantu life, e.g., Bantu Courts and Councils."

(i) "Bantu personnel should be used to the maximum to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as possible as well as to provide employment."

(j) "Bantu parents should as far as practicable have a share in the control and life of the schools."

(k) "The schools should provide for the maximum development of the Bantu individual, mentally, morally and spiritually."[52]

Following the general position that the schools be used to develop Bantu culture, the Commission naturally concludes that the Reserves are the best places for the functioning of Bantu education as they conceive it.[53] This emphasis on separate cultural development and on the relationship between the schools and Bantu culture leads the Commission to state that "Bantu education . . . /has/ . . . a separate existence just as, for example, French education, Chinese education or even European education in South Africa, because it exists and can function only in and for a particular social setting, namely, Bantu society."[54] The "purest" form of Bantu tribal society exists in the Reserves.

Perhaps anticipating certain types of criticisms of this general stand, the Commission clearly states its belief that the necessity for a separate educational system for the Bantu is totally cultural; there being no reason to conclude that the Bantu are physically or

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[52] Ibid., par. 766.

[53] Ibid., par. 768.

[54] Ibid., par. 777.

mentally inferior to other racial groups.

> The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs, so far as your Commissioners have been able to determine from the evidence set before them, so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims. The now universally accepted principle of leading the child in his education from the known and familiar to the unknown and the unfamiliar has to be applied equally in the case of the Bantu child as with children of any other social group. But educational practice must recognize that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e., a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interests and behavior patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education.[55]

Not only at the primary school level, but also at the more advanced stages, Bantu education should be unique. The Commission believes that the proper character of post-primary education can be determined by answering the question: "What type of individual should the school produce who will function to the best advantage in Bantu society?"[56]

In attempting to answer this question, the emphasis on racial segregation again becomes apparent. By 1970, the Commission suggested that social conditions would result in the Bantu having the following needs:[57]

(a) Religious knowledge and attitudes.
(b) Literacy in a Bantu language both as a means of communication and of calculation, and as a vehicle for the preservation of pride in National traditions.
(c) Literacy in one, or preferably both European official languages to serve as a means of communication with Europeans, as a help in economic matters and as a means of securing contact with the knowledge of the wider world.

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[55] Ibid., par. 773. (Italics added.)

[56] Ibid., par. 775.

[57] It is interesting to note the apparent preclusion of Black-White social contact other than in the economic sphere.

(d) Knowledge of hygiene for the preservation of health.
(e) Knowledge of technical skills in agriculture, and the whole gamut of professions and trades which have grown up as the result of the development of the world-wide phenomena of industrialization.
(f) Social patterns and values which make a man a good member of his community, a good parent and a useful member of society. (He should, for example, possess such qualities as punctuality, initiative, self-confidence, sense of duty, persistence, sociability, mannerliness, neatness, realiability, power to concentrate, etc.)
(g) Knowledge of and sympathy for the development and well-being of the Bantu people, as well as other groups in South Africa.[58]

The Specific Recommendations of the Commission

The Commission recommends that the first step toward developing an effective educational system for the Bantu should be a detailed study of the socio-economic conditions in Bantu areas, along with the establishment of a detailed program for social development in these areas. This having been done, it would then be possible to relate Bantu education to the general plan.[59] It was a result of this recommendation that the Tomlinson Commission discussed earlier in this paper, was appointed in November, 1950, to undertake a socio-economic study of the Reserves.

Although writing prior to the Tomlinson Commission Report, specific proposals were made by the Eiselen Commission concerning the control, finance, and language media for Bantu schools. It was assumed that proper consideration in these areas involved social principles that would not be altered by the findings of a socio-economic planning group.

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[58] Ibid., par. 776.

[59] Ibid., pars. 782-785.

Central Government control with Bantu Participation.--As stated in the "guiding principles," mentioned earlier, the Commission believes that all aspects of Bantu development should be coordinated by the state. To achieve this coordination, it is proposed that a new Division of Bantu Affairs be established in the government. The executive officer for this division would be a Secretary for Bantu Affairs. A Bantu Development Authority with the responsibility for planning and financing economic development would be answerable to the Secretary. In addition to the Development Authority, it was proposed that three departments operate under the Secretary's supervision: (1) a Department of Bantu Education, (2) a Department of Bantu Technical Services,[60] and (3) a Department of Bantu Administration.[61]

The purpose of the proposed Division of Bantu Affairs would be to "co-ordinate at all levels everything undertaken on behalf of Bantu development."[62] Although the Division would be an appendage of the Republican Government, the Commission's intent was not to exclude the Bantu people totally from the administration or finance of their own education. This becomes clear in the following passage:

> The active participation of the Bantu is required not only within the educational machinery but also in local government and in the management of schools in order that these

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[60]The proposal was that the Department of Bantu Technical Services should deal with such areas as agriculture, forestry, veterinary services, public works, co-operative societies, and health.

[61]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p. 135.

[62]Ibid., p. 133.

> institutions may be developed to reach their full social significance. This is necessary to build up a new attitude to education so that the people will realize that it is a means to spiritual development, social progress, increase of national income and the enrichment of cultural life. To achieve the active participation of the Bantu in carrying out the educational plan, your Commission suggests that Bantu local Authorities should be created . . .[63]

These Local Authorities are to be located both in the Reserves and in urban areas. The authorities, made up of the "local chief (if any), and elected and nominated members," would collect Bantu taxes and use this revenue, along with a "fixed scale" government subsidy, to administer all local services including education.[64] In the interest of social coordination and planning, Local Authority decision-making would be limited to those areas that were designated by the Division of Bantu Affairs.[65]

The transfer of the local administration of schools from the missions to the Local Authorities.--One of the greatest implications of the proposal for the establishment of Local Authorities concerned the church bodies who administered practically all Bantu education in 1951. Under the plan it would be necessary for local administration to pass from the missions to the Local Bantu Authorities. The Commission states that there should be "maximum co-operation between religious, educational and civil authorities" in order to assure that the Bantu

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] It will be remembered that the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, established such a system of local government for the Bantu. This act was passed in response to the Eiselen Commission recommendation. See p. 72.

will rise "to a full sense of their obligations and responsibilities in the matter of education."[66] However, the transfer of Bantu education to the control of Local Authorities is not seen as necessarily resulting in a reduction of religious influences in Bantu schools.

> The fact that religious bodies have acted as local authorities for education in the pioneer stages should not be allowed to prevent the initiation of general local government bodies to deal with education and other social services in the future, nor should it be felt that such a change will necessarily weaken the influence of the missions or their interest in Bantu education. Hence your Commissinn feels that while the churches may be represented in the local control of schools, such mission schools as exist . . . should gradually be transferred to the local authorities concerned, in accordance with the terms governing administration and control, to be laid down by the proposed Department of Bantu Education.[67]

Not only mission schools but also those schools controlled by "tribes or communities or by Provincial Education Departments should be transferred to the control of the Local Authority."[68] The process of transfer should be gradual, depending upon the capability of the Local Authority, as is shown in this report:

> The process of taking over . . . schools . . . should be a gradual one and would depend on the Local Authority satisfying the Department of Education of its ability to raise its share of the necessary funds, to administer the schools in an efficient manner and to secure the support of the inhabitants of the area concerned ('cash, competence and consent').[69]

Once under the control of Local Authorities, the Commission suggests that school "matters" be dealt with by ad hoc committees of "Bantu

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[66] Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, p. 133.

[67] Ibid., par. 790. (Italics added.)

[68] Ibid., par. 818. Of the 4,590 Bantu schools in 1945, 230 were under the control and management of the Provinces: Natal, 215; Cape, 14; Transvaal, 1; Orange Free State, 0 (Ibid., p. 35.).

[69] Ibid., par. 819.

members . . . advised by the local inspector, and, where necessary, other nominated Europeans."[70] Although not stated specifically, it appears that the Commission intends for these Local Authorities and committees to deal only with primary schools. Bantu Regional Authorities and Regional Boards of Education will handle, among other things, the "conduct of secondary education in their particular region."[71] Six regional areas are suggested on the basis of tribal groupings.[72] Each "Regional Board of Education will serve under the chairmanship of the Regional Director of Bantu Education who will act as chairman of the Union Board of Education (which also includes representatives of the Regional Baords)."[73]

The Commission deals only in general terms with the question of education for those Bantu living in urban areas and on White-owned farms. The heterogeneous tribal nature of urban Bantu would seem to present a definite problem. The Commission, however, summarily handles urban Local Authorities with the following statement:

> In urban areas the duties and functions of the Bantu Local Authorities would be similar to those of the same body in the Reserves. They, too, should be co-ordinated by the Regional Authorities.[74]

More consideration is given to the special problems connected with control of Bantu education on White-owned farms. The general conclusion of the Commission is that control should be in the hands of an "Area

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[70] Ibid., par. 810.

[71] Ibid., par. 822.

[72] Ibid., par. 836.

[73] Ibid., par. 810.

[74] Ibid., par. 823.

Authority."

> With regard to the large Bantu population on European farms, it stands to reason that some other form of control /other than tribal-oriented Local and Regional Authorities/ will have to be introduced. In this connection your Commission has in mind not only the scattered farm-dwellers but also the locations of small rural towns. In these areas owners of farms and employers will have to be led to take an active interest in the education of and social services for the Bantu.
>
> It is recommended that areas, including from between 50 and 100 schools, as circumstances may require, should be marked off and that for each such unit an Area Authority be established to care for Bantu interests in general and Bantu education in particular . . . It will in turn be assisted by an Educational Committee which exercises control over all the schools within the area. This Area Authority should be given representation on the afore-mentioned Regional Authorities.[75]

Proposals for School Organization and Curricula

Beginning from the premise that "the Bantu educational system must be evolved in accordance with the requirements of a comprehensive scheme of Bantu development," the Commission proposes a general plan for Bantu schools.[76] The general pattern for the system is in three parts:

(a) a lower primary school to provide a minimum of literacy for all children;
(b) a higher primary school which will serve not merely to continue the work of the lower primary school but will sort out the children most suited for further education and begin to guide them in appropriate directions;
(c) a series of post primary schools whose functions will vary but which will provide the types of educated Bantu necessary for the development of Bantu society.[77]

Because of the lack of adequate facilities for school-age children, the Commission believes that "pre-school education" (ages one to six years), should be expanded "only with the utmost circumspection and . . .

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[75] Ibid., pars. 824-825.

[76] Ibid., par. 847.

[77] Ibid.

confined to the large urban areas." The implication is that some of the state subsidies going to creches should be withdrawn.[78]

The proposed Lower Primary School would correspond with Substandards A and B, and Standards I and II, of the educational system being used when the Commission was writing.[79]

> These schools would concentrate on the tool subjects (three R's) and would to a large extent cover the work at present done in the Sub-standards and in Standards I and II. Promotion would be automatically provided an adequate attendance by the pupil can be shown . . . Admission would be limited in each class to a number of pupils with which the teacher could cope satisfactorily. It should be emphasized that the idea to be aimed at in these schools should be that every pupil admitted to Sub-standard A will remain in school until he or she has completed Standard II. Some means should therefore be devised by the authorities whereby while admissions will remain voluntary, attendance could be made compulsory.[80]

The Commission's purpose for proposing both automatic promotion and compulsory attendance for those admitted to the Lower Primary School is to accelerate the movement toward a high percentage of minimum literacy among the Bantu. According to the statistics for 1949, approximately two thirds of the children who start school drop out by Standard II.

The curriculum for the Lower Primary School should include, in addition to the "three R's," the teaching of one official language "on a purely utilitarian basis, that is, as a medium of oral expression of thought to be used in contacts with the European section of the

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[79]The terms "Sub-standard" and "Standard" are used in South Africa to designate the steps in the graded school systems. Sub-standards A and B roughly correspond with Kindergarten and Grade I in the United States. Primary school ends after Standard VI, with Standards VII through X constituting secondary school. Up until 1955, Bantu schools were using the same plan.

[80]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, par. 851.

population."[81] In addition, religious instruction, practical hygiene, handwork, and recreation should be included. "An interest in the soil and in the observation of natural phenomena" should be stimulated.[82]

TABLE 3

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BANTU CHILDREN IN EACH SCHOOL YEAR, 1949, UNION

	Number	Percentage
Sub. A	251,181	33.1
Sub. B	127,412	16.8
Std. I	111,227	14.7
Std. II	80,249	10.6
Std. III	64,580	8.5
Std. IV	46,580	6.1
Std. V	31,291	4.1
Std. VI	26,413	3.5
Std. VII	13,824	1.8
Std. VIII	4,702	0.6
Std. IX	904	0.1
Std. X	471	0.06
TOTAL	758,811*	100.0

*It will be noted that the total school population has increased by more than 5 per cent annually in the years, 1946-49 and that, in other words, the school population has grown much more rapidly than the Bantu population as a whole.

Source: Ibid., p. 134.

At the completion of Standard II, students "should be tested in order to determine whether they have made sufficient progress to be able to benefit by the following course," that is, Higher Primary School.[83]

[81] Ibid., par. 853.

[82] Ibid., par. 853.

[83] Ibid., par. 852.

In Standards III and IV, the Bantu child should continue with the subjects studied in the Lower Primary School. In addition to these subjects, history and geography should be studied along with "gardening and agriculture."[84] The instruction in the use of the official language begun in the Lower Primary School should be expanded to include the "reading and writing of simple letters."[85] In addition, a "beginning might be made with the teaching of the second official language on a practical and oral basis."[86]

The Commission believes that two educational tracks, one academic and one vocational, should be developed beginning with Standard V.

> . . . a careful study of the pupil's aptitudes should enable the teacher, in consultation with the Inspector of Schools, to determine whether the pupil concerned would benefit by a continuation of the more academic education or whether his education for the following two years should have a more practical basis.
>
> It should be clearly understood that manipulative skills and agriculture will still be taught in the academic classes and academic subjects in the classes with a vocational bias . . . In practice it would probably mean that while the academic group would devote two-thirds of their time to academic and one-third to practical subjects, the position in the vocational group would be reversed to one-third for academic and two-thirds for vocational subjects.[87]

At the end of the Higher Primary School, two Standard VI examinations would be given, one with an academic, the other with a

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[84] Ibid., par. 854.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., pars. 855-856.

vocational bias.[88] Those students who pass the examinations will be given certificates which will qualify them, regardless of whether they have taken the vocational or the academic course, "to proceed to any of the post primary courses provided by the Department." The natural assumption, however, "would be that the pupil with the academic bias would enter high, polytechnic or /teacher/ training schools, while the pupil with vocational bias would find his way into vocational schools."[89] Whereas White children attend high school for four years, that is, Standards VII through X, the Commission believes that an extra year is needed for Bantu children.

> The High School course would, for the present, take five years. This would consist of a training period of three years ending with the Junior Certificate, and a further two years ending with the Matriculation or Senior Certificate Examination.[90]

The Commission believes that the use of the official languages as media of instruction in high schools retards the progress of the Bantu students, thus making the additional year necessary.

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[88] Ibid., par. 857.

[89] Ibid., par. 858.

[90] Ibid., par. 859. There are two bodies in South Africa which examine students after the completion of secondary school to determine whether or not they will be admitted to a university: (1) The Joint Matriculation Board, a body of university educators; and (2) the Department of Education Arts and Sciences, a Central Government department responsible for, among other things, subsidizing universities and controlling most non-university, post-secondary education for Whites. A student who passes either the Matriculation Examination, or the Senior Certificate Examination (Department of Education Arts and Sciences) is eligible for university admittance.

> . . . the average Bantu pupil after passing Standard VI requires an extra year to reach the standard of knowledge demanded by the Junior Certificate examination. It would appear to us that the almost exclusive use of a foreign language as medium of instruction in the secondary school is largely responsible for this retardation.[91]

Although nothing further is said about it at this point, the Commission clearly believes that vernacular instruction would be desirable throughout secondary school.

The students who take the academic course through high school will be those who intend

> (a) to secure at the Senior Certificate stage a matriculation exemption enabling them to proceed to a university;
> (b) to proceed to a /teacher/ training school after completion of the Junior Certificate Examination to secure a teacher's certificate;
> (c) to enter a polytechnic school to qualify for admission to the civil service or for clerical and administrative work in commerce and industry.[92]

The high school course with the vocational bias would

> . . . lead to more advance /sic/ work in vocational schools of which the ultimate aim would be the production of artisans of various types (e.g. carpenters, masons, tailors, mechanics). It would also secure admission to the training schools with a view to training teachers for the practical subjects . . .
>
> The technical course would not grant matriculation exemption /qualification for university admission/ but would qualify the successful candidate to proceed to post-matriculation teacher training with a view to teaching vocational and technical subjects in higher primary, secondary and high schools.[93]

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[91] Ibid., par. 860. (Italics added.)

[92] Ibid., par. 862.

[93] Ibid., pars. 863-866.

Because of the conviction that the Reserves must provide the nucleus of Bantu development, agriculture and handwork are emphasized by the Commission throughout its report. It is believed that every possible attempt should be made to incorporate agricultural education effectively in the curricula of the various types of schools:

> Your Commission is satisfied that some or other form of soil cultivation (gardening, agriculture or forestry) can make a valuable contribution to the education of the Bantu, not only because of its general educational value, but because application of this knowledge in after-school life could exercise a tremendous influence on problems which affect the very economic existence of the Bantu. In this connection we think, e.g., of problems such as soil conservation, crop rotation, tree planting, overgrazing and the production of foodstuffs which will make it possible for the Bantu to eat a balanced diet. If the school can only get the child to absorb these lessons, the Bantu will within a generation or so devote attention to the matter not because of compulsion but of conviction.[94]

The emphasis placed on handwork is with the hope that labor-intensive cottage industries will develop in Bantu areas. Instruction in handwork is suggested to develop the necessary skills and attitudes among the Bantu:

> . . . handwork in the first four years of school should aim at the establishment of: (i) the habit of doing manual work; and (ii) the necessary correlation between the hand, the eye and the brain which leads to manual dexterity; . . . thereafter more attention should gradually be paid to the practical use and economic value of the articles made by the pupils.[95]

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[94] Ibid., par. 930.

[95] Ibid., par. 932.

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Along with agriculture and handwork, very strong emphasis is placed on religious instruction.

> Your Commission is of the opinion that: (i) historical material, utilizing geographical and archeological data concerning Palestine, should form the basis of Bible instruction; (ii) dogmatic instruction should be confined to the general Christian truths as professed by the chruches of all the ages, with the Apostolic Confession of Faith as a basis; (iii) ethical material should assume the form of practical applications of Biblical truth to the everyday life and problems of the Bantu pupil.
> Your Commission recommends --
> (a) that religious instruction should be made a compulsory subject in all schools, including primary, secondary, and training schools; (b) that a definite time allotment be made for instruction in this subject, apart from the time taken up by the opening exercises; (c) that inspectors and supervisors be expected to regard this subject as a compulsory school subject; to inspect the work done in this connection, to hear lessons and to report on the quality of the work done; (d) that principals be expected to ensure that the subject is treated throughout the school on an equal footing with the other content subjects as an internal examination subject; (e) that, in consultation with religious bodies, a three-fold curriculum should be drawn up (i) for the lower primary school; (ii) for the higher primary school and (iii) for post-primary education.[96]

The Commission suggests three types of qualifications for Bantu teachers: (1) The Bantu Primary Lower Certificate, (2) the Bantu Primary Higher Certificate, and (3) a post-matriculation diploma or a qualification connected with a /university/ degree.[97]

The Bantu Primary Lower Certificate would require a three-year course, the entrance qualification being a Standard VI Certificate. Being geared toward the preparation of teachers for the Lower Primary

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[96] Ibid., pars. 926-927.

[97] Ibid., pars. 867-871.

School, after one year of academic study, candidates would be given two years of work with emphasis being "placed on the principles and methods of teaching the 'tool' subjects in their initial stages."[98]

The Bantu Primary Higher Certificate would be a two-year course requiring a Junior Certificate for admission. Being geared toward the preparation of teachers for the Higher Primary school, the first year would be geared toward teaching "the general principles and methods of education."[99] In the second year, there would be some specialization in that "females would . . . be trained specially for work in Standards III and IV while males would normally be trained for teaching the upper classes (V and VI)."[100]

Little is said about the post-matriculation diploma other than that "such courses might be conducted by existing universities and colleges, which cater specially for Bantu students, with a subsidy from the Department of Bantu Education."[101] The Commission deals in a very general way with vocational schools, polytechnic schools, adult education programs, special schools for physically handicapped children, and reformatories.[102] Two general conclusions are made about these schools: (1) This area of education needs to be greatly

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[98] Ibid., par. 868.

[99] Ibid., par. 869.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., par. 871

[102] Ibid., pars. 872-887.

expanded, and (2) development in this area needs to be closely co-ordinated with a general socio-economic development plan and therefore should fall under the control of the proposed Division of Bantu Affairs.

> All types of post-matriculation training, even though this be undertaken by universities or university colleges, should be planned in conjunction with the development plans. For this reason the subsidization of these institutions should be undertaken and controlled by the Department of Bantu Education, which will be responsible for the effective spending of public funds.[103]

Relative to the entire report of the Commission, very little is said about universities. The South African Native College,[104] located at the town of Fort Hare, which is in the eastern part of the Cape Province, was the only university-level Bantu institution at the time of the Eiselen study. External examinations were given to the students at the College under the auspices of the University of South Africa -- a degree-granting correspondence institution controlled by the Department of Education Arts and Sciences. In addition, some of the White universities admitted a few Bantu students. The Commission recognized a need for increasing the number of Bantu who do university-level study.

> Bantu university education is still in its very early stages. The number of full-time Bantu students at the S.A. Native College, Fort Hare, in 1948 was 226. All told the number of full-time Bantu students at all university institutions was approximately 400, a very small number when compared with the Bantu population or even with the Bantu school population. There does not seem to be an overproduction of university

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[103] Ibid., par. 876. (Italics added.)

[104] Now called the University College of Fort Hare.

> graduates. One of the chief avenues of employment for graduates is the teaching profession and there is a definite shortage of qualified graduate Bantu teachers in secondary, high and training schools . . . The importance of university education for the Bantu cannot be over-emphasized, both to provide general education for leaders and to provide high grade technical men for their future economic and social development.[105]

The Commission suggests three "principles" to be followed in improving the provisions for Bantu university education:

> (a). . . adequate facilities should be provided by the state with a view to the eventual founding of an independent Bantu university /one with internal examinations/;
> (b). . . Bantu students who wish to study subjects for which their own institutions do not yet make provision should temporarily be provided with the necessary training facilities in conjunction with European institutions within the Union of South Africa;[106]
> (c) that future development of university education must largely depend on the Development Plan and the employment possibilities which evolve from it.[107]

The Commission makes no further recommendations concerning university-level education.

The financing of Bantu education.-- The Commission believes that the initial objective of the Bantu Education Department should be "to provide by 1959 sufficient places in the first four classes of

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[105] Ibid., pars. 708-709.

[106] A footnote to this phrase includes the only use of the word "apartheid" that the writer has been able to find in the Report. In the footnote, a member of the Commission, DeWet Nel, proposes that the opinion concerning Bantu attendance of White universities should read: "that for Bantu students who study subjects for which their own institutions do not yet make provision the necessary facilities may temporarily be provided at institutions for Europeans on a basis of apartheid" (Ibid., p. 21).

[107] Ibid., pars. 959.

primary school to accommodate the estimated number of children in the Bantu population in the age groups 8 to 11 years, inclusive."[108] Fulfilling this objective would require (1) expansion in buildings and equipment for Lower Primary school, (2) the training of increased numbers of Bantu teachers,(3) the provision of facilities in the Higher Primary School "for the increased number of children . . . /who/ . . . will attend beyond the first four years, and (4) the provision of post-primary schools, i.e., academic high schools and vocational and polytechnic schools.[109]

Consideration of the means for financing even this initial step for increasing Bantu literacy brings the Commission to the question of the responsibility of the Bantu people for financing their own educational program. More specifically, the question is: How shall the cost be apportioned between the Bantu Local Authority and the State?

> In accordance with your Commission's recommendation the Bantu local authorities should be set up and that a part of their responsibility should be the local administration and financing of schools under the regulations of the Bantu Education Department, it becomes necessary to examine the question of the proportions in which the State and the local authority should contribute to educational finance.[110]

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[108] Ibid., par. 1031.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., par. 1037. As will be remembered from Chapter II, from 1925, until 1945, all increases in the expenditure for Bantu education came from direct Bantu taxation. After 1945, Bantu taxes went into the Consolidated Revenue Fund (general treasury) from which annual appropriations for Bantu education were made.

The Commission points out that the direct contribution of Bantu taxes to the revenue of the Central Government has increased at a slower rate than Bantu population. Because of their low productivity levels, and therefore income, the Commission concludes that the Bantu are unable to shoulder a significant share of the cost of their own education.[111] This is considered an unhealthy situation because the Commission believes that the Bantu cannot fully appreciate an educational system that they themselves are not financing.

Bantu taxes, it is concluded, cannot be significantly increased until the development program has increased Bantu incomes considerably. For this reason, in the early stages, the State will have to cover most of the cost for Bantu education as a "pump-priming" measure.

> Your Commission does not hold the view that the Bantu should be solely responsible for the financing of their education but it does feel that the Bantu should play a direct part in the finding of a certain proportion of the funds used for that purpose.[112]. . . The contributions of each local authority should be clearly accounted for in the system of finance and the system should be designed to encourage local initiative and contributions.
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> For a number of years, until the general development plan has had its effect, the contribution of the local authorities or communities will decline proportionately . . . The extra contribution of the State will in effect constitute an investment or 'pump-priming.'[113]

Summary

The lengthy consideration of the Eiselen Commission Report has been necessary because the policies suggested in it clearly reflect the attitudes of the Whites toward Bantu education. The Nationalist

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[111] Ibid., par. 1027.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., par. 1029.

Government not only found the basic philosophy of the Commission acceptable but also carried out many of the specific recommendations for Bantu education policy. The appointment of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa (the Tomlinson Commission) -- already considered in connection with the general discussion concerning apartheid -- was a major step toward the implementation of the Eiselen recommendations. The passage of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was a further indication of Government agreement with the Eiselen philosophy.

Care should be taken in assigning a relationships between the Eiselen study and the current Bantu education program in South Africa. A superficial observation might yield the conclusion that a cause and effect relationship exists between the two. However, when the Report is considered in the light of the total historical development of South Africa, it becomes clear that the Eiselen study in no way changed the general nature of the attitudes of the ruling Afrikaner toward the Bantu. Rather, the Eiselen Commission, as did the Institute for Christian-National Education, articulated the already existing attitudes and gave form to a specific program totally consistent with these racial attitudes.

With an understanding of both apartheid and the development of the territorial apartheid scheme and of the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission as they specifically relate to Bantu education, it is now possible to consider the Bantu Education Act of 1953 -- the Act that transferred the control of Bantu education to the State.

Nationalist Control of Bantu Education

The passage of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 was not only the result of a long development of racial attitudes but also the beginning of what proved to be a somewhat unique approach to education.

Perhaps the clearest general statement of the racial philosophy of the current Nationalist Government as it applies to Bantu education was made by H. F. Verwoerd before the Senate in 1954. As Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd had become, with the passage of the 1953 Act, head of the government department in control of Bantu education. Although speaking following the passage of the Act, Verwoerd's statement provides a useful framework for consideration of the Parliamentary debates which preceded the Act's passage.

> It is the policy of my department that /Bantu/ education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and practically misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent on education which has no specific aim, but it is even dishonest to continue with it. The effect on the

> Bantu community we find in the much-discussed frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupts the communal life of the Bantu and endangers the communal life of the European.[114]

Several of the primary elements that have been discussed in connection with the development of South African society are clearly evident in this statement of philosophy. The Nationalist Government not only views Bantu education within the context of the social segregation of Black and White but also views it as a means by which the Bantu child can be prepared for a life in a totally separate community -- the community here being considered not only in the social but also in the geographic sense. At the same time, the reservation is made that "certain forms of labour" are open to him in the European community -- a reservation that is made because it is necessary for the continued prosperity of White industry. But essentially, the Bantu child is to be taught that he is a foreigner when he is in White South Africa.

Verwoerd's statement also makes it clear that he views the approach taken by the mission schools up to the time he was speaking as having been detrimental to Bantu interests. Earlier in his speech, Verwoerd had said that "By simply blindly producing pupils who were trained in European ideas the idle hope was created that they /Bantu/ could occupy positions in the European community in spite of the

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[114] Union of South Africa, Senate Debates, Second Session, Eleventh Parliament, Fifth Session; June 7, to June 11, 1954, cols. 2595-2622.

country's policy . . . " Previously the Bantu child had been taught "European ideas"; now he was to be taught Bantu ideas.[115] Verwoerd sees this as consistent with the "country's policy" of apartheid, a policy referred to with a revealing but unstated assumption that it is permanent in nature.

The Bantu Education Bill

In August, 1953, the Bantu Education Bill was presented to the House of Assembly of the Republic by the Minister of Native Affairs.[116] The Bill provided for the transfer of Bantu education, other than higher education and education for handicapped children, from the provinces to the Union Department of Native Affairs.[117] In the Bill, it was proposed that there be three categories of Bantu schools: (1) Bantu Community Schools, established by Local Authorities, tribes, or communities and subsidized by the Government

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[115] Ibid., col. 2599.

[116] Joy Skinner, Bantu Education: A Summary of Developments in the Field of African Primary and Secondary Education and Teacher Training over a Ten-Year Period, 1949-1959 (Durban: Institute of Race Relations, 1960), p. 1.

[117] The definition of higher education in the Bantu Education Act is taken from the Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1955. Higher education is there defined to include "education provided by Universities and the University College of Fort Hare; education provided by certain schools of art, mining, music, pharmacy, agriculture and nautical training; vocational education; education for persons who are not compelled to attend school; education for the training of secondary and nursery school teachers; any other education which is declared to be higher education (Gordon David, Urban Native Law: Acts and Regulations reproduced under Government Printer's Copyright Authority /Port Elizabeth: Grotius Publications, 1959/, p. 293).

where approved ; (2) Government Bantu Schools, established by the Government or taken over from the provinces; and (3) State-aided Bantu Schools, including mission schools.[118]

It was specified that schools falling under the third category, State-aided Bantu schools, could not be granted subsidies by the Minister of Native Affairs unless he had consulted with the local Bantu community concerned.[119] Furthermore, from a date to be set by the Minister, no school could continue to operate, or no new school could be established, unless it had made application for and had been granted "registration" by the Minister.[120]

Under the twelfth clause, the Minister is granted the power to establish various types of Bantu and White advisory boards and councils on the nation, regional, or local level.[121]

As far as Government schools were concerned, the Bill provided that the Minister might, if he wished, transfer control to a Local Authority.[122]

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[118]Union of South Africa, Bantu Education Act,No. 47 of 1953, amended; as reproduced in Gordon Davis, Urban Native Law, Acts and Regulations reproduced under Government Printer's Copyright Authority, (Port Elizabeth: Grotius Publications, 1959), pp. 558-564.

[119]Ibid., p. 560.

[120]Ibid., pp. 560-561.

[121]Ibid., p. 562.

[122]Ibid.

For all purposes, Clause 15 of the Bill grants the Minister total control of all aspects of Bantu education. This clause includes a long list of specific powers relative to Government schools, for example, conditions for appointment of teachers, determination of the medium of instruction, conditions for the admission or expulsion of pupils. For the other two categories of schools -- the Bantu Community and the state-aided Bantu -- the Minister is granted the power to determine the conditions which must exist before subsidies will be granted by the Government.[123] The intent of Clause 15 becomes doubly clear as far as Government schools are concerned, with a final provision that reads as follows:

> The minister may from time to time make regulations -- . . . providing generally for <u>any other matter</u> relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and control of Government Bantu schools on which the Minister may deem necessary or expedient to prescribe for achieving the purposes of this Act, the generality of the powers conferred by this paragraph not being limited by the provisions of the preceding paragraphs.[124]

<u>Verwoerd's defense of the Bill</u>.--In his speech introducing the Bill to the House Assembly on September 17, 1953, Verwoerd explained the reasons why he believed that Central Government control of Bantu education was essential. In his preliminary comments, Verwoerd felt it necessary to deny any selfish motives on his part.

> Now I just want to say that hon. members should please not think this is an attempt by the Department of Native Affairs or by myself to build an empire. If I had to be influenced by my personal wishes, I would prefer not to take this onerous and comprehensive duty on my own shoulders in addition to

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[124] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 560.

[125] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 564. (Italics added.)

> all the other work I have to do . . . But it is because it is in the interest of the country and also in the interest of the Bantu that we are prepared to take this task upon ourselves.[125]

Verwoerd made it clear that the basic conclusion of the Eiselen Commission -- that Bantu education should be in harmony with general Bantu socio-economic development -- was the basis of the Bill. More specifically, he emphasized that race relations could be expected to deteriorate unless Bantu education and general Bantu development were coordinated.[126] "Racial relations," he said, "cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives."[127]

The phrase "wrong type of education" is explained to have two implications. First, from the economic standpoint, Bantu education is the wrong type "when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them, when there are people who have received a form of cultural training which strengthens their desire for the white-collar occupations to such an extent that there are more such people than openings available."[128] The second form of the "wrong type" of Bantu education is an education which instills in the Bantu a belief in racial equality.

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[125] Union of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), First Sitting, Eleventh Parliament; September 14, to September 18, 1953, cols. 3575-3672.

[126] Ibid., col. 3576.

[127] Ibid. (Italics added.)

[128] Ibid.

> Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create expectations on the part of the Native himself; if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say for example, a Communist gives this training to the Native. Such a person will by the very nature of the education he gives, both as regards the content of that education and as regards its spirit, create expectations in the mind of the Bantu which clash with the possibilities in this country. It is therefore necessary that Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State.[129]

Further, Verwoerd maintains that the Bill should be passed in order to allow the Department of Bantu Affairs to eliminate the general "planlessness" which characterized provincial control.[130] One of the worst effects of this lack of central planning was that the Bantu child was educated away from his parents and his tribe.

> . . . the child was not intentionally divorced from the parental authority or the tribal authority, but that result was brought about because the education he received made him feel quite different, made him feel that he was not a member of the Bantu community but a member of a wider community . . . Education should prepare one to render services to one's own community.[131]

The Bantu children must be taught to recognize that they belong to their own particular community because "their education should not clash with Government policy."[132]

After a member of the Opposition interrupted Verwoerd with the accusation that the policy suggested was "indoctrination," rather than education, Verwoerd responded indirectly by again stating that apartheid

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[129] Ibid. (Italics added.)

[130] Ibid., col. 3577.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., col. 3585.

is the permanent racial philosophy and, thus, Bantu education which is not in harmony with apartheid can do nothing but worsen racial relations.[133]

> I just want to remind hon. members that if the Native in South Africa to-day in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights . . . /his education/ . . . is a big mistake.[134]

Verwoerd explained why the Department of Native Affairs was the logical department through which Bantu education should be planned. His position was, as the Eiselen Commission had concluded, that all Bantu services should be coordinated. Since the socio-economic aspects of Bantu development were already the respsonsibility of his department, so then should Bantu education fall under his jurisdiction.[135]

After reviewing the three categories of schools as were described in the Bill, Verwoerd explained that the ultimate objective was for only Bantu schools to exist -- "schools which are controlled or will be controlled progressively in some form or other by Bantu communities."[136] Regarding state-aided schools, including mission schools, Verwoerd said that he did "not believe that these subsidized schools which are under European control . . . will have to form a permanent aspect of the educational system."[137]

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[133] Ibid., col. 3586.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid., col. 3583.

[136] Ibid., col. 3588.

[137] Ibid., col. 3589.

As for the Government Bantu School, it too would eventually be turned over to the control of the Bantu Community concerned.[138]

Verwoerd then summarized his speech.

> . . . I may therefore say finally that the only immediate change envisaged by the Bill -- and that is why I said it was a limited one -- is the transfer of administration to the Department of Native Affairs in respect of the obligations of both the Department of Union Education and the provincial education authorities. It gives the Minister the power, with his Department -- and in regard thereto he will have to be responsible to Parliament -- to reform the system of education in such a way as to make it efficient, but at the same time it will place the obligation upon him to effect the reforms, which will have to be introduced, in such a way that they will assist in building up the community life of the Bantu and to see that there is no undermining as far as the authority of the parents is concerned; the further aim is that relations in South Africa will improve, and that this education will not lead to opposition on the part of the Europeans because the dissatisfied products of the wrong educational system come into conflict with the European community. It will be the Department's duty to arrange this education in such a way that the European community will be found prepared to assist in developing it, when it sees that this education in its new form results in its products being able to live together in good relationship and that it is educating the Native to serve his own people.[139]

The Assembly debate.-- Extensive debate between the Government and members of the Opposition followed Verwoerd's introductory speech. The debate, while covering many specific aspects and implications of the Bill, centered around the varying positions concerning apartheid.

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[138] Ibid., col. 3590.

[139] Ibid.

The first opposition respondent, D. L. Smit, M.P., for East London, expressed the opinion that advancing Western Civilization, especially in its economic aspects, was to an ever greater extent demanding common education for all races.[140]

> Surely all enlightened people must recognize that the Native is being educated, for good or for evil, by his mere contact with our civilization, and that the interests of the various races of this country are so closely bound up with each other that the backwardness of any section of the community must be a menace to the rest of the country. People must realize that the basic principles of education must be the same for all races.[141]

Later in his speech, Smit maintains that Verwoerd is trying to "create a state within a state with himself at the head."[142] He further maintains that the "Bill will be resented by the native people as a whole throughout the country . . . it /the passage of the Bill/ is a most ill-advised step to take at this time of /racial/ unrest."[143]

After a lengthy debate concerning the moral obligation of Parliament not to infringe upon the rights of the Provinces,[144] the floor was given to W. A. Maree, then Secretary of Native Affairs and

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[140] Ibid., col. 3591.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid., col. 3597.

[143] Ibid., col. 3598.

[144] Under the central form of government established by the South Africa Act of 1909, with two minor exceptions regarding the official languages and the Cape franchise system, Parliament is totally sovereign -- even to the point of altering its own constitution. The transfer of control of Bantu education from the provinces to the Central Government could be challenged only on "moral" grounds (Ibid., cols. 3600-3602).

presently Minister of the Department of Bantu Education, which was formed in 1958.[145] Again bringing the argument into the apartheid focus, Maree said:

> . . . there are in South Africa to-day actually only two courses open. Actually there are only two possible trends of policy which can be followed in regard to the Native in general. One is the trend of liberalism, which means uniform development. On the other hand, there is the trend adopted by the Nationalists which means development in their /the Bantu's/ own sphere. On the one hand one has liberalism which means nothing but intermingling. On the other hand one has nationalism which means segregation . . . The Nationalist Party's viewpoint is that the primary objective of education is not in the first place that the individual should be developed as an individual, but that the object of education should be to develop the individual as a member of society, so that he can take his rightful place within the society to which he belongs. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the liberalistic approach and the approach of nationalism . . . Native education is at present nothing less than an instrument in the hands of liberalism. That is why, up to the present, Native education has achieved nothing but the destruction of Bantu culture . . . . nothing beyond succeeding in making the Native an imitation Westerner.[146]

After condemning the "liberalistic system" of Bantu education under mission control, Maree states that South Africa has "come to the cross-roads;"[147]

> We have arrived at the historic day when we sincerely hope that education will be directed along another course, a new course where the fundamental idea will be that functionally the Native must fill a role in the community different to that

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[145] Department of Information, Education for the Bantu of South Africa, Reprint from Lantern, published by the South African Association for the Advancement of Knowledge and Culture, an independent cultural organization; (n.d.), p. 7.

[146] Union of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), First Sitting, Eleventh Parliament; September 14, to September 18, 1953, cols. 3611-3612. (Italics added.)

[147] Ibid., col. 3613.

> of the European, and in the second place, that the Native has a different cultural background from the white man, and in the third place that the Native must fit into his own type of community, a different type of community to that of the European.[148]

Following Maree's speech, V.M.L. Ballinger was granted the floor. Ballinger had been elected to the House in 1948 under the provision of the Representation of Natives Act, 1936. She first stated that she was opposed to the Bill because its provisions were detrimental to "the interests of the People directly affected . . ."[149] "The African population /in South Africa/ is acutely interested in the question of education," she continued.[150]

After referring to a claim made by Verwoerd that the Government had recieved letters of support for the Bill from certain Bantu, Ballinger said:

> I can only say that we would be interested to know who they are /the Bantu supporters/, but I will not press the Minister on that point because he is always very anxious not to reveal the source of his information. We can only tell him in turn that we are, even by acknowledgment of the hon. the Prime Minister, the voice of the African people in this House, and the voice of the African people as we know it is entirely against this legislation. The African people are opposed to the Bill not because they are acutely concerned with the question of control of education, but they are acutely concerned with one aspect of the control of education, and that is control of education by the Native Affairs Department.[151]

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[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., col. 3618.

[150] Ibid., col. 3619.

[151] Ibid., (Italics added.)

In further reference to Verwoerd's speech, Ballinger said:

> . . . what we had to-day is a restatement of the policy of apartheid in more rigid terms than even Gen. Hertzog ever gave it in his earlier days. And they /the Bantu/ have reason to feel that. The history of the last three or four years has justified their contention. But even if that had not been so I should imagine that the speech of the hon. the Minister of Native Affairs to-day would have strengthened all their anxieties in this regard. The hon. the Minister, in introducing his Bill, was at great pains to explain that in his approach to his responsibilities and to the problems of politics, education should be framed to train people for the sort of society in which they are going to live, and even more than that, for the sort of jobs they will be allowed to do. That is exactly what the African population has always been afraid of . . .[152]

Ballinger took the position, "categorically," that Bantu education should not be considered in an "African context," but it should be viewed in a "European context."[153] The things that European children should be taught are the same things that the Bantu child needs to know.[154] This deduction she believes to be true even for the minority of Bantu still living in the agricultural, tribal Reserves. Most of the Bantu in the Reserves "still earn their living . . . outside the reserves as mine labourers and industrial workers, doing jobs at the dictates of European capital and with European organization and European machinery."[155] Ballinger continues to say that tribal-oriented education would be inadequate even for the Bantu who are earning their livings in the Reserves. These people must learn to develop their natural resources,

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[152] Ibid., col. 3620. (Italics added).

[153] Ibid., col. 3622.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

and this will require . . . "European methods and skills and science and machinery."[156]

> . . . I maintain that the interest of the European and the interest of the African are entirely at one in this issue of education; that it is absolutely essential for the European population of this country that the African population should become an effectively educated population . . . It is therefore, to my mind, of the utmost importance that the educational system for our Native population should be divorced as far as possible from ideological control and training, and should be released from the shackles of tradition . . .[157]

Ballinger concluded her speech by saying:

> I know that there is not the slightest chance of persuading the Minister not to go on with this Bill; we can only register our emphatic protest at the direction in which he is driving this service, and hope sincerely that the Nationalist Government will not be much longer in power to drive the country in this disastrous direction.[158]

A heated debate developed between Maree and A. H. Jonker concerning whether or not a professionally trained Bantu should serve both Bantu and Europeans. The following excerpts from this discussion are illustrative of the drastically varying racial philosophies which permeated the debate:

> Dr. Jonker: . . . What must the Natives be educated for? In whose service? Only to serve themselves? No, I think the aim of Native education should be education that will be the best for the Natives themselves and at the same time also the best for the Europeans . . .
> Mr. Maree: In other words, do you mean that the Native dentist will also pull your teeth?

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[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid., cols. 3623-3624.

[158] Ibid., col. 3626.

> Dr. Jonker: /Bantu/ Doctors and dentists and all those needed by them should be educated just like the Europeans so that they can also be of use to the Europeans and at the same time be of use to their own people.
> Mr. Maree: You are again revealing Leftist tendencies to-night.
> Dr. Jonker: I mean primary education and higher education and everything. To me education is education. (Interjections)
> Mr. Speaker: Order![159]

Later in Jonker's speech he expressed what proved to be a genuine insight into the role of Bantu education in the Government's total apartheid scheme. The Bantu Education Act preceded the passage of the Bantu Self-Government Act by six years. Yet, Jonker clearly saw the territorial apartheid implications of the viewpoints expressed by the supporters of the Bantu Education Bill.

> The aim of education is to make rational human beings out of children. As I have said, our education for the Native must be for the benefit of the Native and at the same time also for the benefit of the European . . .
> The Minister /of Native Affairs/ should tell us. Is it the idea now that the Native should receive a type of education which will only qualify him for work among his own people, in other words, that the actual aim is a Bantustan where they will live in lonely isolation and where they will be served by their people? . . . Is this now graded territorial apartheid?[160]

Much of the remainder of the initial debate was, in essence, little different from that which already has been considered. The Opposition continued to argue that the philosophy for Bantu education

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[159] Ibid., col. 3646. (Italics added.)

[160] Ibid., cols. 3651-3652.

expressed by Verwoerd was politically motivated with the view toward training Bantu to be nothing other than "hewers of wood and drawers of water."[161] THe Opposition also complained about the open-ended nature of the Bill---" . . . we give the hon. the Minister a complete carte blanche . . ."[162]

At a subsequent meeting of the Assembly, various amendments to the Bill were proposed which, in turn, were voted on September 28. The amendments which passed were not substantive.

On September 29, Verwoerd moved "that the Bill be now read a third time."[163] According to South African Parliamentary process, this motion opened the floor of the Assembly to the final debate preceding the vote on the Bill.

The first speaker, D. L. Smit, summarized the viewpoints of the Opposition: (1) The Bill was "ill-considered," (2) no sound argument has been made for the transfer of control, (3) no province has petitioned for the transfer of control,[164] (4) if transfer is to take place, it should be to the Department of Education, Arts, and Sciences,[165]

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[161] Ibid., col. 3641.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Union of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), First Sitting, Eleventh Parliament, September 28, to October 2, 1953, col. 4396.

[164] Smit is referring to Act 45, of 1934, an amendment of the constitution of the country, which deals with the power of the Central Government to curtail provincial powers. After considerable debate, the Speaker of the Assembly had earlier ruled that the amendment was inapplicable to Bantu education (Union of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), First Sitting, Eleventh Parliament; September 14, to September 18, 1953, cols. 3656-8657).

[165] Union of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), First Sitting, Eleventh Parliament; September 28, to October 2, 1953, col. 4396.

Ballinger stated her belief that the Bantu were opposed to the transfer of the control of Bantu education to the Department of Native Affairs.[166]

The speakers for the Government's Bill restated their position that Bantu education should be controlled by the government agency responsible for the general Bantu development program. The Bantu are hurt by exposure to Western education because "the Natives are still at least 1,000 years behind the Europeans in regard to civilization."[167]

The final vote of the House was 79, in favor; and 47, opposed.[168]

Following the vote, the Bill was transferred to the Senate where it was passed after debates of substantially the same character as those held earlier in the Assembly.

The New Administrative Structure

On January 1, 1954, the control of Bantu education passed to the newly-formed Division of Bantu Education of the Department of Native Affairs.[169] Verwoerd appointed F. J. de Villiers, previously Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape, as Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in charge of the Division of Bantu Education.

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[166] Ibid., col. 4405.

[167] Ibid., col. 4418.

[168] Ibid., cols. 4432-4433.

[169] Department of Information, Education for the Bantu of South Africa, reprint from Lantern, (n.d.), p. 7.

J. H. van Dyk was appointed to be de Villier's assistant, and P. A. Cook, his professional adviser. Regional Directors were appointed for the Transkei,[170] the Ciskei,[171] Western Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State.[172] The Department of Native Affairs proved to be too large for efficient operation, however, and was divided to form two separate Departments after the general election of 1958 -- the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and the Department of Bantu Education.[173]

As with other Ministries, there is a Minister of Bantu Education under whom a Secretary and a Deputy Secretary work.[174] In addition, there are two Under-Secretaries; one dealing with the professional, the other with the administrative aspects of Bantu education.[175] The Professional Under-Secretary deals with general planning, language planning, psychological services, special subjects and schools (for handicapped children), statistics, examinations, and school registration. The Administrative Under-Secretary

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[170]As previously mentioned, the control of education in the Transkei is now in the process of being transferred to the Transkei Legislative Assembly.

[171]A small reserve located in the eastern part of the Cape.

[172]Joy Skinner (collator), Bantu Education: A Summary of Developments in the Field of African Primary and Secondary Education and Teacher Training over a Ten-Year Period, 1949-1959 (Durban: Institute of Race Relations, 1960), p. 2.

[173]G. W. Sneesby, Problems of Bantu Education, Reprint from Grocott's Daily Mail (July 25, 1960), p. 1.

[174]Muriel Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1964), p. 42.

[175]Ibid.

deals with staff, accounts, buildings, and organization.[176] The six Regional Directors have staffs of administrative and professional assistants, the latter including white inspectors and Bantu sub-inspectors and supervisors.[177]

An Advisory Board for Bantu Education was established in 1963. It is composed of fifteen Bantu members, seven of whom are appointed by the Minister to represent the main Bantu language groups. The other eight are appointed to represent the interests of university colleges, training schools, farm schools, school boards, and churches.[178] The functions of the Board are to "assist in determining the broad principles of sound education for the Bantu, . . . /and to coordinate/ . . . the educational policy generally with a view to adjusting the system to the character and needs of the Bantu, with due regard to the advisability of maintaining diversity which may be demanded by circumstances."[179]

On the local and regional levels, school committees and school boards have been established for community schools and given certain responsibilities. The school committees are composed of parents, representatives of religious groups, and representatives of tribal authorities or of chiefs. Procedures for appointment to the committees vary, but

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid., p. 43.

[179] Government Notice R 895 (June 21, 1963), p. 42, quoted in Ibid.

all are subject to the approval of the Secretary of Bantu Education.[180] The responsibilities of the School committees include: (1) establishment and control of school funds, (2) maintenance of buildings and grounds, (3) investigation of various types of complaints, (4) expulsion of pupils, and (5) the advisement of school boards concerning the performance of teachers.[181]

School boards are responsible for groups of community schools. Regional or district Bantu tribal authorities nominate six of the eight members of their board subject to Departmental approval, the remaining two members being appointed by the Secretary.[182] The appointment system for urban school boards varies somewhat, but all nominees must be approved by the Department.[183]

The school boards are the employers of the teachers in schools under their control. Again, however, all actions must be with the approval of the Department.[184]

Other duties of the school boards are to maintain and control school buildings, to plan and promote the erection of school buildings, to

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[180] Ibid., p. 44.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid., p. 45.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid.

allocate and maintain equipment, to investigate complaints, and to supervise the finances of school committees.[185]

Government schools still fall directly under the control of the Regional Directors of Bantu Education.

Nationalist Bantu Education Policy Since 1954

The scope of this paper precludes a detailed analysis of the Nationalist program for Bantu education. At the same time, however, it is necessary to survey briefly some of the key post-1954 policy decisions in order to test for consistency with the Nationalist philosophy of Bantu education as revealed up to this point in the present study.

Bantu education policy as it relates to finance.--It will be remembered that even before the passage of the Bantu Education Act, the Central Government had been providing financial support for Bantu education.[186] Missionaries had originally financed Bantu education, but the pre-Union colonial and republican governments had begun to subsidize the schools. In 1925, it will be remembered, the State accepted partial financial responsibility, even though the control of the schools remained with the provinces, and the administration remained basically in the hands of the missions.

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[185] *Ibid.*

[186] See pp. 36-40.

Under the 1925 Act, R680,000,[187] was the fixed annual contribution from general revenues. In addition, one fifth of the revenue from the General Tax paid by Bantu was allocated for Bantu education.[188] This percentage was gradually increased over the years until it reached four fifths in 1943.[189]

The Native Education Finance Act of 1945 had introduced a revolutionary change in the financing of Bantu education in that all the funds to be made available to the provinces were to be drawn directly from the general revenue of the Union. No longer were all increases in expenditure dependent on the Bantu poll tax.[190] Until the passage of the Bantu Education Act, therefore, it could be said that Bantu education was financed by the State and administered by the provinces.

In March, 1954, the Minister of Finance announced in the Assembly that the total expenditure for Bantu education would be R17,000,000 in 1954-55.[191] He estimated that the Bantu contribution from their taxes was R4,000,000; the balance of R13,000,000, being paid by the general

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[187] At current rates, the South African rand exchanges for 1.4 U.S. dollars. South Africa has recently changed the name of its monetary unit from the "pound" to the "rand." One rand is equal in value to ten shillings under the old system.

[188] Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. No. 53/1951, paragraph 191.

[189] Ibid., par. 196.

[190] Ibid., pp. 197-198.

[191] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 13. Assembly Hansard 8, col. 2629,

taxpayers. It was proposed that the general taxpayers' contribution should be "pegged" at R13,000,000, that is, that future increases in expenditure would have to be financed by the Bantu themselves.[192]

Accordingly, the Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act of 1955 created a Bantu Education Account into which would be paid the following:

1. A fixed amount of R13,000,000, a year from the general Revenue Account;
2. Four-fifths of the general tax paid by Bantu;
3. Such moneys as Parliament might make available, in the form of recoverable advances, to meet any deficit in the Bantu Education Account;
4. Receipts arising from the maintenance, management and control of Government Bantu schools, other than receipts arising from the sale of land or buildings;
5. Any moneys which might accrue to the Bantu Education Account from any other sources.[193]

During the debate preceding the second reading of the 1955 Act, Verwoerd said that with new organizational methods much greater educational activity would be achieved even without increased funds.[194]

Some of these "new organizational methods" which have since been instituted, or are in the process of being instituted, are outlined by the following summary of Verwoerd's policy statement:

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[192] Ibid.

[193] The Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1955, as quoted in Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 13.

[194] Assembly Hansard (January 31, 1955), as cited in Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 14.

1. In urban locations the cost of erecting lower primary schools will be recovered by the Government through increased rental paid by Bantu living in the Government-owned houses.[195]
2. Rural Bantu school boards will stand a "better chance of success" if their applications for school facilities are "accompanies by an undertaking to provide the necessary class-rooms . . . "[196]
3. "The daily cleaning of the school building and grounds will naturally be the work of the pupils under the supervision of the teachers."[197]
4. Because four and one-half hours per day "naturally overtakes the powers of absorption of . . . beginners , . . . school hours for pupils in sub-standards[198] will everywhere be shortened to three hours per day." This will make it possible for "both teacher and the class-room . . . to serve two different groups of pupils every day."[199]

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[195] H. F. Verwoerd, Bantu Education; Policy for the Immediate Future, Statement by the Hon. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in the Senate of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, 7th June, 1954. (Pretoria: Information Service of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954), p. 22.

[196] Ibid., p. 21.

[197] Ibid., p. 4.

[198] Approximately 50 per cent of the Bantu School population.

[199] H. F. Verwoerd, op. cit., p. 15.

5. Since the Bantu teacher's salary should be established relative to the income of the Bantu community he serves and since "Bantu teachers' posts are very much sought after" at the current salary rates, there can be "no question of an increase" in Bantu teachers' salaries. Pay scales "will be possibly less favourable" than they were previously.[200]
6. Since women are "by nature so much better fitted for handling young children," lower and, to a certain extent, higher primary school teacher posts will be filled with women teachers. Because "male teachers receive not only a higher basic salary but also, in the case of married persons, a much higher cost of living allowance than female teachers" . . . "this measure . . . will bring about a considerable savings of funds . . . "[201]
7. "It will be the policy of the Department to do away entirely with the European teacher in Bantu primary schools."[202] Ultimately, this policy will be extended to the higher educational levels. Since the White teacher's salary is higher than the Bantu, one result of this policy will be a lowering of cost.

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[200] Ibid., p. 19.

[201] Ibid., p. 20.

[202] Ibid.

Additional methods for reducing costs have been adopted. For example, Department regulations have been established providing for Bantu community school "funds."[203] Revenue for these funds is derived from local money-making projects including bazaars and concerts. School boards are permitted, in addition, to require pupils in secondary classes to make contributions of up to 4 rand per year to the local fund. Students in vocational or technical schools or classes may be required to contribute up to 10 rand per year. School boards may ask for voluntary contributions of up to 20 cents per year for lower primary students, or 80 cents per year for higher primary students. The local funds are used to cover various types of school expenses.[204]

In 1959, the fees charged for taking major examinations were increased by the Department in order to further increase revenue.[205] Currently, the charges are: (1) Standard VI examination , 50 cents; and (2) Junior Certificate examination taken After Standard VIII, 4, rand.[206]

In spite of all efforts by the Department to economize and to increase income from non-tax sources, it was soon clear that the available funds for Bantu education were inadequate. In order to maintain the R13,000,000 ceiling on the contribution from the Consolidated

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[203] Government Notice Number 251 of February 22, 1957, as cited in Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 16.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Ibid., p. 17.

[206] The Joint Matriculation Board charges 9 rand for the matriculation examination. This board, of course, is not controlled by the Department of Bantu Education (Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 18).

Revenue Fund, Bantu tax rates were increased through the Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1958.[206] The poll tax was increased 75 per cent to R3.50 per year for every Bantu male eighteen years of age or older. In addition, those Bantu men or women earning over R360 per year became subject to a graduated income tax.

TABLE 4

INCOME TAX SCALE FOR BANTU AS ESTABLISHED BY THE NATIVES TAXATION AND DEVELOPMENT ACT, NO. 38, of 1958

Taxable income during previous year:	General Tax Payable	
	Men	Women
Up to R360	R3.50	---
Over R360 to R480	R4.	R2.
Over R480 to R600	R5.50	R4.
Over R600 to R720	R7.	R6.
Over R720 to R840	R8.50	R8.
Over R840 to R960	R10.50	R10.
Over R960	Add R2 for every R120 or portion thereof taxable income	

Source: Ibid.

In 1963, it was announced that the full amount rather than four fifths of Bantu general taxes would be used for Bantu education.[207]

[207] Ibid., p. 19.

Policy regarding mission schools.--On August 2, 1954, the Secretary for Native Affairs sent a letter to all superintendents or managers of state-aided mission schools. In the letter, three choices were given to the missions regarding the control of their schools:

> (i) To retain control of the schools or hostels under their care as private unaided institutions; or
> (ii) To retain control of them as aided institutions, with the subsidy reduced to 75 per cent of salaries and cost-of-living allowances of approved teachers; or
> (iii) To relinquish control of them [the schools] to Bantu community organizations.[208]

If the first or second choice were selected, it was stated that the Minister, at his discretion, might later decide that the school should be transferred to a Bantu community organization.[209]

The Department would offer reasonable compensation for any buildings taken over, but, in most cases, would rent rather than purchase them.[210] By 1960, only 714 Bantu schools remained under mission control.[211]

In his letter, the Minister had stated he would give them until April 1, 1955, to make their decisions. Less than two months after this date, the Minister announced to those who had decided to retain control that subsidies for aided mission schools would progressively be reduced: 75 per cent until March 1, 1956; 50 per cent until

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[208] Joy Skinner (collator), op. cit., p. 3.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 68.

January 1, 1957; 25 per cent until January 1, 1958; and no subsidies thereafter.[212]

On August 2, 1954, a second letter was sent to all mission teacher-training institutions by the Secretary. In this letter, it was declared that all Bantu teacher-training was to be taken over by the Department. Missions operating schools had three choices:

(i) To rent or sell their schools and hostels to the Department; or
(ii) To rent or sell their schools, while retaining the hostels on a subsidized basis; or
(iii) To close the teacher training school and, instead, conduct a primary or secondary school.[213]

Eight months following the transfer of the control of Bantu education to the Central Government, it became clear that Verwoerd had meant what he had said in Parliament in 1953. Considering the heavy reliance of missions on subsidies, the letters of August 2, 1954, for all practical purposes, announced that there would no longer be a significant role for the missions in Bantu education. The earlier implications that the transfer of control from the missions would be gradual, it would appear, were somewhat misleading. In 1953 there were over 5,000 state-aided Bantu mission schools; by 1958 there were less than 500 out of a total of 6,591 Bantu schools.[214]

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[212] Assembly Hansard 19 (June 13, 1955), Col. 7664 as quoted in Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 22.

[213] Letter from the Secretary of Bantu Education to missions operating teacher-training schools, August 2, 1954, as quoted in Muriel Horrell, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

[214] Leo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 217-218.

Syllabuses.--The syllabus for the lower primary school was published in late 1954.[215] Since that time there have been several revisions, the latest having been done in 1963.[216] The primary characteristics of the current syllabus are these: (1) Instruction is in the vernacular; (2) one official language is introduced as a subject in sub-standard A, the second is introduced six months later; (3) history, geography, and nature study are grouped into one course called "environmental studies," and (4) religious instruction, reading, writing, arithmetic, handicrafts, gardening, and singing are taught as subjects.[217]

The current syllabus for the higher primary school was also published in 1963.[218] With minor exceptions, the subjects studied in the lower primary school are also taught in the higher primary school but in greater depth. When reading the syllabus, the general impression is that the subjects are closely geared to the Bantu child's environment. The complaint has been lodged that the courses in environmental studies and handicrafts are overly biased in favor of the rural child in a tribal environment.[219]

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[215]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 52.

[216]Department of Bantu Education, Syllabus for the Lower Primary School Course (rev. 1963; Pretoria: Government Printer, 1963).

[217]Ibid.

[218]Department of Bantu Education, Syllabus for the Higher Primary School Course (rev. 1963; Pretoria: Government Printer, 1963).

[219]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 52.

The first part of the secondary school syllabus -- a three-year course leading to the Junior Certificate -- was published in 1958.[220] Pupils must study three languages, that is, the vernacular, Afrikaans, and English. In addition, the pupils study arithmetic, general science, social studies, agriculture, arts and crafts, and homecraft or woodwork. Mathematics and Latin may be introduced if the principal of the school wishes to do so.[221]

Following Form I, students begin either the academic or a commercial or vocational course. For the academic course, students must study a Bantu language, Afrikaans, English, social studies, and either general arithmetic or mathematics. In addition, each student in the academic program must select two subjects from the following: Latin, mathematics, general science, physical science, biology, agriculture, arts and crafts, homecraft, or a commercial subject.[222]

Those students who follow the commercial course for the Junior Certificate are required to study a Bantu language, Afrikaans, English, social studies, and either commercial arithmetic or general arithmetic. In addition, they select any two of the following subjects: bookkeeping, commerce, typewriting, shorthand, or a natural science.[223]

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[220]This three-year course begins after the completion of Standard VI. It begins with Form I and is completed with Form III. At the present time, the students taking the Senior Certificate course follow the same syllabus that is used in White schools. (Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 62).

[221]Ibid.

[222]Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[223]Ibid., p. 63.

A variety of vocational courses are available, although few Bantu Children have yet qualified to begin them.[224] According to Department of Information statistics, there were 5,720 Bantu students in vocational and technical schools in 1964.[225] The courses available cover a wide range of subjects including agriculture, textile production, the building skills, and mechanics.[226]

Extension of the Control of the Department of Bantu Education Since 1954.--The Vocational Education Act of 1955, provided for the transfer of all existing technical schools, Bantu and White, to state control.[227] Then, in 1964, special schools for handicapped children were also placed under State control.[228]

The incorporation of technical training into the Bantu secondary school syllabus has already been considered briefly. While not going into detail concerning the development of vocational and special education since the Department took control, it should be mentioned that there is evidence to support the opinion that considerable progress has been made toward improving the quality of this type of education. The wide range of vocational courses offered on a primary basis is illustrative:

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[224]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., pp. 105-111.

[225]Taken from statistics received in typewritten form from the Department of Information, Pretoria.

[226]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

[227]Ibid., p. 105.

[228]Republic of South Africa, Act. No. 24, 1964.

(1) masonry, (2) carpentry, (3) leatherwork and upholstery, (4) tailoring, (5) plumbing and sheet metal work, (6) general mechanics, and (7) electricity and house wiring.[229] In 1963, there were ten schools offering such vocational courses, and other schools were being planned.[230]

Perhaps the most significant development since 1954 concerns Bantu higher education. The extension of the control of the Department of Bantu Education to cover university-level institutions caused a great outcry of protest from many groups. Prior to 1960, Bantu students had been permitted to attend: (1) the University of South Africa, a totally correspondence institution; (2) the University of Natal in segregated classes, (3) the non-White University College of Fort Hare, and (4) the "open" Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.[231] The Afrikaans-medium Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Orange Free State, and Potchefstroom were closed to non-White students.[232]

As it will be remembered, the Eiselen Commission had recommended that post-matriculation education should be planned in conjunction with the Government program for socio-economic development. This logically

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[229]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 107.

[230]Gordon Davis, Urban Native Law: Acts and Regulations reproduced under Government Printer's Copyright Authority (Port Elizabeth: Grotius Publications, 1959), pp. 723-725. In addition, it should be mentioned that the Native Building Workers' Act of 1951, while authorizing the training of skilled Bantu building artisans, specified that Bantu so trained were to work only on buildings to be occupied by members of their own racial group (Republic of South Africa, Act No. 27 of 1951).

[231]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 121.

[232]Ibid.

would place Bantu-university level education under the control of the Division of Bantu Education, the formation of which was also proposed by the Commission.[233]

The Nationalist moves toward gaining control of higher education began in 1953 with the appointment of the Holloway Commission, which was charged with the responsibility for investigating the practicability and financial implications of providing separate higher education facilities for non-Whites.[234] In the Commission's report, published in 1955, both the idea of establishing separate non-White universities and the idea of establishing separate non-White units adjacent to White universities were rejected on financial bases. Rather, the Commission suggested concentrating Bantu students at Fort Hare and at the already established non-White division of the University of Natal.[235]

Towards the end of 1955, despite the Holloway recommendations, the Government appointed a committee to draw up a plan for the establishment of two Bantu University Colleges in addition to Fort Hare: one in Zululand, and one in the northern part of the Transvaal. The primary bases for the plan were not only racial but also tribal segregation. Fort Hare would be for Xhosa students, the Natal University College would be for Zulu, and the Transvaal University College would be for members of other tribal groups.[236] The report of this committee

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[233]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. No. 53/1951, par. 876.

[234]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 122.

[235]Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-51, U.G. No. 53/1951, p. 123.

[236]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 124.

was published in 1957 and covered only the statistical aspects in the areas of potential enrollments, capital outlay, and operating expenses.[237]

Beginning in 1957, a series of parliamentary maneuvers, necessitated by some procedural controversies,[238] culminated in the Extension of University Education Act and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, both passed in 1959.[239]

The Extension of University Education Act provided for the establishment of segregated non-White university colleges, financed from the Bantu Education Account and controlled by the Minister of Bantu Education.[240] The Act specifies that each university college is to be headed by a Rector appointed by the Minister. The members of the Administrative Council, along with those of the Advisory Council, are appointed by the State President.[241]

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[237] Ibid.

[238] The crux of this controversy rested in the categorization of parliamentary bills as either "private" or "public." The designation depends upon whether the bill in question deals primarily with a matter of general policy, or with a matter of policy relating to some specific private interest. The first effort at university apartheid, the Separate Universities Education Bill of 1957, was challenged on the basis that it dealt specifically with Fort Hare and the Natal Medical School, while also dealing generally with university segregation policy (Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 124, and Ralph Kilpin, Parliamentary Procedure in South Africa: Short Guide to the Rules and Practice of the Union House of Assembly (3rd ed.; Cape Town: Juta and Company Ltd., 1955) p. 4.

[239] Republic of South Africa, Act No. 45, 1959, and Union of South Africa, Act No. 64, 1959.

[240] Republic of South Africa, Act No. 45, 1959, p. 4.

[241] Ibid., p. 6.

The Act also provides for a Senate and an Advisory Senate to deal with questions of professional policy. With the Council's consent, the Senate may delegate to the Advisory Senate powers to deal with matters relating to instruction, examinations, and discipline.[242]

Among other things the Minister appoints the members of the Senate, prescribes salary scales and conditions of employment (including rules relating to misconduct and inefficiency), and may deny any Bantu admission to a university college.[243]

Under the Act, all examinations, degrees, diplomas, and certificates are to be those of the University of South Africa until Parliament decides that it should be otherwise.[244]

The University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act of 1959 completed the legal framework for the Government's plan.[245] The Minister was granted control of Fort Hare, including the hostels which were owned and controlled by churches up to 1959. The churches were to be compensated for the hostel buildings.[246]

The Minister was also given the power to dismiss any members of the staff at Fort Hare.[247] It has been reported by Horrell that on the basis

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[242] Ibid., p. 8.

[243] Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 12.

[244] Ibid., p. 10.

[245] Union of South Africa, Act No. 64, 1959.

[246] Ibid., p. 1.

[247] Ibid., p. 24.

of this power, the Rector was replaced; the Vice-Principal, a Bantu, resigned because his reappointment was made contingent on his resignation from an African political organization; a professor and a senior lecturer were not reappointed; two professors, a senior lecturer, the registrar, and the librarian were dismissed by the Department on the grounds that they had retired on superannuation.[248]

Considerable protest against the two university apartheid acts came from many groups. Mass meetings of students at the open universities were organized by the Student Representatives Councils that received support from the administration of these universities.[249] The administration and faculty at Rhodes issued a statement in protest against the Fort Hare Act.[250] Protest marches of lecturers and students were held in Johannesburg, Capetown, and Alice;[251] and organizations such as the Education League and the Institute of Race Relations published protest pamphlets against this extension of apartheid.[252] Notwithstanding the protests, university apartheid is a fact in South Africa today.

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[248]Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p. 137.

[249]Ibid., p. 125.

[250]Ibid.

[251]Ibid., p. 126.

[252]Ibid., p. 127.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

By and large, with the take-over of Bantu higher education the Nationalist Government became in a position to control totally Bantu education in accord with its apartheid policies. Less than ten years had elapsed between the passage of the Bantu Education Act and the passage of the Extension of University Act, but the historical forces which resulted in the occurrence of these events had been building up for centuries.

Looking back over the social development, the elements which have resulted in the current racial attitudes in South Africa form a reasonably logical and distinguishable pattern. It has been concluded that early South African historical development resulted in the formation of distinctly definable interest groups with varying social philosophies. Conflicting political, economic, and religious viewpoints, which were clearly reflected in attitudes toward non-White races, resulted in the development of two national entities within White South African society. It has also been observed that the animosity between these two groups, heightened as a result of a bitterly fought war, served to strengthen the nationalistic spirit of the Afrikaner who, after many years, became politically strong enough to control South African policy. Even today the Afrikaner considers the more liberal thinking of the English-speaking South African to be a basic threat to his way of life.

In addition to the British-origin Whites, the numerically dominant Bantu-speaking Africans have historically presented a second basic challenge to Afrikanerdom and, in a broader sense, a basic challenge to White rule generally. It has been concluded that this challenge to White rule, along with the religious viewpoints of the White groups, explains why early White-sponsored education did little to facilitate the adjustment of the Bantu to his rapidly changing social environment.

Bantu education policy under the Nationalist Government can only be understood in light of the general racial policy of apartheid, a policy which lies at the heart of the Afrikaner's effort for self-preservation. In the broadest sense, apartheid can be concluded to be an effort to stop all social interchange among the population groups in the country, particularly all social interchange between White and Bantu. Apartheid legislation well illustrates the determination of the Nationalists to execute their racial policy.

In addition to intra-society racial segregation and further emphasizing the Afrikaner's nationalistic attitudes, the policy of apartheid has been expanded to include plans for the establishment of separate Black and White territories where it is envisioned that each group will be able to develop along its own cultural lines. The first actual steps toward this territorial apartheid have been recently taken in the Transkei.

Within the framework of the racial philosophy reflected in the policy of apartheid, it becomes possible to understand the attitudes underlying both the "Christian-National" view of education and the

recommendations of the Eiselen Commission for Bantu education. Both White and Bantu children are to be taught that God has ordained that racial groups shall remain separate, and that they shall keep themselves as free as possible from the influences of the cultures of racial groups other than their own. Children are to be taught, for the most part, that the country of South Africa is the heritage of the Afrikaner whose ancestors were the first to settle the area. In this sense, the Afrikaner is to be considered the senior guardian of the Bantu.

Logically following from this general view of education, Bantu education "must have its roots" in traditional Bantu culture. With this premise taken almost as given, the highly influential Eiselen Commission, after concluding that mission education was not meeting the needs of the Bantu, based its general plan for Bantu education on the static conception that education is merely the transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Understandably then, the Commission's plan was complementary to the overall <u>apartheid</u> plans of the Government. The Commission's general recommendation for a government-planned development program for the Bantu, with education carefully planned in harmony with this program, was for the most part accepted by the Nationalists who gained control of Bantu education in 1954.

Since 1954, the Bantu education program appears to have reflected clearly the <u>apartheid</u> attitudes of the Nationalist Government. In an effort to segregate Bantu education more fully, many lower-level white administrators, as well as many white teachers, have been replaced with Bantu personnel. For the same stated reason, the financial structure of the program has been organized to place a greater share

of the responsibility on the Bantu, even to the point of "pegging" the contribution to Bantu education from the general revenue account of the Republic. Under this financial program, total enrollment has been increased by various "economizing" measures, such as the reduction of the school day to three hours for those Bantu children in the Sub-standards A and B -- approximately 90 per cent of the total school population. In general, the Government syllabuses that have been written have been found to emphasize Bantu culture, even to requiring instruction in the vernacular through Standard VI. Finally, as a result of the passage of the Extension of University Act and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, the Government was able to gain control of Bantu higher education, which has subsequently been incorporated into the general plan for ethnic segregation.

Conclusions

It has not been the purpose of this study to cast judgment on the Bantu education program of South Africa; nor has it been the primary purpose of this study to describe in detail the administrative or curricular aspects of the program. Value judgments require a bit more heroism than the author can conjure up at this point in his study of the subject, while the administrative and curricular details have been defined to be periphery.

Rather, as stated in Chapter I, this paper represents an effort to trace the complex cultural development of the major interest groups in South Africa as it relates to the racial attitudes expressed in the Nationalist Government philosophy of Bantu education.

The basic conclusion of the paper may be concisely expressed as follows: The segregation-oriented, White-supremist program of Bantu education in South Africa is the explainable result of over three hundred years of cultural development during which religious, political, and economic forces have instilled in the ruling Afrikaner a nationalistic spirit of self-preservation. It is believed that it is only with this historical development in view that the objective student should turn his attention to any aspect of Bantu education as it exists in South Africa today.

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