

EDUCATION FOR BARBARISM

Bantu (Apartheid) Education in South Africa

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with preface by
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PREFACE

It is now twenty years since *Education for Barbarism* first appeared. The analysis presented in it has subsequently been confirmed by the Soweto student revolt. Anyone who wants to understand in depth why the strikes against school curricula by school children in their early teens and under, broadened into a revolt against a system of Bantu Education and finally into a revolt against oppression in general, must read this book.

It is on record that the students, in their fury, against the system of indoctrination and regimentation, burnt down not only schools but also the Bantu Administration offices where pass laws were handled, beerhalls which were the main source of revenue for running locations, and other symbols of oppression. This indicated a growth of consciousness on two levels: on the one hand, it shows the students, once regarded as a privileged minority, now unequivocally taking their place alongside other classes of the oppressed, and on the other, it shows a perception of the vital *link* between the system of Bantu Education and the social, political, economic exploitation and oppression of the Black population in general. This *link*, is the central theme of the book *Education for Barbarism*.

The author, himself a participant and one of the leaders in the struggle for liberation, focuses attention on the system of Education in South Africa, lays bare its evil designs in all their ramifications and their all-pervasive effects, and comes to the conclusion that the architects of Bantu Education conceived it as the main pillar in the maintenance of their oppressive and exploitative regime.

Many have asked why it was found necessary to impose a system of Bantu Education in a fast developing capitalist system. True, answers to this question must be many and varied. In this work I.B. Tabata explores one of the answers to this complex question. He argues that fascism calls for a special type of education which must be in conformity with a system of indoctrination and regimentation characteristic of fascism. This point is then illustrated by drawing a parallel between the German school system under the Nazis and the system of Bantu Education (see Ch. III).

Before the introduction of Bantu Education, the Blacks were subjected to what was known as 'Native Education'. This meant inferior institutions, poor conditions and pitifully low allocations. However from the secondary school to the University level, the syllabi were the same as for the Whites. The racist regime however resented even the possibility of a few who managed to acquire university education despite all the obstacles placed in their path. Its resentment stemmed from the fear that these students had been introduced to a system of education which extols the concepts of rights, equality and freedom - weapons which capitalism employed in its fight against feudalism. In the conditions of South Africa such an education constituted a threat to the maintenance of

the myth of the White man's superiority. As Dr. Verwoerd, the architect of Bantu Education himself, states:

'When I have control of Native education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them. People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for the Natives. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live.'

It is important to bear in mind that both 'their opportunities in life' or 'the sphere in which they live' are defined by the oppressor. By defining this frame of reference, the oppressor makes choices for the oppressed. He sees to it that their activities remain, strictly within the material and cultural frame imposed by the oppressive system. Thus their consciousness is transformed and guided by those who control the system. For this reason, it is common talk amongst regime spokesman that, the native needs 'White Christian guardianship'.

The primary purpose of Bantu Education is not only to produce a docile black labour force, but also a labour force unable to perceive the social, political and economic contradictions. To defuse these contradictions, education for the blacks had to be re-tribalized. It was as if the dead hand of the past was to be used to stifle the living, for Bantu Education was seen to have its full meaning in the context of tribal authorities. In the words of Verwoerd:

'My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. There Bantu Education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will be called upon to perform its real service. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . for that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its main aim absorption in the European community. Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.'

The African is to develop capitalism in South Africa, but he is not entitled to the fruits of his labour. When he is no longer able to labour for the system because of old age, he is to be deposited back into the Bantustans. For this reason, he must always be aware that his roots are in the Bantustan - referred to by Dr. Verwoerd as 'his community'. This type of distortion creates many problems for working class consciousness in South Africa. It is used to confuse them, especially those who have lived in the cities for generations.

This confusion is hoped to disorganise the Black population and weaken their resistance to the system, cementing a horse/rider coexistence and promoting a 'culture of silence'. However, the author of this book shows that Bantu Education is bound to fail for it is not in keeping with the demands of a fast developing modern capitalist system and is not acceptable to the population for whom it is designed.

The student revolt of 1976 reflected the latent fury of the whole population. Indeed, there is a general state of ferment affecting all classes of the oppressed population in

South Africa, workers, peasants, intellectuals and even petty traders. As the regime increases the oppression of the population, so does the awareness of the indivisibility of oppression also increase. The link between the various repressive laws becomes obvious. Each oppressive law is seen to be part and parcel of the whole. Thus a revolt against Bantu Education inevitably became a revolt against the whole system of oppression.

True, although the demand for liberation is latent among all classes, there are still those who are willing to go along with the system. Their reasons for doing so are many and varied. Many fear greater repression and are inhibited from taking part in the struggle because of what they conceive to be personal *risks*. They then adapt to the structure of domination and resign themselves to it.

However, the attainment of freedom is also tied to the risk of personal life. In his *The Phenomenology of the Mind* Hegel writes:

'It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained. . . the individual who has not staked his life may, no doubt, be recognised as a person; but he has not attained the truth of this recognition as an independent self-consciousness.'

To be independently self-conscious is to reject the image of *self* imposed by the oppressor. Without this rejection the individual subject is divided in the sense that he lives as the system would like him to live and yet *he* would like to be something else. The consciousness that makes the individual subject desire freedom is the recognition that autonomy and responsibility are a pre-requisite to authentic existence. Marx writes that this revolutionary consciousness, which leads to desire freedom even at the expense of personal life, is something that grows and matures in the womb of bourgeois society. It grows within and as an integral part of the 'culture of silence' and conformity. However, in order for their consciousness to grow, revolutionary literature giving the rationale of the existing system is imperative. I.B. Tabata's book is one of those works that have been written for purposes of clarifying to the oppressed the mechanics of the existing order.

In circumstances where this revolutionary consciousness does not exist, where the oppressed live in the duality of *being* or *not being* like the oppressor, there is a tendency to direct the anger not against the system, but against each other. This observation is made by Frantz Fanon in Algeria and in his *The Wretched of the Earth* he writes:

'The colonized man will first manifest this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people. This is the period when niggers beat each other up and the police and magistrates do not know which way to turn when faced with the astonishing waves of crimes in North Africa While the settler or the policeman has the right the livelong day to strike the native, to insult him and to make him crawl to them, you will see the native reaching for his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive glance cast on him by another native: for the last resort of the native is to defend his personality vis a vis his brother.'

This fury against each other can only end when the individual subjects have gained a revolutionary consciousness. True, the material conditions lay the basis for the rise of consciousness, but as Marx points out many times, it is theory that is the guide to action.

The intellectuals contribute to the revolutionary process by explicitly formulating the problems arising from the material conditions of praxis for the working class movement. In this way revolutionary consciousness is heightened in the movement.

This book will contribute towards this consciousness as it is primarily addressed to the oppressed; to organise themselves in order to fight the oppressive reality of the Apartheid system. It demands that they reject the image of reality prescribed, for them by the oppressor and replace it with action against the system.

The author's last sentence in the book is a passionate appeal:

It is our belief that the people of South Africa, both White and Non-White, will one day jerk themselves out of their complacent smugness and prostration, wake up to their responsibilities and seek to wipe out from the book of history this chapter of degradation, misery and moral destitution.'

The revolutionary intellectual's role must be that of critical intervention; to explain to the masses not only their own action but the objective reality which surrounds them. The more the reality is unveiled, the easier it is for the masses to focus this action. By clarifying and illuminating the mechanics of Bantu Education, I.B. Tabata has made a great contribution to the cause of the struggling peoples of South Africa.

PATRICK D. NCUBE,
Lusaka, October, 1979.

FOREWORD

SINCE this book was written, Dr. Verwoerd, the central figure in it, has become Prime Minister of South Africa.

Since the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948, Dr. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, has dominated the political life of the country. It has been said that all politics in South Africa centre around Native Affairs. Indeed, by far the greater part of parliamentary sessions is taken up with discussing what is known as the 'Native Question' and passing laws for regulating the life of the Africans in accordance with the *Apartheid* or segregation policy. As the man who controls the lives of all the African people, i.e., the main labour force, ruling them by Proclamation, Dr. Verwoerd's influence has been felt in many other departments of state, particularly those of labour and economic affairs.

Now, as Prime Minister, he has control over the destiny of the whole nation. In his first broadcast pronouncement on assuming office, he declared that he would devote all his energies to bringing about the establishment of a Republic in South Africa. The nature of that Republic is indicated in the following pages. Dr. Verwoerd is now at liberty to carry out his educational policy with respect to every section of the population. It is a subject to which he has devoted a great deal of thought and on the importance of which lie lays much stress. As the book endeavours to show, he regards education, i.e. Christian-National Education, as the corner-stone of the Nationalist edifice he proposes to build up.

A word or two is necessary to explain a number of terms used in this book, which might otherwise be confusing to the reader unacquainted with certain peculiarities of language arising from the social and political set-up of the country. In fact, one is tempted to compile a Devil's Dictionary as a guide through the maze of linguistic distortions. For instance, the word *boy* (understandably not used in this book) means a Non-White person of any age from ten to a hundred years. Before that he is a *piccaninny*.

A Non-White, or Non-European, is a person, one of whose forebears is White, or, alternatively, whose ancestors were not born in Europe. This negative, Non-White, is used to designate collectively the Africans, Coloureds and Indians of South Africa.

A European is a White person born in South Africa, or one who in appearance looks like a European, or who is accepted by his associates as White.

An African is an indigenous inhabitant of the Continent of Africa. The dark-skinned people, or the 'Blacks' of South Africa, call themselves Africans. Most Whites of South Africa abhor the term. It is officially taboo. Thus, in all official documents, and in the quotations to be found in this work, the terms 'Native', 'native', or 'Bantu' are used. Honourable Members of Parliament sometimes also fall into the use of the term 'kaffir'. Ministers of State stubbornly refuse to answer questions in Parliament if the questioner uses the word 'African'. In this Dr. Verwoerd set the pace when he gave the brilliant

retort: 'Africans! Who are they?'

An *Afrikaner* is an Afrikaans-speaking White person, born in South Africa; also called European. In translation *Afrikaner* would have to be rendered as 'African'.

A South African is an English-speaking White person born in South Africa. Both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Whites are collectively known as Europeans.

A Coloured person is a descendant of a White and a Non-White. In South Africa this term is restricted to a small group and does not cover the rest of the Non-Whites.

The Africans themselves strenuously object to the insulting term 'kaffir', the odious 'Native' and the derogatory term 'Bantu'. The Non-Whites often use the term 'Non-Europeans', or 'Blacks', as a collective designation, for the specific purpose of emphasizing the community of their interests. This has been in order to counter the long-practised policy of divide-and-rule.

Cape Town,
September, 1958.

I

INTRODUCTION

1. 'BAASSKAP'

WHEN in 1952 the rulers of South Africa decided to celebrate the Tercentenary of the landing of van Riebeeck, the first White settler in this country, there was a great deal of thanksgiving. There was a reassessment of the good fortune of the descendants of the early settlers. They had conquered a wide country, with plentiful arable and pasture land, a country rich in minerals and with limitless possibilities of industrial development. With it, they had conquered a large indigenous population which was later to be used as a source of cheap labour. The country was to belong to the White man exclusively. For this they seized the reins of Government and ensured their monopoly of political power. All laws were designed to entrench this power, to regulate things and human relationships in such a way as to ensure the continued well-being of the White ruling population. Amongst their most valued assets they counted the rich gold and diamond mines, the inexhaustible Black labour, the fertile farmlands on the high veld. In a word, they saw themselves as the blessed possessors of an El Dorado at the tip of the Continent of Africa. They saw themselves as the chosen race enjoying these riches, while all Europe in the aftermath of a world war languished in penury and Asia was gripped in turmoil. It was in this spirit of self-congratulation that the White rulers of South Africa in 1952 gave thanksgiving in the Tercentenary celebrations. Many expressed the hope and others asserted that they would continue to enjoy the fat of the land for another 300 years. They felt confident that their policy of White domination, or *baaskap*, as the Afrikaners have it, would continue to reap rich dividends.

That section of the rulers represented by the United Party believed that the existing laws of the land were so weighted against the development of the Non-White population, i.e. the Africans, Coloureds and Indians, that very few of them could ever break through the handicap. The conditions for developing successful business amongst them were so stringent that there was no fear on that score. Those who managed to acquire sufficient education to enter the professions were so few that they constituted no threat to the *status quo*. This small group, if not absorbed, could at least be granted special privileges to isolate them from the rest of their fellow oppressed. Thus the United Party, which is predominantly English-speaking, tends towards a policy of *laissez-faire*, on the basis of the *status quo*, but with the proviso that from time to time they judiciously close a loophole here and there.

The Afrikaner Nationalist Party, which has been in power since 1948, postulates on the other hand a policy of *baaskap* (literally, boss-ship). Alternately its policy is known as *Apartheid*, which prescribes a rigid demarcation between White and Non-White and sets a ceiling to the development of the Non-White population. Of course *Apartheid* does not mean they do not utilize the labour of the Non-Whites in their undertakings. In fact the

essence of this policy is that they keep the Non-Whites at the level of a cheap labour force. They feel the necessity to intervene actively in the normal processes of social development and have a strong sense of urgency in checking it. The fact that even a few Non-Whites have managed to acquire professions fills them with alarm. This small trickle is to them a threat to White *baasskap*. It is manifest proof of their ability to succeed in spite of the many impediments. It is a symbol of all that the Non-Europeans are capable of achieving and undermines the myth, so jealously fostered, of the superiority of the White man. Thus the rulers must immediately arrest the process and close every loophole for further development along this course. More than that, they must turn the development of the Africans in a different direction—backwards. For this reason, that small section which has already contrived to establish itself in the professions must now be hemmed in by all sorts of regulations to make it difficult for it to earn a livelihood. They are insulted and humiliated at every turn and everything is done to deprive them of their sense of achievement. Even in the matter of dress, the powers that be would insist that the Non-White nurses should no longer wear the same uniform worn by all nurses. Those who have qualified as Sisters must no longer be called Sisters and some other name must be found for them.

Now, in any society, ancient or modern, it is the duty of the older generation to prepare the young to take their place in the economic, intellectual and social life of the community. In modern times this duty falls largely to the State. It provides a system of education in keeping with the highly complex activities of man in an industrial age. The paramount importance of systematized education has long been recognized. For the future of a society is intimately bound up with and to a great extent dependent upon the way the youth are prepared for the task of maintaining that society. Any system of education, therefore is concerned not only with the teaching of certain skills and professions, but with inculcating certain ideas which are basic to the society and necessary for its perpetuation. Education is carefully designed and organized so that the children imbibe those moral, cultural and intellectual attitudes that are the essence of that society. For instance, in a socialist state, where a communist society is the aim, the children are surrounded with an atmosphere in which the common ownership of the means of production is the ideal. In such a country it is inconceivable that an educator would extol the virtues of private ownership of industries and the rest. Their attitudes towards religious matters, too, are very different from those of the West. A little incident that took place recently at an international scientific conference in Moscow will illustrate our point. A delegate from the West reported that on the day before Christmas the presiding professor more than once courteously reminded the assembly that December 25th was a religious festival for the foreign guests of the conference, who might not therefore be able to attend the conference sessions. People who have been brought up in the Christian West and have drunk with their mothers' milk the tenets of Christendom, with all that goes with them, would hardly need such a reminder. In fact they would think it somewhat out of place. Similarly, children in the countries of the West learn to abhor ideas of common ownership and are taught to respect private property and the accepted morality that goes with it. They are taught that personal acquisition, keen competition and individual

success are the very basis of progress. This education is in conformity with the basic ideas which flow from the social and economic structure of any given society and are necessary for its perpetuation.

When politicians, however, want to juggle with the social order, they make for the system and content of education. Hitler threw to the winds the rich legacy of education in Germany that had been steeped in the culture of centuries and prided itself on its modern scientific approach. Instead, he introduced barbaric ideas based on superstition and race fanaticism. In the name of race superiority, education was debased and scientific theory prostituted. Fascism and intellectual freedom are mortal enemies. Barbarism and superstition cannot tolerate free enquiry and the scientific approach to problems. Thus in Germany the monstrous machinery of fascism was geared to maintain a myth and educational institutions were employed to drug the mind of the German youth.

In South Africa, where the ruling minority, the herrenvolk, feel impelled to arrest the natural processes of development in an industrial age, in so far as the Non-Whites are concerned, they have similarly seized upon education as the instrument for carrying out their purposes. The apostles of *Apartheid* have fathered a new monstrosity, called Bantu Education, by means of which they aim to arrest the development of the African people, who comprise more than nine million, or nearly three-quarters of the total population. It has its counter-part in 'Coloured Education' for the Coloured people of South Africa, comprising, with the Indians, about one and a half million. They want to re-create for the subject races a social order belonging to the pre-industrial age. It is in this light that the elaborate schemes of the Nationalist Government for establishing Bantu Education must be viewed. It falls to Dr. Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs to resurrect a dead tribalism for the African people. And all this for the purpose of ensuring the continuance of *baasskap* and preserving the racial myth of White superiority. In Dr. Verwoerd's scheme of things, education, i.e. Bantu Education, becomes a means of artificially resuscitating an outmoded tribalism. In his own words: 'Education for Natives' must be 'transformed into Bantu Education'. Thus both the system and the content of education must be transformed to suit the purposes of the rulers.

The control of the educational system (he writes) has been taken out of the hands of the Provinces (where education was previously administered by the Education Department) and placed in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs, so that a uniform educational policy, consistent with the general policy of the country, can be introduced.'

Ii outlining his policy on Bantu Education Dr. Verwoerd states:

'My Department's policy' (i.e., the Department of Native Affairs) 'is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society.... The basis of the provision and organization of education in a Bantu Community should, where possible, be the tribal organization.' (*Bantu Education.*)

And again:

'There is no place for him' (the African) 'in the European community above the level

of certain forms of labour. . . . Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.' (*ibid.*)

In stating the general aims of Bantu Education he emphasizes that it has to be turned into 'a general service which will help the development of the Bantu Community as a whole'. What is significant is the way he links Bantu Education with his concept of a Bantu Community. Note his continual harping on a Bantu Community or Bantu society. Observe also how he juxtaposes European society with Bantu society. To understand the full import of the plans for Bantu Education we must examine the nature of the 'Bantu Community' envisaged by Dr. Verwoerd. But before doing so let us briefly indicate the position of education as he found it.

2. NATIVE EDUCATION'

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 by the Act of Union, the Colour Bar against the Black population, which had always been practised, was embodied in the very constitution of the land. Every succeeding Government, of whatever political protestations, made it its duty to pass laws to maintain White domination. While utilized as a cheap labour force, the Non-Whites were thrown out of the body politic and a policy of social segregation was strictly adhered to. As part of this policy, a system of education known as Native Education was evolved for the Africans. The Report of the Departmental Committee on Native Education (1935.6) sums up this policy as follows:

'The Education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society and the Education of the Black child for a subordinate society. . . . The limits (of Native Education) form part of the social and economic structure of the country.'

Thus the rulers utilized education to maintain their dominant position. But at this stage they still spoke in terms of a multi-racial society within a single state in which the Whites constituted the upper, privileged section, and the Non-Whites the lower section administering to the needs of the Whites. In practice this meant inferior education for every section of the Non-Europeans but most of all for the Africans. 'Native Education' meant inferior accommodation and equipment in schools and inferior training and salaries for African teachers. There is free and compulsory education for the White child only. The figures indicating state expenditure for White and African children, respectively, eloquently sum up the position. As quoted in Parliament, in 1949, the cost per head for the White child was £50; and for the African child it was V. The position is even worse when we consider that the £7 was only for the few African children actually in schools. The vast proportion receive no education at all. As Dr. Verwoerd himself stated:

'Only 40 per cent of children of school-going age are in schools. Of these nearly half the pupils are found in the sub-standards; 10 per cent reach Standard Two; 3 ½ per cent reach Standard Six; only ½ per cent reach Junior Certificate and a very small number matriculate.'

These figures reveal a tragic state of affairs. They reveal not only educational starvation but also the economic destitution of a whole people. For it is well known that African parents will make great sacrifices to enable their children to attend school. The most backward of them, the illiterate peasants, will sell their few remaining stock so that their children can learn at least to read and write. The overall inferiority of 'Native Education' has always been manifest. Even the syllabus for the lower standards was inferior, so that the great majority were fitted only for menial jobs.

At this stage, however, the few who could afford secondary and university education did receive the same syllabuses as the Whites. Thus a trickle managed to reach the professions, holding the same qualifications as any other qualified people in the country. Now it was precisely this section that constituted a menace in the eyes of Dr. Verwoerd and his fellow apostles of *Apartheid*. Such men and women were dangerous. A number of them became teachers. They had had a university education and were conscious of their proper function as educators of the young. They were able to bring universal concepts to their people through the schools. They inspired in their pupils a love of knowledge and a conception of liberal education irrespective of colour. In this way they could help to uplift the whole community and befitted an ever-increasing number to take their place as members of a civilized society and sharing in all its manifold activities and responsibilities.

This development was completely at variance with Dr. Verwoerd's idea of South African society. Listen to the way in which he describes it: 'A considerable number of those who were trained in this way have been absorbed again in the educational machine, which has created a vicious cycle.' A choice phrase, 'vicious cycle'. He goes on to condemn educated Africans as 'the class which has learnt to believe that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilized community of South Africa, i.e. the Europeans.' *Bantu Education*, p. 17.)

Such statements, which must seem shocking to the ears of every civilized person throughout the world, do not issue from the lips of an illiterate man, nor are they devoid of sense and logic - at least Verwoerdian logic - as might at first appear. They are the considered opinions of a man who has taken stock of the developments in South Africa in every field of human activity and has come to the conclusion that it is heading for a crisis. White domination is seriously threatened. The safeguards that have so far been taken to make South Africa a White man's paradise are no longer adequate and the situation calls for drastic measures. Here we are reminded how in the nineteen-thirties the ruling class of Germany, faced with a crisis, found a Hitler who trampled democracy underfoot and effected the transition to fascism. In the name of Nordic supremacy - the *herrenvolk* - he sacrificed the lives of millions of Jews. The human cost of the fanatic orgies of this Messiah of race purity, reckoned in the spiritual maiming of a whole generation both Jew and Gentile, is immeasurable. When we add to this the holocaust of the Second World War that followed, there are no words to describe the human destruction.

In South Africa the racial messiahs have declared that the whole trend of the present development must be arrested and society itself reconstituted in order to maintain the supremacy of the White *herrenvolk*. The South African state must be split up so that

instead of a 'multi-racial society' within a single state, the development must be towards the formation of *Bantustans* alongside the White state. Like the relatives of a prized member of the community dying of an incurable disease, who prescribe even cow-dung in the hope of saving his life, the doctor has worked out a master-plan to save 'White civilization'. No one really believes in the efficacy of this barbarous remedy. In fact, some are revolted by it, but the more fanatic kinsmen are allowed to try out their desperate medications.

PLANS FOR A BANTU COMMUNITY

I. BANTU AUTHORITIES

WE have said that Dr. Verwoerd keeps putting into juxtaposition what he calls the Bantu Community with the European Community and Bantu Society with European Society, as if the people of South Africa constituted two entirely separate entities. It is an *idée fixe* with him. All his plans have this idea as their starting-point. At all costs South African Society must be reorganized on these lines. To bring this about he pushed through Parliament two laws that supplement each other: the Bantu Education Act, which is designed to fit the African into a separate Bantu Community, and the Bantu Authorities Act, which aims to create this Bantu Community.

The Bantu Authorities Act is a remarkable Act. Its aim is to re-establish tribalism in the midst of industrialism. The whole African population at present living in what are known as the Native Reserves (comprising 12 per cent of the total land area) is to be uprooted, reshuffled and resettled according to their ethnic groupings: Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Pondo, 'Fingo', etc. Every village will be turned into a Bantu Community, with a government-appointed chief and councillors constituting a Bantu Authority. (Government here means the Native Affairs Department, with the Minister of Native Affairs at its head.) In the towns, where the Africans have to live in segregated locations, they will also be reshuffled according to their old clans and tribes, each with a government-appointed chief at its head. Just imagine some racial messiah let loose in London and in attempting to solve the crises of the West he should reshuffle the population according to their original tribal or clan groupings, putting English, Welsh, Irish, Scots, Jews, etc., into separate locations, and further subdividing your men of Sussex, Wessex, and so on, or your Macdonalds, Mactavishes and Mac-what-nots. If such a scheme succeeded, the workers' trade unions might be broken up, but the social life of England with its vast industrial machine would be in an unholy mess.

It does not even occur to the makers of *Apartheid* in South Africa how ludicrous the idea of chieftainship is, particularly in the old towns, where many Africans do not even know the language of the tribe to which their forbears belonged and still less any of the ancient rites associated with it. But all that the rulers are concerned with is the splitting up of the Africans; for they are mortally afraid of African unity, and still more of the coming together of all Non-Europeans. It is a theme that is frequently harped upon in Parliament. The chiefs in the rural and urban Bantu Communities are to be little tin gods answerable only to the Great White Chief, the Supreme Chief of all 'Natives'. Dr. Verwoerd, it may be said, once expressed himself a believer in the divine right of chiefs, but, of course, it must be understood that the divine right stops short sharply where the authority of the Minister of Native Affairs begins. These chiefs, then, have the power to regulate and regiment the lives of every African man, woman and child. A Proclamation

in the Government Gazette has recently been published, giving them unheard-of powers over the people. These illiterate representatives of a barbarous age can order any person in their area—be it farmer, worker, teacher, minister of religion, lawyer or doctor—to obey perhaps some old tribal law or perform some archaic rites. The same Proclamation enables the chief to compel any person or group of people to carry out any public work without pay.

Overnight, the whole African population found themselves bereft of the most elementary human rights, and this simply by a Proclamation in a Government Gazette. Like cattle they could be made to do any work, without consultation and without any remuneration. The cynicism of this pretended recognition of the divine right of chiefs is revealed when we examine the long list of duties they have to perform, as defined in the newly gazetted regulations. In effect they are to constitute a glorified police force, and more, with powers to search, arrest, prosecute, convict and even order corporal punishment on grown-up men. They are to spy on people's lives, report to the magistrate what the people are saying amongst themselves, what meetings have been held and what strangers have been seen in their village and where they slept the night. The chiefs are to be enlisted in the Government Rehabilitation Scheme (so-called) and order the people to reduce their stock. Under the Pass laws it is their duty to order the women to apply for their book of passes and see to it that they carry it about on their persons. (There are already many instances where the women are refusing and being dragged off to prison in hundreds.) The latest Resettlement Schemes involve the rearrangement of villages, often the shifting of whole villages from one place to another. All those people who depend on stock for a livelihood, but who have no arable lands, have to be thrown out of their homes and forced to sell their stock. Together with their families they have to be dumped in camps, where they will live by selling their labour. It is the duty of the chiefs to enforce these violent measures. This is the true meaning of re-tribalization. This is what the restoration of chieftainship really means.

Now we begin to have a picture of Dr. Verwoerd's ideal of a 'Bantu Community'. What he aims to create is a completely rightless, voteless, defenceless community, segregated from 'European Society' and completely dominated by the chiefs who are employed and paid by him. But we would be very much mistaken if we assumed that this Bantu Community will be allowed to develop into an independent nation. The community will be without any means of independent livelihood and serve only as a reservoir of cheap labour for the mines, the White farms and industry. An elaborate machinery has already been established to control the sending out of labourers in the required quotas. In other words the Africans must use their hands and muscles to carry out menial tasks in the Union's industrial machine. But their life, their modes of thinking, their social forms of living must be in an artificially created stage of barbarism.

2. EDUCATION IS THE KEY - STATEMENTS OF POLICY

This brings us to the second part of Dr. Verwoerd's far-reaching schemes, namely, Bantu

Education, which is to wrench the African from the progress of the civilization of mankind and condition him for life in a backward, tribalized community. In other words, it is education for barbarism. These schemes are so diabolical that it is difficult for the ordinary civilized man to treat them seriously. He tends to dismiss them as the aberrations of a sick mind and fails to realize that while he goes complacently about his daily business, a machinery of State worked out to the minutest detail is already set in motion to create an intellectual gas chamber for the children of a whole people numbering more than nine million.

Let it be understood that Dr. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, acts for the Government and speaks for the governing party, a party which was put into power by the majority of the White electorate in South Africa, who alone have the vote. We shall quote extensively from the speeches of his fellow party members, cabinet ministers and front benchers in Parliament, in order to show how the Bantu Education Act crystallizes a policy which all of them strenuously uphold. In fact, they have more than once expressed fulsome gratitude to Dr. Verwoerd for his services.

In 1945, three years before the Nationalists came into power and prior to the Bantu Education Act (1953), they were making emphatic statements of policy. During a debate in Parliament on the subject of education, Mr. M.D.C. de Wet Nel¹ who subsequently became second in command in the Native Affairs Department, said:

'As has been correctly stated here, education is the key to the creation of the proper relationship between European and Non-European in South Africa. . . . Put native education on a sound basis and half the racial questions are solved. . . . I say that there should be reform of the whole educational system and that it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the native himself in his tribe.

The whole (present) policy is a danger for our own western civilization.' (*Hansard*, V. II, 1945.)

Then Mr. J.N. Le Roux, now Minister of Agriculture, in the same debate said:

'We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country.' (*ibid.*)

Continuing this theme, Mr. S.A. Cilliers M.P. said:

'I am very anxious about the position unless we lay down a very sound policy regarding native education. The reason is this: if we go a little too far in respect of the suggestion made here that some of the (African) children on the *platteland* (i.e. farming areas) should attend school, the future of South African agriculture may in my opinion drift into a very precarious position.' (*ibid.*)

¹ He has since been made Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

Then Mr. C.R. Swart, now holding office as Minister of Justice, endorsed the opinions of his colleagues:

Hon. members have mentioned that the Department of Native Affairs adopts the policy that natives should not be detribalized but should be educated in their own manner and should learn to be good natives as tribal natives, and should not be imitators of the white man. That is the policy which we favour and in my opinion it is the only sound policy.' (*ibid.*)

Mr. P.O. Sauer, now Minister of Lands, said:

'We have two directions in South Africa. The one direction is that of the Nationalist Party, namely, that wherever it is possible to do so, the native should be kept in his tribal state; and that he should be educated and developed as far as possible in accordance with his customs and traditions.' (*ibid.*)

On the question of the control of education, Mr. Sauer said:

'In my opinion there is only one department which ought to have control of native education, and that is the Department of Native Affairs. . . . We want the native problem to be regarded as a unit, and for that reason we want to place all aspects of it under one department which can then carry out a continuing policy in connection with education.' (*ibid.*)

When the Bantu Education Bill was finally tabled in 1953, all the same arguments were hammered home. Mr. J.J. Serfontein, now Minister of Health, took up the theme of the separate Bantu Community:

'Native education (he said) must be based on the fact that the Bantu forms a separate community.' (*Hansard, V. II, 1953.*)

Amplifying Dr. Verwoerd's condemnation of encouraging in the African 'unhealthy white collar ideals', Dr. A. Hertzog, a true son of his father, the late Prime Minister, stated:

'As soon as we teach the native children that everything the white man has is the best we have turned them into a potential danger to European civilization.' (*ibid.*)

The threat to 'European Civilization' is an old and favourite theme in the House. In 1945 Captain G.H.F. Strydom, M.P., had warned that if they did not arrest the present development,

'within half a century we shall be a coffee-coloured nation. We shall no longer exist as a nation. The white man will no longer exist here. . . . If we allow the native to remain in his raw state, if we allow him to remain within his tribe, he has his own laws and he continues to govern himself; and there is not much difficulty.'

What the Hon. member lacked in elegance of style he made up by the eloquence of his threat. For there was not a member of the herrenvolk who would not leap to action in answer to the call to save the nation from the doom of becoming coffee-coloured. Thus at all costs the African must not be allowed to develop, particularly in education. Captain Strydom went on:

'We say, he (the African) must live in the hut, and we must live in the house. He must remain separate in his place. We want to retain the respect of the native but we are not going to sleep with him in the kraal. He is not our equal.' And he concludes: 'We feel that we should have central control of native education and that the Minister of Native Affairs should be responsible for that' (*Hansard, V.11, 1945.*)

Each of these Ministers and front benchers was expressing in his own fashion what Dr. Verwoerd, seizing the core of the matter, bluntly stated:

'Their education should not clash with Government policy. . . . If the native in South Africa today . . . is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake.' (*Hansard, V.11, 1953.*)

3. APARTHEID IN VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The *Apartheid policy*, over which they all expressed themselves so eloquently and clearly, covered not only formal education but also all vocational training in skills or professions, in fact every aspect of education concerned with earning a livelihood. Let us hear what Mr. Greyling, M.P., had to say on what he called the 'wrong attitude of the Bantu himself in regard to his education'. He referred to the old system of education where

'time and attention must be given to introducing the Bantu to the civilization of the European. It is this cloak of European civilization that has to be hung round the shoulders of the Bantu that makes him the enemy of and hostile to us Europeans.' And again:

'The Bantu has begun to lay more emphasis on and strive more and more for one goal in his education, namely, to compete with the Europeans.... The Bantu saw only one meaning in his education and that was to help him find work, so as to be a sort of economic asset to him. . . . (*Hansard, V. 10, 1953.*)

There we have the heart of the matter, the cause of their uneasiness, in that pregnant phrase, 'to compete with the European'. It was for this reason that the Government's comprehensive schemes cover every aspect of training for the Non-Whites.

In 1950 they passed a law to cover the training of Africans as builders, prohibiting them from receiving the same training as all other artisans. The Minister of Labour, Mr. B.J. Schoeman, introducing the Native Building Workers' Bill, said:

'The standard of training is not the same as the standard given to the ordinary artisan who enrolls under the Apprenticeship Act. . . . Native builders will therefore not be artisans in the full sense of the word. They will only receive training which will enable them to erect houses and buildings for their own use.' (*Hansard, V. 5, 1950.*)

The same law makes it impossible for anyone to train an African to become a fully

qualified artisan. Having fixed the future trainees to his satisfaction, the Minister then dealt with those Africans already qualified as builders:

In order to protect the European artisan, the following provisions will apply. In the first instance, immediately after this Act has been promulgated, no employer in the building industry will be permitted to employ a native to do skilled building work. And by means of proclamation, all other persons will be prohibited from having building work done by Natives in specified European areas.' (*ibid.*)

The Nursing profession, too, had to come under the axe. Now it is a notorious fact that there is a shocking inadequacy of hospitalization in the country and even in the existing hospitals there is a desperate lack of nurses. This shortage is chronic, since it is a by-product of a colour-caste society. White girls in South Africa, brought up in homes where they supervise Non-White servants who do all the housework, find nursing burdensome and some of the duties objectionable. So they shun the profession. The Non-Whites, on the other hand, are entering the profession as readily as they enter the teaching profession and are filling a crying need. They have to have the same training and qualifications and do the same work as the White nurses. It is this situation that caused alarm and even horror in the hearts of the herrenvolk. A Bill had to be rushed through Parliament to put a stop to it.

Evidence given before a Select Committee on the subject of the Nursing Amendment Bill reveals the amount of racial venom that had been engendered by the situation. We shall quote at length from the witnesses, for they represent the biggest organized group of the Whites in South Africa. The first witness, Mr. G.L.H. van Niekerk, stated that he represented the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (F.A.K.) (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations). In his own words, this body is 'the accepted mouth-piece of *Afrikanerdom* in cultural matters'. He stated that, in 1955,

there were 1,041 associations affiliated to the F.A.K. . . . We co-operate with other national organizations, such as the A.T.K.V. (*Afrikaanse Toneelspelers Kulturele Vereniging*); with several youth organizations, such as the *Voortrekkers*; the A.S.B. (*Afrikaanse Studentebond*) and also with several women's organizations and teachers' associations. These organizations, by and large, cover the entire field of the Afrikaners' culture.' (Report of Select Committee. June, 1956.)

He explained that the F.A.K. was interested in the Bill mainly for two reasons, the language question and the *Apartheid* question. Under the first head he complained that

justice is not being done to Afrikaans in the activities of the Nursing Council and Association. Minutes and agendas and other official documents are drawn up only in English. . . . 78.3 per cent of the articles (in the Journal) appeared only in English. In addition 95.5 per cent of the advertisements (commercial) appeared in English.'

He then urged

'that the Nursing Association be compelled by law to uphold equal language rights.'

The main part of his evidence concerned the question of *Apartheid*. He pointed out that

up to the time the law required that a register should be kept with the names of all nurses, White and Non-White; that all should become members of the Nursing Association and that all could vote for the election of members to the Nursing Council.

It is (at present) permissible (he said) for European as well as Non-European members to be elected to the Council. The European nurses are very strongly opposed to this state of affairs as it constitutes a grave threat to their future, especially in view of the increasing enrolment of Non-European nurses. . . . Objections have been raised against intermingling at gatherings and at the partaking of refreshments. It is pointed out that these things will lead to a gradual acceptance of social equality. Objection was also made to the wearing of the same insignia by European and Non-European nurses, as it requires junior European nurses having to acknowledge and respect the status of senior Non-European nurses. In order to counter this state of affairs we propose that separate registers be instituted for the two races in the nursing profession and that only Europeans should be entitled to vote for the election of representatives on the Nursing Council and Association, such representatives also to be only Europeans.' (*ibid.*)

After this bland declaration amounting to wholesale robbery of the rights of Non-European nurses, the F.A.K. representative proceeded to add insult to injury. With the air of one bestowing a favour, he continued:

'According to our recommendations, the Minister must then nominate a European to serve the interests of the Non-Europeans on the Council, while a European is to be co-opted to the Board of the Association for the same purpose. These representatives must have no vote, however. . . . They would be present there in accordance with the principle of guardianship.' (*ibid.*)

When asked if the F.A.K. took the view that 'the European should remain the guardian of the Non-European irrespective of the standard of education, the latter reached,' he answered, 'Yes'. On being questioned by the members of the Select Committee, the F.A.K. representative expressed himself more expansively on the question of *Apartheid*:

"We have to consider the situation as a whole. If we allow intermingling to take place in the meetings of the Association and the social functions in connection therewith, it would in my opinion be the beginning of a process which might lead to social equality. It would gradually filter through into other spheres of our national life and it could only end in the European in South Africa being dominated by the Non-European."

And again:

'As we see the matter, such meetings, where refreshments are also taken together, would gradually lead to a blunting of colour-consciousness, and as soon as that stage is reached, the other dangers would come to the fore.' (*ibid.*)

This last was in answer to a question on the 'danger of miscegenation'.

The second witness, Sister A.J. Botha, who claimed to be expressing the views of the Sante Nurses' Institute, Johannesburg, stated the case for *Apartheid* with equal vehemence. Amongst other things, she said:

The parents of the vast majority of nurses would be shocked if they knew that the names of their children appear on the same register with Non-Europeans and that they wear the same uniforms and insignia.' She said further: 'European nurses have had the unpleasant experience of receiving and carrying out orders of Non-European doctors.'

When questioned, she said:

I maintain that in the case where a Non-European nurse tends a European mental patient, hope of recovery is very small.'

To avoid embarrassing situations she strongly recommended completely separate hospitals for Europeans and Non-Europeans, both patients and nurses, and that 'No European nurses shall receive orders from Non-Europeans'. The whole Memorandum was virtually identical with that of the F.A.K. representative.

The third and last witness called was Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, who is Secretary for Native Affairs, and who, incidentally, was Chairman of the Commission that recommended Bantu Education.

'My Department' (Department of Native Affairs), he said, 'holds the view that as far as possible there should be separate hospitals for different races. As the Bantu are the largest group, it should, in most cases, be possible to have separate hospitals for them, at any rate. Where it is uneconomic for the smaller towns to have separate units, however, the subdivisions should be clearly separate.... Bantu patients should be attended by Bantu nurses. . . . Bantu nurses are there to perform an essential service for the Bantu Community. . . . It follows therefore that (a) the Bantu nurses should receive training which will fit them for their particular task; (b) they should accordingly, and also because their own background differs from that of the other groups, be trained separately; (c) in the determination of their rate of pay, the fact should be taken into account that they are members of the Bantu Community and are to serve that community.' Later he explained that 'if we gave the Bantu nurse the same pay we would completely estrange her from her own community.' He went on to say: 'These persons should receive a different type of training from that of the ordinary nurse. Their natural employers are the Bantu Communities, which have hitherto not been organized for anything like this, but which will, with the progress at present being made with the establishment of Bantu Authorities, be able to carry out this function in the near future.'

No one was better qualified than Dr. Eiselen to impress upon the Select Committee the ramifications of the Bantu Authorities Act. As Secretary for Native Affairs he was charged with the creation of the Bantu Authorities, which are to take control, among other things, of the hospitalization for the African people. Thus nurses, too, must be strait-jacketed to fit this scheme. Like the other two witnesses, Dr. Eiselen recommended that *Apartheid* be strictly applied; Non-European nurses should not be allowed to belong to the Nursing Association and the Nursing Council. In this connection he pointed out that in the field of labour it was the policy of the Government that mixed trade unions should not be recognized.

I am aware of the fact (he said) that difficulties would be encountered if at this stage the Bantu nurses were deprived of membership and of voting rights in a mixed nursing association after these things had been granted them. It would nevertheless be most inconsistent if on these grounds an anomaly was allowed to continue which exists in no other South African sphere of life, with the exception, I think, of the Medical Council and the Bar.'

Under questioning, he said:

'Our experience has been that ... the professional Bantu is uprooted and is no longer tribe conscious. The longer it is possible for the Bantu nurse to remain a member of the Nursing Association, the more difficult she would find it to forego such membership'

In explaining why he recommended that the course of study for the African nurses should be different, he said:

The attitude of the Native towards bodily cleanliness is different from that of the European.... He further sleeps with his head under the blanket, not because he finds it warmer that way, but because he feels safer. To counter that, it would not be of much use to try to drum into him that he must have more oxygen, but it should rather be pointed out to him that the *tokkeloshe* is not as dangerous as he thinks.' (*Tokkeloshe* means "spirit".)

This scandalous formulation of differentiated education considered suitable for Africans comes from a man who occupies the position of Secretary for Native Affairs, a man who, under the Bantu Education Act, inherits the position of the Superintendent General of Education.

What emerges from these new laws covering the nurses and the builders is the determination of the rulers to arrest the natural development of the Non-Europeans. There must be no loophole left unclosed in any sphere. Mr. Maree, M.P., chairman of the Permanent Commission of Native Affairs, neatly summed up the situation during the debate on the Bantu Education Bill:

Today we have come to the cross-roads, as far as South Africa is concerned. 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 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. Therefore the fundamental idea in Bantu Education must be that he should be taught to develop along his own lines in all social and economic aspects. That is the course we wish to follow so that he can . . . become a worthy member of the Bantu race instead of having to be a synthetic Westerner.' (*Hansard*, V. 10, 1953.)

CHRISTIAN-NATIONAL EDUCATION

1. AFRIKANERIZATION

BEFORE we take a close-up view of Bantu Education itself, it is necessary to trace its origin in that body of ideas on education on which *Afrikanerdom* bases itself; for this concept of the 'proper' education for the subject races is an offshoot of what the Afrikaners call *Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid* (C.N.O.) which means in English, Christian-National Education.

In 1939, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (F.A.K.) the influential body above-mentioned, established the institute of Christian-National Education (C.N.O.) to work out a policy of education for South Africa acceptable to *Afrikanerdom*. This Institute included leading churchmen, professors from Afrikaans universities and cabinet ministers-to-be. Then in 1948, the year in which the Nationalist Party came to power, the Institute published a definitive Statement of Christian-National Education policy. The Chairman of F.A.K. in his Preface said that, 'after almost ten years of working on the quiet', a policy of Christian-National Education was formulated and approved by 'the whole of *Afrikanerdom*' as represented in the F.A.K.

It must not be supposed that this claim to speak for *Afrikanerdom* was an exaggerated one. It has been a deliberate policy of the Afrikaners in this country to organize themselves as Afrikaners in every sphere of life and to penetrate into every possible field with the express purpose of controlling and dominating it. This policy of 'Afrikanerization' - as they call it - is carried out with fanatic thoroughness. Thus they have special Afrikaner organizations for controlling industry, commerce, insurance companies and banking concerns; they have Afrikaner Youth organizations, the *Jeugbond*, 'Young Voortrekkers' and student bodies; there are Afrikaner Women's organizations, sports bodies and trade unions; Afrikaner Teacher organizations and Church bodies. Then there is the highly organized and efficient *Broederbond*. This is the inner circle of Afrikaner control directing penetration into every sphere. Dr. Verwoerd is reported to have once said:

The *Broederbond* must gain control of everything it can lay hands on in every walk of life in South Africa. Members must help each other to gain promotion in the Civil Service or any other field of activity with a view to working themselves into important administrative positions.'

When we consider that more than 60 per cent of the Dutch Reformed clergy belong to the *Broederbond* and that in the Nationalist Government itself the majority, from the Prime Minister to cabinet ministers downwards, are members of one or other of the organizations affiliated to the F.A.K., then we have some idea of the vast organization of *Afrikanerdom*, whose aim is no less than a Christian-National Calvinist republic. We can understand how a chairman of F.A.K., in a statement of Christian-National Education

policy, can speak with such authority, and even an ordinary member giving evidence before the Select Committee on the Nurses' Amendment Bill, could presume to say that 'the Minister *must* nominate a European....'

Having drawn up its policy for education the F.A.K. proceeded to hand it over to the political section. A congress of the Nationalist Party, by this time in power, and the Institute for Christian-National Education was held in November, 1948. At this congress a Professor from Pretoria University moved the following resolution:

The Congress urges the Government to bring about systematic changes in our system of education (primary, middle and higher education) to conform with the Christian. National Education policy which was approved by F.A.K., provided that it is approved by the *Afrikaanse volk.*'

What, then, is Christian-National Education? The Chairman of the F.A.K. in his Preface to the Statement of Policy, wrote:

the Statement of Policy, wrote:

'It is a Policy . . . that . . . can now stand as a guiding principle in our cultural struggle which has now also definitely become an educational struggle. . . . Our culture must be brought into the schools. . . . Our Afrikaans schools must not be merely mother-language schools; they must be the places where our children are soaked and nourished in the Christian-National spiritual cultural "stuff" of our nation.' (*Christelik-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid.*)

And Article I of the C.N.O. Policy stated:

'Afrikaans-speaking children should be educated on the foundation of the Christian-National philosophy of our nation.' (*ibid.*)

In order to have a clear understanding of these statements, and others to follow, it is necessary to have their own definition of the terms they use, specifically what they mean by Christian, National and Education. The term 'national' is defined as 'a love for everything that is our own, with special reference to our country, our language, our history and our culture'. The 'Christian foundation' is defined as 'based on Holy Scriptures and expressed in the Articles of Faith of our three Afrikaans churches'. Thus in this context 'Christian' means 'according to the creed of the three Afrikaans churches'. What they mean by 'Education' is made clear in the quotation already given, where the Chairman of the F.A.K. defines the Christian-National school, It means a thorough indoctrination in a fanatic belief in one nation, the *Boerenasie* and its culture. Afrikaans children must be 'baptized and reared in the spiritual substance of our national culture'. They must be 'soaked and nourished' in the creed of the three Afrikaans churches, i.e. the Dutch Reformed Church, which represents Calvinism in South Africa. The active, spiritual force of this brand of Calvinism can only be understood in the light of the history of *Afrikanerdom*, in its isolationism, its aggressive exclusiveness, its rigid imperviousness to outside influence. In a word, Afrikaans culture is a culture that has become ingrown. Thus they find it possible to declare in their Statement of Policy:

'We want no admixture of language, of culture, of religion or of race.'

It will be necessary briefly to indicate the history that lies behind such a declaration.

2. ORIGINS

The Afrikaner people of South Africa think of themselves as the descendants of those Dutch immigrants who came to the Cape of Good Hope in the latter part of the seventeenth century, further reinforced by the Huguenots, the religious refugees who left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The general claim is that they are the offspring of the White population that was in Southern Africa by 1691. To this day they insist on calling themselves Europeans and are continually reiterating their claim to be the only defenders of Christian European civilization in the Union of South Africa.

In order to appreciate the mainspring of their intellectual and emotional attitudes, it is important to consider at what historical period their forebears left Europe and severed their connections with it. They left Europe before the vast and rapid expansion of material forces in the eighteenth century, before that gigantic development of capitalism which was to transform social, political and economic institutions and the ideologies and philosophies that accompanied it. Situated in the southernmost corner of the 'dark continent', they were shut off from the strong current of rational thought on man, nature, and society, which gained impetus in the eighteenth century and radiated through the countries of Western Europe. They missed that age of criticism and enquiry that was to question everything hitherto regarded as sacred and immutable; they missed that age of scepticism which submitted ideas and established institutions to the scrutiny of reason, when all values, the nature of society and man's position in the universe had to be reassessed. In a word, the forebears of the present-day Afrikaner did not come into contact with the keen ideological struggles of the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, the Age of Reason—as it has been called—when dogmatism and bigotry had to give way to progressive thought. It is true this movement was already under way, but the emigrants were untouched by it; for they did not belong to that class which deals in ideas. Moreover, while that element which represented the French Huguenots sought religious freedom, they were imbued with the bigotry of the most rigid of the Protestant creeds, Calvinism.

The epoch-making discoveries of science, the work of such men as Copernicus in the sixteenth century, Galileo and Kepler in the early seventeenth century and the crowning achievement of Newton, with his formulation of the law of universal gravitation, had already paved the way for material advances and strongly influenced the new philosophical concepts of the Age of Reason, as expressed by the French philosopher, Descartes, and by the English philosophers, Hobbes, Locke and others. At the threshold of this era Francis Bacon had said: 'Knowledge is power'—a fitting motto to that age which was to see such an expansion of material forces, the vast commercial enterprises of capitalism in the New World and in Asia, the industrial revolution and at the same time the evolution of revolutionary ideas. Locke in the eighteenth century formulated the philosophy of liberalism, which represented the expanding forces of capitalism and became the ideological weapon of the rising bourgeoisie. While in the political field it upheld parliamentary democracy, in the religious sphere it favoured religious toleration. In France during the pre-revolutionary era the intellectual revolt against feudalism and the entrenched despotisms

of Church and State found varied expression in the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau and others. Diderot's *Encyclopaedia*, the work of twenty years, in which he gathered together the new ideas and the new knowledge of his age, was a great monument to the spirit of free enquiry. The philosophers enthroned Reason and not only placed man at the centre of the universe, but formulated the idea of the equality of man. 'All men are born equal,' declared Rousseau, and further expressed his belief that 'man is naturally good, and only by institutions is he made bad.' Thus he rejected the doctrine of original sin.

This was a Europe, then, unknown to the forebears of the present-day Afrikaner. They did not inherit this new outlook on man and society. Humanism, that stream of the Renaissance which has been described as the parent of all modern development, whether intellectual, scientific or social, that great movement of thought which began to spread throughout Western Europe in the fifteenth century, and which was essentially an intellectual revolt against ecclesiastical tyranny, had still to come to fruition when these people left Europe. In fact, in the seventeenth century the bitter religious struggles of the Reformation, which themselves cloaked political and economic conflicts, still occupied the stage of Europe. This was an age when, in the name of religion, heretics were still burned at the stake or tortured on the rack and when women were burned or drowned as witches. During two centuries of religious strife, religious dogmatism and tyranny reached a height as great as ever existed in the Middle Ages. Witch-hunting, torture, brutality and massacre became the order of the day; and both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches, in defence of their respective dogmas, let loose such hatred, passion and intolerance as have seldom been surpassed in the history of religion.

We are not unmindful, of course, of the untold suffering, the terrible toll of human life that followed in the wake of developing capitalism both in the home countries and in the colonial world. But what we are concerned with here is that intellectual awakening, the development in the womb of society of humanistic ideas, that restored man's self-respect and human dignity by liberating the spirit from the thralldom of the Dark Ages, when superstitious fear and the fatalistic concept of original sin had degraded him, warping and enchaining the mind. At the time when the new ideas of humanism were struggling to be born, Calvinism in Europe excelled itself in establishing a new religious tyranny and utilized the whole machinery of its despotism to control thought and conduct.

3. CALVINISM

Here we do not intend to dwell on the complex influence of Calvinism in Europe and how it became modified according to the political environment and the social class in which it took root. We would point out, however, two of its primary characteristics. First, the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, the fatalistic belief that there are an elect few predestined to salvation while the rest are consigned to eternal damnation, was the very reverse of the idea of a progressive humanism, the essence of which is intellectual liberty. Such a doctrine explains the hostile attitude of the Calvinist to a liberal culture, since salvation is foreordained and human effort cannot alter it. 'God not only foresaw

the fall of the first man,' wrote Calvin, 'but also arranged all by the determination of his own will.' Closely allied to this doctrine of fixed fate was the rigid control which Calvinism sought to exercise over the life of the individual. Calvin himself described discipline as 'the nerves of religion'. And as R.H. Tawney, in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, writes: 'The necessity of enforcing a rule of life, which was the practical aspect of discipline, was from the start of the very essence of Calvinism.' In fact it visualized a society 'which should be at once a Church and a State', and had a system of church government which 'used the secular authorities as police officers to enforce its mandates.' (*ibid.*)

In the city of Geneva, where Calvin put his system of church government into practice, he drew up a code of moral laws and conduct, rigorously controlling the life of the community. Whoever by the slightest degree offended these laws was visited with dire punishment. Tawney relates that in the space of sixty years one hundred and fifty people accused of being heretics were burned at the stake; torture was systematically practised and a child beheaded for striking its parents. Of this system of church government Tawney comments:

'In the struggle between liberty and authority, Calvinism sacrificed liberty, not with reluctance, but with enthusiasm. For the Calvinist Church was an army marching back to Canaan, under orders delivered once for all from Sinai.' (*ibid.*)

This, then, is the Europe from which the ancestors of the Afrikaners stemmed. This is the religious creed which they carried with them to Southern Africa. The narrow religious dogma of Calvinism provided the very sinews and moral fibre of their outlook. And to the present day they continue to draw their spiritual and moral sustenance from it.

In the conditions of isolation in Southern Africa, where they found themselves surrounded by peoples even more backward than themselves, the effect was to reinforce these traits of rigidity, narrowness of outlook and intolerance characteristic of their creed. Cut off from the new, invigorating streams of European thought, and without literature, except the Bible, to leaven and broaden their spiritual outlook, they enclosed themselves, in a defensive intellectual *laager*. While Europe was moving towards the consummation of that great and liberating concept of man embodied in Shakespeare's lines:

'What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason. How infinite in faculty. In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel. In apprehension how like a god.'

the Afrikaner and his family were daily repeating in the words of the Old Testament:

'Behold I was shapen in iniquity and in sin did my mother conceive me.'

While capitalism, with its expanding economy, was sweeping away all barriers to its progress, crushing all feudal relationships and replacing chattel slave labour with machinery, the Afrikaner went on repeating the edicts of Joshua, who, on subjugating the peoples of Canaan, decreed that they should be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation'.

When capitalism, expanding to the far-flung corners of the world, reached the shores of Southern Africa, bringing with it its powerful agents of liberalism, new ideas of government, and in fact all the equipment of its age, both material and ideological, with which it had felled feudalism in Europe, then the Afrikaner people trekked northwards to escape from a civilization that was foreign to them and from ideas that were bringing disruption to their fixed way of life. They undertook the 'Great Trek', which to them was the second Exodus. They saw themselves as the Elect, the Chosen people of God. Did not the Book tell them how Moses in leading his people out of the land of the Pharaohs into the land flowing with milk and honey, gave unto them the commandments of the Lord, saying:

When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee.... And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them. . . . The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.'

To this day such language finds an echo in the hearts of *ware* (die-hard) Afrikaners. With the fortitude and courage reminiscent of their ancient prototypes, their spiritual forebears, the ancient Israelites, the *Voortrekkers* made their way by ox-wagon to the African hinterland. Kruger was their Moses, and he ruled them with the aid of the only Book at his command, the Bible. For were not the Ten Commandments the commandments of God, delivered from Mount Sinai to a Chosen People about to set out on their forty years sojourn in the wilderness, which was to lead them to the Promised Land?

Thus it will be seen that the psychological, cultural and spiritual mainspring of the Afrikaner's inspiration is, strictly speaking, neither European nor, in the complete sense of the word, Christian. If by European culture is connoted all the flowering of science, philosophy, literature and art that took place in the capitalist countries within the last three hundred years, and particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and if by Christian we are to understand more specifically the teachings of the New Testament with their emphasis on the love and brotherhood of man, on the God of love rather than the God of vengeance who was worshipped by the ancient tribes of Israel, then it is doubtful whether the Afrikaner qualifies for either epithet. This by no means implies that he is not religious. On the contrary, the Afrikaners, as a people, are considered to be a deeply religious people. Their religion, however, shows more affinity with Judaism, as did Calvinism in its original form in Europe. Calvinism, with its formulation of a strict rule of life, based itself on the Five Books of Moses. The particular brand of Afrikaner Calvinism, that of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, which was nurtured in an and cultural wilderness, isolated from the influence of humanism and lacking in the intellectual range that had characterized the founder of Calvinism, degenerated into bigotry and a narrow fanaticism, and moreover allied itself with a rabid nationalism.

It is from this soil that the concept of Christian-National Education springs. It is this outlook that gives rise to the remarkable declaration in the official Statement of C.N.O. Policy:

'We will have nothing to do with a mixture of languages, of culture, of religion or of race.'

It is an irony of history that a Christian sect, the Afrikaner Calvinist stemming originally from Europe, should return to the narrow spiritual outlook of ancient Judaism, with its fanaticism, dogmatism and defensive self-glorification, while the Jews have long since left behind the edicts of their ancient tribal God, a 'jealous' God who enjoined them to be ruthless, vindictive, separate and exclusive. The Jews, who had been oppressed and persecuted throughout the ages and had suffered all the cultural impoverishment, the humiliation, the physical and spiritual maiming engendered by conditions of enforced segregation, nevertheless burst forth out of the intellectual ghetto and entered the stream of European culture. Led by men like Moses Mendelssohn, grandfather of the great composer and lifelong friend of Lessing, who paved the way for a renaissance in German literature, they took part in the long and arduous struggles of the Age of Enlightenment. In that sum of culture which is associated with Western civilization there is not a single field to which they have not richly contributed. The history of European philosophy, the sciences, medicine, mathematics, literature, art and music would be incomplete without mentioning the contributions of many distinguished Jews. Thus the Jews became in a real sense European in culture and outlook and were part and parcel of the European way of life. They became more European than that sect of *ware* Afrikaners who today claim to be the representatives and defenders of European civilization in South Africa.

We have now some conception of the fanaticism of purpose behind that injunction in the Statement of Christian-National Education (C.N.O.) Policy:

'Our Afrikaans schools . . . must be the places where our children are soaked and nourished in the Christian-National spiritual cultural "stuff" of our nation.'

and the complaint that:

'Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in a school atmosphere which is *culturally foreign* to our nation is like "a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal".'

4. CHRISTIAN-NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Nationalist policy of education, with its emphasis on discipline, and particularly on religion as the key subject, is steeped in the spirit of Calvinism and stems straight from it. Calvinism has been aptly defined as: 'A creed which sought, not merely to purify the individual but to reconstruct Church and State, and to renew society by penetrating every department of life, public as well as private, with the influence of religion.' (Tawney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.*)

The C.N.O. Policy states:

'We believe that both these principles (Christian and National) should come to full fruition in the education of our children so that these two principles permeate the whole school in regard to its spirit, aim, curricula, method, discipline, staff, general

organization and all its activities.'

On the question of religious education it states:

'Every subject must be taught in the light of the word of God, namely, on the basis of the applicable principles of Scripture' (i.e. according to the dogma of the Dutch Reformed Church).

On Higher Education they write:

'Higher education should be so controlled that the Christian-Nationalist view of life may come into its own. . . . The Christian doctrine and philosophy should be taught and practised. But we desire still more; the secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian-Nationalist view of life. In no single science may the light of God's truth be absent. . . . It is all important, therefore, that the teaching staff (of universities) should be convinced Christian-Nationalist scientists.'

In reference to the teacher under Christian-National Education there is marked emphasis on control and discipline. The Policy states:

'The Church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. . . . Unless he (the teacher) is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us.'

Under the teaching of history and geography their attitude to religion as the key subject again comes out clearly:

'History must be taught in the light of God's revelation and must be viewed as the fulfilment of God's decreed plan for the world and the human race.'

'Every people and nation is attached to its own native soil, allotted to it by the Creator.' - This is geography.

And again:

'God . . . willed separate nations and peoples, and He gave to each separate nation and people its special vocation, task and gifts.'

They stress the necessity to begin the teaching of history with:

'the great facts of the Creation, the Fall and the breaking of the Covenant; the human birth (Incarnation), suffering, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ; the regeneration in Christ Jesus and the Day of Judgement.'

It would appear that the Afrikaner Christian-Nationalist knows all the answers to the questions that have baffled scientists through the ages as to the origin and the precise development of man. It would seem that all the patient researches of armies of scientists, the archaeologists, geologists, zoologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, etc. - not to speak of the historians - are superfluous.

This, then is the type of education that the Calvinist-Nationalist of South Africa envisages as the ideal for his own people, the Whites, in the second half of the twentieth century, the age of man-made satellites. On the question of education for the Coloured and Africans they write:

'We accept the principle of trusteeship of the Non-Europeans by the Europeans. This trusteeship imposes on the Afrikaner the solemn duty of seeing that the Coloured people are educated in accordance with Christian and National principles. . . . We believe that he can be made race-conscious, if the principle of apartheid is strictly applied in teaching just as it is in his church life. . . . *We believe that the welfare and happiness of the Coloured man rests upon his realizing that he belongs to a separate racial group.* '(Our emphasis.)

On the question of education for Africans they write:

'Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation.'

And in this connection they refer to themselves as the '*Boerenasie*, the senior European trustee of the Native'.

5. NAZI IDEOLOGY

It would be misleading, however, to take this Christian-National Education policy at its face value pure and simple. It has far more sinister ramifications. As we have said earlier, when politicians want to juggle with the social order they make for the system and content of education. The theoreticians of the C.N.O. Policy belong to a very different social order from that which gave rise to Judaism. The socio-economic base has no relation to that of the ancient Jewish tribes. It is considerably removed, also, from that which existed in Europe when Calvin formulated his religious system. Your present-day Afrikaner Nationalist—thanks to his defeat in the Boer War which hastened the development—is himself a capitalist standing four-square on the heights of a fully developed capitalism. In fact, he is confronted with the problems of capitalism in crisis, and it is in an attempt to solve these that he falls back on formulae that others have already evolved. While leaning heavily on the efficacy of religious training, he has found inspiration in the Nazi ideology which was formulated in the thirties to meet the crisis of capitalism in Germany—and this, regardless of the disasters that later engulfed the German people.

It is a well-known fact that the Afrikaner Nationalists have looked up to German fascism as their ideal and have closely modelled themselves on it. During the Second World War they expressed themselves as great admirers of the Hitlerite system and the *Führer Prinzip*. The system of education in Nazi Germany, National Socialistic Education, is the model for their Christian-National Education policy in South Africa. Their Calvinist upbringing, with its emphasis on discipline and control, had prepared the Afrikaner Nationalists for the ready acceptance of the rigidly controlled educational system of the Nazis. The fact that the Nazis in effect rejected religion and replaced it with the worship of the *Führer* and the sanctity of the totalitarian State did not diminish their admiration. Politicians today are prostituting Calvinism in the service of power-politics and for the purpose of exploitation.

In Germany the Nazis evolved a system of education with a double purpose. First of all it had to transform the whole way of life from democracy to fascism. All the processes of thought that are traditionally associated with democracy: freedom of thought, of speech and association, free democratic elections, etc., had to be systematically broken down and destroyed. The youth were taught to regard them with contempt as decadent. In their place a new ideology, a new attitude to life necessary for the establishment of the Fascist State had to be built up. The principle of the sacred State with its *Führer* was installed. And as one of its educationists stated: 'The faith of a nation in its leader is the best possible religion.' National Socialistic education was the instrument for carrying out this plan and it was organized and employed with diabolical thoroughness in the training of all children from pre-school age to manhood and womanhood. This was the internal aspect of the Nazi plan.

In its wider aspect, the whole German population had to be organized for a future war in which Germany was to triumph over its enemies. The world had to be brought to its knees, before the Superman, the new god sent to save the German nation. Germany, having been defeated in the First World War and robbed of her colonies, was groaning under the humiliation of the Versailles Treaty. The energies of a whole people had to be directed towards re-establishing Germany as a world power, and more. She had to dominate the world. For this purpose the children had to indoctrinate with a fanatic worship of the German nation (State) and an equally fanatic hatred of everything that was not German. Every possible method was adopted for inculcating these feelings. At the schools, lessons in history and geography, for example, afforded opportunity for diatribes against the French, the British, the Americans, etc., and above all against the Jews. Children were trained in the idea that Might is Right. This was the essence of National Socialist education.

In this system, where everything had to be excluded that endangered the Nazi creed, culture and knowledge were considered unimportant, and in fact harmful. The Nazi Minister of Education in his preface to the official Manual for Education made it clear that it matters little if boys and girls carry away from schools only scraps of formal knowledge. 'A wide cultural knowledge, a broad education in various phases of learning dulls the senses,' he stated. What is of prime importance is the training in blind obedience. 'If students have learned to submit to authority, if they have developed a willingness to fit into the particular niche chosen for them by the Party, then their education has been successful,' comments Gregor Ziemer in his book, *Education for Death*. 'National Socialist ideology is to be a sacred foundation,' said the Nazi Minister. 'It is not to be degraded by detailed explanation or discussion.' This acceptance of an idea as by revelation and faith is on a par with the Afrikaner National faith in the *Boerenasie* as divinely ordained to fulfil South Africa's God-given destiny.

'It is a holy unit that must be accepted as a holy unit,' continued the Nazi Minister. 'It must be taught by teachers who fully comprehend the true meaning of our sacred doctrines.'

Our local Afrikaner proselytes of the Nazi system express the same thought when they say that a teacher who is not a confirmed Christian Nationalist 'is a deadly danger to us'.

Indeed the parallel between National Socialistic Education in Nazi Germany and the Christian-National education formulated by the Afrikaner Nationalists is all too painfully close. Just as the Nazi's had to reorganize the whole German population and indoctrinate it with the ideas of fascism, so the Afrikaner Nationalist conceived the idea of Christian-National education in preparation for establishing the South African Fascist State under a *Boerenasie* republic. It is significant that in the first public speech made by the Prime Minister, Mr. J.G. Strydom, after the victory of the Nationalist Party in the 1958 elections, he boasted in one breath of the near fulfilment of the Nationalist Republic and giving the eighteen-year-olds the vote. He could speak with confidence, knowing that the first crop of Nationalist youth fully trained in the C.N.O. creed is ready for action.

In this scheme of things, it is obvious that education for the Non-Whites must be clearly differentiated. While the White youth must be filled with ideas of race superiority and power, together with worship of the *Boerenasie* and obedience to the Leader (*Führer*), the Non-Europeans on the other hand must be trained for abject serfdom.

It is this combination of sanctimonious Calvinism with the most diabolical inventions of German fascism that makes Christian-National education, as applied to the Non-Europeans of South Africa, so completely vicious. The process of dehumanizing the youth, the degradation, the utter contempt for human intellect and dignity, and the cynical indifference to human life, which in Germany led ultimately to the destruction of millions of Jews in the Nazi gas-chambers and furnaces . . . all this is being re-created before our eyes in South Africa.

IV

BANTU EDUCATION

1. AN INSTRUMENT FOR SERFDOM

UNDER the *Boerenasie* republic the Non-Whites will be reduced to utter helotry. In preparation for this, the schools are no longer centres of education, but of indoctrination for the docile acceptance of this position. Dr. Verwoerd himself, in introducing the Bantu Education Bill, has said:

'Above all, good race relations cannot exist when education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native, if such people believe in a policy of equality. . . . 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.' (*Hansard, V.10, 1953.*)

Bantu Education, which is already being put into practice, is calculated to serve as an instrument for creating and ensuring the continuance of a voteless, rightless and ignorant community whose main purpose in life, apart from reproducing their kind (for there is not yet a specific law against that aspect of their life) is to minister to the Whites. The invoking of a dead tribalism and of Bantu Communities wherein 'education will find its fullest expression' is cynical political claptrap. The plain fact is that Bantu Education is intended to rob the African of education, cut him off from the main stream of modern culture and shut him into a spiritual and intellectual ghetto.

Prior to the introduction of Bantu Education it had been the policy of every successive Government - as we have pointed out - to see to it that as few Non-Whites as possible received education. But now it is the boast of Dr. Verwoerd that he is giving education to many more African children than before. According to him, he has already, in a short space of time, doubled the number of pupils attending school. Is there then a contradiction here? The very manner in which he effects his boasted increase reveals the real purpose behind his so-called education. He has made it quite plain, indeed he is emphatic on the point, that the State will not increase the already meagre expenditure on education for Non-Whites. So what does he do? He institutes a system of double shifts in schools, reducing the time to three hours each shift. As he laconically puts it:

'In this way both the teacher and the class-room will be able to serve two different groups of pupils every day. The same applies to the furniture, school requisites and class-reading books.'

Like the mine worker who has to leave his tools behind at the end of his shift, the African children must leave the school books behind to be used by the next batch. It doesn't require much imagination to picture the plight of the second batch of youngsters who have to start their school day under such adverse conditions when they ought to be going home.

It hardly needs any reference to the actual content of the instruction, and the general management and the attitude to the teachers, to realize that these are no longer schools for education as is understood in any civilized community, but institutions for indoctrination. The sudden urgency to double, treble and even quadruple the number of pupils is determined by the new objectives of Bantu Education. As many as possible must go through this mill. It is no small task to transform a population of Non-Whites, who comprise about four-fifths of the whole population of the Union, into docile slaves contented with their lot. If, however, we look into the management of the school, the curricula and the calculated debasement of the teacher, we find ample confirmation that the scheme before us is a huge conspiracy, first against the Africans and eventually against the whole Non-White population of South Africa.

Their plans for reducing the numerically small section of the Non-Whites (the Coloured and the Indians) to the same position of helotry are still at the earlier stages. But it is already clear that they are working out the same pattern for them as for the Africans. Having first removed the Coloured and the Indian people from the Parliamentary Voters' Roll, the Government proceeded to create a special Department of State known as the Coloured Affairs Department (C.A.D.), which means lifting the Coloured people out of the body politic and treating them as a separate entity in accordance with the Nationalist policy of *Apartheid*. The C.A.D. is the counterpart of the N.A.D. which was instituted for Africans. Following the De Vos Malan Commission on Coloured education, the Government intimated its intention to transfer education for the Coloured and Indians from the Department of Education to the political Department, the C.A.D. It thus becomes an instrument for fitting the Coloured people into a separate community, as Bantu education prepares the African people for a tribalized community. Bantu education presages what is in store for the Coloured and Indian people. In the fully-developed plans for the Africans they can see an image of their future state of complete bondage.

2. DEBASEMENT OF EDUCATION

The many speeches of Cabinet Ministers and others quoted earlier in this work make the position quite clear. The point is further driven home by Dr. Verwoerd that Bantu education is designed to fit the African into a special position allocated to him by the politicians. The quotation is worth repeating:

My Department's policy is that (Bantu) education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. . . . There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . . For this reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.' (*Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future*, p. 23.)

With this purpose in view, the control of education for Africans was transferred to the Native Affairs Department (N.A.D.). This is the Department that is charged with the artificial re-tribalization of a whole people and the setting up of Bantu Authorities. It deals with the supply of cheap African labour to the mines, the farms and industry; it deals with agriculture, the compulsory culling and dipping of cattle, the collection of poll-tax and the enforcement of pass-laws. Indeed, Bantu Education is not so much placed with both feet in the Reserves as thrust into them on all fours. Dr. Verwoerd makes it plain that education is in the service of these activities.

'The Inspector of Schools, the Native Commissioner and the Agricultural Extension Officer,' he states, 'will remain in close contact with one another.' (*ibid.*) And again: 'A community, for example, will not be able to claim advantages of education and at the same time ignore or even oppose guidance in regard to the care of the soil.' (*ibid.*)

In practice, this has meant that when the people in a village refused to reduce the number of their stock under the culling regulations, their school was closed down.

The local management of the schools is handed over to tribal school committees and school boards who work under the tribal authorities, with a Chief at the head. The inability of the Chief or headman to read or write his name does not disqualify him. When he has to append his signature to an official document he puts down a cross, which must be witnessed by one of the teachers he employs or some other literate person at hand. It is these people who not only direct and supervise the schools but employ and dismiss the teachers.

The curriculum likewise is fundamentally altered. An inordinate amount of time is given to religious instruction and devotional activities. The longest teaching time is given to manual training. And there is plenty of practice. For the Minister has decreed that 'the daily cleaning of the school building and grounds will naturally be the work of the pupils under the supervision of the teachers'. In this context 'manual' should be understood to signify 'menial'. Broom, pick and shovel are the tools they must be familiar with. It sometimes happens that children spend as much as a whole week in the brickyard making bricks for school buildings. Or they have to stop school work to go road-making. On one occasion when a chief was to be installed, it fell to the children to lay a road so that the magistrate's car could reach the chief's place. No pains are spared to ensure that African children will never suffer from 'unhealthy white-collar ideals' - to use Dr. Verwoerd's happy phrase.

The three R's, which are a golden rule in any educational system, are almost crowded out. These basic tools for the acquisition of education cannot possibly be polished, sharpened and given to the child who is being prepared for slavery. More properly speaking they are used as an excuse for gathering the children together to pursue a course in indoctrination. They must, of course, acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the two official languages, Afrikaans and English, suited to the requirements of their inferior position.

In this denudation of education the Nationalists were by no means original. When the

Nazis decided to supplant the German system of education with systematized indoctrination, they altered the whole direction and essence of education. While superficially the curricula and subject-headings looked similar, the content was radically changed. Standard textbooks had to be destroyed and replaced with new ones specially written by Party men. Here we may again quote Gregor Ziemer, an American who observed the effects of Nazi training on the German youth:

'In nature the fight for the survival of the fittest eliminates the weak and those unfit to carry on the race. The student of botany and zoology must be taught that this is the normal process in nature; must be made to realize the folly of the theory that there is equality anywhere in nature. He must understand that civilized man has attempted to create for himself an artificial environment to escape the eliminating processes of nature. But the National Socialistic State, through its racial laws and its decrees governing hereditary health, has again permitted the law of survival to function properly.'

Thus they justified the wholesale sterilization of women and the extermination of five million Jews. Under nature study, the innocent, hard-working bee with its instinctive organization was exalted as an example to mankind and used to illustrate the *Führer* principle. And what about the education of the girls? Hitler, in his *Mein Kampf*, wrote:

'In the education of girls in the German State, the emphasis must be placed primarily on physical education. . . . The one goal always to be kept in mind is that some day they are going to be mothers.' (*ibid.*)

(What a sobering thought it is that this exhortation to motherhood, on the lips of a Hitler, meant the betrayal of a whole generation into creating cannon-fodder for the Nazi State.) Hitler's simple and seemingly innocuous injunction was forthwith put into effect by his Minister of Education. With the aid of an indefatigable team of subordinates he worked out a whole system that was not only a travesty of education but an insult to German womanhood. Ziemer in his book quotes one of the Minister's subordinates as saying:

'Every girl must learn the duties of a mother before she is sixteen, so she can have children. Why should girls bother with higher mathematics, or art, or drama, or literature? They could have babies without that sort of knowledge.' (*ibid.*)

Dr. Verwoerd seems to have steeped himself, nay, soaked and nourished himself in the spiritual cultural stuff of National Socialist education. When introducing the Bantu Education Bill in Parliament he delivered himself of a similar sentiment:

'What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? . . . That is quite absurd.'

This truly absurd statement could be dismissed as unworthy of serious comment, were we not aware that it contains a directive from the *Führer* of Bantu Education to his diligent subordinates, who must use this as a starting-point in framing their curricula. Dr. Eiselen, who, as Secretary for Native Affairs, inherits the position of Superintendent General of

Bantu Education, showed that he caught the intent of his chief when, on discussing the training of 'Bantu' nurses, he argued that it wasn't necessary for them to explain to an African patient the need for oxygen. It was enough to talk to him about a *tokkoloshe* not being so dangerous as he thought. Such statements coming from the tops indicate the intent of the Government to empty education for Africans of its universally recognized content.

Here, too, the old textbooks on science, history and even languages are declared taboo. New ones considered suitable for Bantu schools are being written by servants of the Native Affairs Department. A furious and lucrative industry has been set up. Hack writers and people, who, judged by the standards of the Education Department, would be regarded as philistines, are manufacturing books for Bantu Schools. It is easily understood that existing libraries must come under the axe. The library of an old established college collected over a period of more than a century was put up for public auction. The minds of young innocents must be protected from 'dangerous' ideas. Such an act of vandalism ought to revolt even the weak-kneed apologists of the system, that breed nurtured in the Let's-give-it-a-trial school of thought, who, on inspecting the curriculum, declared that it wasn't so bad after all - as if the trimness of the scaffolding were any measure of the quality of the building. A curriculum is meaningless unless it is seen in the light of the philosophy of education from which it springs.

3. THE AFRICAN TEACHER

The debasement of education for Africans is further illustrated in the attitude towards the teachers and the savage conditions of their employment under Bantu education. Those who were trained under the old system, more especially the university graduates, are regarded as highly dangerous in the new set-up. They have to be replaced as soon as possible.

'In the meantime,' says Dr. Verwoerd, 'certain urgently needed changes will be made in the higher grades of education. The nature of the training of teachers specially demands immediate attention. For this reason the Department will take over complete control of teacher training schools.' (*Bantu Education.*)

Obviously a special creature, a Bantu-ized teacher is necessary for Bantu education. Meanwhile the old undesirable teacher, whose services are required in the interim, is being broken in. He is being humiliated and hedged around with obnoxious regulations. He is completely deprived of professional status and belongs body and soul to the N.A.D. According to official regulations,

'every teacher shall place the whole of his time at the disposal of a school board.'

And in the case of the farm schools, of which there are many, the whole of his time - twenty-four hours a day - belongs to the farm owner, who now also owns the school and may act as its manager. It is he who employs the teacher.

These farm schools are an interesting phenomenon. In the province of the Orange Free State more than 75 per cent of schools for Africans were farm schools in 1953. So great

had been the desire of the African people for education that farm labourers employed by White farmers were prepared to make great sacrifices in order to send their children to far-distant schools outside the farming areas and in the towns. This practice was so widespread that the farmers saw in it a threat to their supply of cheap labour. To counter this, many farmers ceded a bit of ground to the Education Department for school buildings. But such inferior schooling was never popular with the parents, and farmers themselves continued to be chronically short of labour. Now Dr. Verwoerd comes along and kills several birds with one stone. He increases the number of farm schools and hands them over to the farmers. As he says:

To permit the establishment of farm-schools, the transfer of land for the building of expensive schools will no longer be required.

Bantu mothers can . . . erect walls where farmers allow it and the Department (N.A.D.) will provide windows, doors and roof. If the farmer withdraws his permission, these can be removed.'

It requires no great effort to imagine what kind of control the farmer, as manager of the school, will exercise. Manual work is in abundance. At reaping time, for example, the teacher is expected to supervise the children working in the fields during or after school hours, as occasion demands. The regulations governing the employment of teachers are explicit on the point:

'Any teacher who, during or after school hours, is engaged in approved activities on or off the school grounds, which do not constitute part of the curriculum shall be regarded as being on duty.'

And again:

'No teacher may claim as of right additional remuneration in respect of an extra-curricular duty or work which he is required by competent authority to perform.'

As the farmer by definition constitutes such competent authority, he can order the teacher to do any work on the farm. Thus with one fell swoop Dr. Verwoerd provides the farmer with unpaid foremen and a body of child labourers. As to the teacher's salary, the farmer pays him at the same time as he pays his farm labourers. No doubt this is one of the ways in which the Minister would gently impress upon the African teacher that 'he must learn not to feel above his community', or presume to feel that 'his spiritual, economic and political home is with the civilized community of South Africa, i.e. the Europeans'.

It is also laid down in the regulations that a teacher cannot claim his annual salary increments as a right. He is at the mercy of reports from all and sundry, from inspectors, sub-inspectors, chiefs or headmen, or from stock-inspectors, or any other official of the N.A.D. who chooses to complain about him. He cannot even look forward to annual leave.

'Leave of absence of any type,' runs the regulations, 'shall not be claimable as of right but may be granted by the school board subject to the exigencies of the school concerned.'

To be sure there are often exigencies on a farm that make it awkward to let a teacher take his holiday.

The debasement of the teacher is something to outrage those who are accustomed to thinking of teaching as an honourable profession. He is not only robbed of status but of security of tenure and the proper practice of his calling. Under normal circumstances any professional or civil servant, once employed, has certain entrenched rights which ensure the security of his employment. But under Bantu Education, the position of a teacher with respect to his immediate employer is reduced to that of master-and-servant. He becomes in effect a personal servant who can be dismissed without any reason being given or charge laid against him. The long list of regulations governing his employment would be more appropriate to the control of a criminal than a teacher. Under 'misconduct' alone are listed thirteen points. Amongst other things, he may not, for example:

'contribute to the Press by interview, or in any other manner, or publish letters or articles criticizing or commenting on the Department of Native Affairs, or any other State Department, or school committee, school board, or any Bantu Authority, or any official connected with one or more of the above-mentioned bodies.'

He is subject to severe punishment if he should 'treat with gross discourtesy a member of the public or any official'. The Act provides for the imprisonment of any teacher who breaks any of the regulations.

The truth is that since Bantu Education was instituted, a reign of terror has been let loose on the teachers. Members of the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.) have swooped on the schools, interrogated teachers in front of their pupils and searched them. Some of the finest teachers with long records of distinguished service have been summarily dismissed without any charge or trial. The only reason given was that they were unsuitable under Bantu Education. Some teachers after a lifetime of service have been dismissed on the very point of retirement and thus robbed of their pension. Dr. Verwoerd has blandly expressed the opinion that he is 'not in favour of pensions for Natives'. At the outset the N.A.D. saw to it that the executive members of the Cape African Teachers' Association, which was established nearly a quarter of a century ago, were thrown out of the profession. They had dared to protest against Bantu Education. Not content with the dismissal of these teachers, the N.A.D., which, as we pointed out, controls every aspect of African life, pursued them relentlessly wherever they tried to get any other employment. Utilizing the iniquitous pass system, it has hounded them out of the Reserves where they had established their home, and also out of the towns where they went to look for a job. Men were separated from their wives and families and deprived of the means of supporting them. Hundreds of teachers have been subsequently dismissed and the rate of dismissal is increasing as the Bantu-ized trainee comes on the market. The N.A.D. simply notifies the School Board that so many teachers have to be dismissed in order to make room for the number qualifying at the end of the year.

A Nazi-like regimentation governs these young trainees, as it does the whole schooling from top to bottom. They are carefully screened, selected and indoctrinated before they are let loose on the children. To begin with, their educational qualification is scandalously

low. They require no more than a Standard 6 pass to enter a course of training for one, two or three years to become primary school teachers. Those who are to teach in the higher primary classes take a Junior Certificate (J.C.) and a couple of years of teacher-training. Their wages are those of an unskilled labourer. In the words of Dr. Verwoerd: 'It is wrong to utilize expensive teaching staff to supervise large classes of bored pupils.' 'Supervise' is indeed the right word, though it can hardly be called responsible coming from a Minister. In the first place there is no equipment in the schools for proper education and the unfortunate teacher has to cope with an average of fifty children in a class, with others trying to cope with their flock in the same hall. It is all part of the cynical debasement of education that these Bantu-ized teachers are expected to be only a jump ahead of their pupils educationally.

Regimentation is indeed the essence of the system. It covers even those teachers who have retired, as well as those youngsters for whom there is no room in the crowded schools. It must be remembered that no one may run a school or conduct classes for African children without the Minister's permission, on pain of a fine or imprisonment. This permission is granted only if the Minister is satisfied that nothing but Bantu Education is being provided. To give but one example: a retired African teacher of sixty, who had gathered a number of African children together, chiefly to keep them from the danger of the streets, was arrested and fined £75, or seven months. The magistrate when convicting him commented:

'You are a learned and respected man in the community, yet you keep on defying the law.'

What a monstrous system is this that makes a criminal of a man who was manifestly actuated by his sense of responsibility as a teacher towards the children of the community.

4. EXAMINATION BOTTLENECKS

Education, which is the natural right of every modern civilized community, and which the Africans have always prized most highly, is being used in every possible way as a means of cowing a whole population and violently retarding their progress. The *Führer* of Bantu Education decides the fate of all African children. No African parent has the right to decide what education his children shall receive, or whether they shall get any education at all beyond Standard Two. He himself may be an educated man, a teacher, a doctor, or a lawyer, but his children may be doomed to illiteracy. Just as a school may be closed down if the people in a particular village refuse to participate in some soil reclamation work, so-called, so can a child be denied education if his parents are not *persona grata* with some government official or other. The people must continually be made to feel that they are completely at the mercy of a government authority.

Theoretically, all African children have the right to schooling from the age of eight years—not before. After being subjected to a double-shift system in the lower primary for four years, the pupils in Standard 2 have to write an external examination. And it is their

first experience of an examination. Only those granted a first-grade pass are allowed to proceed further with their schooling. This is the first bottleneck. It is true that those who obtain a second class are given the nominal right to repeat the same Standard, provided accommodation is available. But as first preference is given to those children coming up from the lower standards, in practice this lot has to leave school altogether. It provides fodder for the mine-Moloch. Since the law of the country forbids any African to do skilled work on the mines, the Bantu-ized illiterates will be excellent material as recruits for the migratory labour system supplying cheap Black labour for the mines and the farms.

The second bottleneck in the Bantu Education system is at the Standard 6 stage. Now the boast of giving education to as many African children as possible is revealed for what it really is. Beyond the Standard 2 stage the process of weeding out goes on relentlessly. Leaving aside the inferior content of education at every stage, the number who are allowed to take higher education is staggeringly small. As Mr. J.N. le Roux, Minister of Agriculture (quoted earlier) expressed it:

'We should not give the Natives an academic education. If we do this, we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in this country?'

At Standard 6, then, only those children who obtain a first-grade pass are allowed to continue further at school. The rest are issued with a school leaving certificate. In one inspectorial area, for example, out of 1,080 pupils writing the Standard 6 examinations, only 118 passed in the first grade. Thus for the vast majority Standard 6 is the dead end. There is no school or vocational centre catering for those who obtain a second-grade pass. This school leaving certificate leads only to the labour market. The old-established secondary and high schools find themselves emptied. Principals are instructed not to admit more than a stipulated quota, even though there is plenty of room for more. And on no account may they receive a child with a second-grade pass.

This is not the whole picture of the scandalous state of affairs in Bantu-ized education. There is the question of how this examination, on which the fate of so many children depends, is run. One example will suffice. In a school in the country the examination papers were sent to the store-keeper, who was to act as invigilator. As a matter of routine the papers are set in three languages: English, Afrikaans and in the language spoken in the given area. In this instance the store-keeper took it into his head to hand out the papers in the Afrikaans medium, though the medium employed at the school had been English. Needless to say, there were a hundred per cent failures at this school. Complaints were merely met with a shrug of official shoulders.

5. TRIBAL UNIVERSITIES

For the pitifully few who squeeze through the bottleneck to the university stage, the prospect is a bleak one. The Government is at present busy forging the final links in the chain of Bantuiized education. It is not surprising, once they had conceived the idea of

Bantu Education they had to cap it with the invention of that educational monstrosity, tribal universities. What is surprising, however, is that they should find it necessary to pass a law forbidding the existing universities to allow Non-Europeans to enter them. (Here we may mention that the so-called open universities, of which there are only two, permit Non-Europeans only into a limited number of faculties and without participation in the social amenities of the university.) Legal exclusion seems unnecessary. For Bantu-ized education carefully incapacitates the African student from reaching the required standard for entering a university. But then, far from the Afrikaner really believing in his own myth about the mental inferiority of the African, his actions would suggest that he sees himself as contending with a superman. Hence the mountain of oppressive laws and his obsession with erecting every possible barrier against the Non-Whites.

In November, 1953, the Nationalist Government appointed the Holloway Commission to investigate the practicability of applying *Apartheid* to universities. It reported unfavourably, mentioning among other things that the cost alone would be prohibitive and that it would be impossible to start new segregated universities with any prospect of approaching the standard of existing ones. The Government then brushed aside the findings of its own Commission and instituted a Departmental Committee composed of civil servants to work out methods of applying *Apartheid* in universities. This report was never made public, but a Bill has been brought before Parliament to establish university *Apartheid* throughout the Union of South Africa.

The Bill purports to close the existing White universities to all Non-Europeans and to provide for the establishment of segregated universities which will not only separate Black from White but African from Indian and Coloured. The universities for Africans will be further divided into Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho universities, in other words, tribal universities. These have to be established in the rural areas in the midst of the respective tribal groupings. In the familiar phrase, they must 'have their roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society' - and what that means we already know. The existing Non-European College of Fort Hare, which is affiliated to Rhodes University, is to be placed under the Native Affairs Department. It will now be limited to Africans only and later to members of the Xhosa tribe only. In truth, race-baiting in South Africa would seem to have reached the heights of madness. Likewise, the young Medical School for Non-Europeans, an already segregated institution but attached to Natal University, is to be wrenched away from it. The training of Black doctors, who are going to serve 'Bantu communities', must not in any way be associated with the training of White doctors. As it is, Non-White trainees may not touch, or even see, a White corpse, let alone examine the living body.

Under the Bill, the Minister may establish or dis-establish a Non-White university college by notice in the Government Gazette. A spirit of Nazi-like control is again evident. The Council of such a college is to be appointed by the Governor-General, which means in effect by the Minister of Native Affairs. The Principal, also, is appointed by the Minister. Likewise the Senate, consisting of the Principal and 'such other members as the Minister may from time to time appoint'. He may also establish any other body or bodies which he deems necessary for the running of such a college. The Council itself can only acquire stores and equipment 'in such a manner and on such conditions as the Minister

may determine'. Professors, lecturers and students all fall under his control. The students, before they can enter such a college, are subjected to careful screening. The Minister may refuse admission to any one of them, 'if he considers it in the interests of the university college concerned to do so'. He also has the power to determine where each student shall receive instruction, and where he shall reside.

Some of the clauses concerning the appointment of professors and lecturers make startling reading. There is the same cracking of the whip, the same contempt for the dignity of status, as the Minister revealed towards the teacher in the schools. The Bill states:

The power to appoint, promote, transfer or discharge persons employed at any University College shall. . . be vested in the Minister, who may delegate any or all of the said powers to the Secretary' (i.e. the Secretary for Native Affairs).

But worse than that, he can delegate these powers of appointment and dismissal to any officer of the Native Affairs Department. If it is borne in mind that all Bantu Education has to come under the control of Bantu Authorities and Higher Education under the Territorial Authority (which is the highest Bantu Authority), it can be imagined how lecturers and professors will have to operate in a strait-jacket and kow-tow to the various chiefs and other officers in the N.A.D.

The full meaning of the cynical treatment of the university staff becomes clear when we consider the Minister's comprehensive plans for the creation and control of Bantu Communities, where Bantu Education is an instrument in this process and the teacher as he put it, 'must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu Community. He must learn not to feel above his community. . . .' And again: 'On the administrative side,' he states, 'it means that there must be team work for all the officials concerned. The Inspector of schools, the Native Commissioner and the Agricultural Extension Officer will remain in close contact with one another.' The university staff is subjected to almost unbelievable control and interference. Regulations governing their appointment show an obsession with 'misconduct'. Under that heading alone there are no less than seventeen clauses, all of them barbaric as those governing the primary school teacher and equally designed to humiliate.

A professor or lecturer will be deemed guilty of misconduct if he 'publicly comments adversely upon the administration of any department of the Government, or of any province, or of the territory of South West Africa'; or if he 'disobeys, disregards, or makes wilful default in carrying out a lawful order. . . or if by word or conduct displays insubordination'; or if he discloses information in the course of his duties. He is not only forbidden to identify himself with any propaganda, but he is guilty 'of an offence if he 'propagates any idea. . . calculated to impede the activities of any Government Department'. In effect, if a professor in dealing with the principles of law should find it necessary to criticize what in this country are known as 'Native laws', or if a lecturer in political history, discussing the theory of democracy, should criticize 'Native administration', then he is liable to a charge of propagating a subversive idea and thus guilty of misconduct. More than this, if he fails to act as a police spy, i.e. 'if he connives at any act

which is prejudicial to the administration', he is further guilty of an offence.

If a member of the staff should fail to steer clear of any of these many possibilities of misconduct, he is then charged and tried by a tribunal nominated by the Secretary for Native Affairs. At the trial he is without a legal representative. If convicted, his only appeal is to the Minister of Native Affairs. This private court can recommend to the Minister the imposition of a fine up to £100. The regulation states that this fine 'may be recovered in such installments as the Minister may determine by deduction from his emoluments', or he may reduce his salary or his grade, or both. Or he may expel him altogether.

Under such conditions, where the whole institution is permeated by fear that grips professors and students alike, there can only be intellectual paralysis and stupefaction. Here is an atmosphere precisely calculated to facilitate indoctrination in all the perversities of *Apartheid*, a positive breeding-ground for servile automatons. This *Apartheid* in university education is not simply a matter of separating the races at the universities. It is an end result, the logical completion of a systematic process not only of robbing Non-Whites of education but of turning a whole population back to barbarism. To put it another way: if Bantu Education is the bricks of that immense edifice, the retribalization of a whole people, the *Apartheid* university is its coping stone.

6. BANTU EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

The whole scheme is bad enough on paper, but its sinister nature emerges more fully when we view it in practice. What stands out with appalling clarity is that the more progressive section of the Non-Whites, the educated section, is delivered into the hands of the most backward elements of the population. For purposes of local management, power is put into the hands of the chiefs, the illiterate representatives of a barbarous age. The teacher, completely deprived of all those rights vested in his position, including the legal right of tenure of his office, is thereby placed at their mercy. Such a situation opens the door wide to corruption, bribery, nepotism and other malpractices. An example here and there in cold print can hardly convey an adequate conception of the seeping poison permeating the whole fabric of the system. We have to imagine the day-to-day life of the defenceless teacher, prey to the bullying whim or greed of any official. It takes innumerable petty forms. To begin with, jobs are bought and sold, and when a teacher has landed a job there is all the anxiety of holding on to it with 'tobacco money' judiciously doled out to this one and that one. Then there is the unofficial taxation system, presents for the inspectors and sub-inspectors on the occasion of their transfer to another circuit; or the interminable singing and handwork contests that necessitate contributions by the teachers to defray expenses. Picture such an occasion in a rural community; crowds coming from far and wide have to be catered for; sheep and possibly an ox have to be bought and slaughtered. Of course there is no written law compelling the teacher to pay up out of his very meagre salary. But then there is no law to save him from being dismissed when he offends an irate official. And all that is required is an adverse report.

How serious this may be is demonstrated in the following instance. A principal of a school, who, for twenty years, had had excellent results and received good reports, happened to clash with a sub-inspector over a private, personal matter that had nothing to do with the work of the school. The sub-inspector put in a bad report and the principal lost his job. After three months without work he was taken on as an assistant teacher at a considerably lower salary. Not only that; nine months passed and he had not yet received a penny. When the school board finally took the matter up with the authorities on his behalf, the reply was that the teacher had been 'forgiven' - for what offence is not known - and would from then on receive his (reduced) salary, but that no claim for the nine months' arrears of pay would be entertained.

There is no end to the moral corruption which this system is heir to. The petty tyrants taste the pleasures of their brief authority by a thousand and one pin-pricks and humiliations. It is not unknown for The secretary of a school board to instruct the teachers to queue up for their salaries three days after school holidays have begun. That this delay interferes with the teachers' plans for returning home - they often have to travel long distances by train - is of no moment. The terms of their employment make it plain that their time is at the disposal of the school board round the clock and round the year as well. The whole question of the treatment of teachers with respect to their pay highlights the debasement of education under the new system. They are in a perpetual state of insecurity. If they escape outright dismissal they are still haunted by the fear of demotion. It can happen that a teacher is retrenched from a particular school. When he is subsequently re-employed, his previous service is not recognized and he is placed on a new and very much inferior scale of pay. The new salaries for teachers in the rural areas have been brought down to the level of that of unskilled labourers. Not only must they fear dismissal or demotion; even the regular payment of salaries seems to be a matter of whim. So bad is the position under Bantu Education, that the most fantastic stories are circulating among the people. Here is one of them.

A teacher relates how, on receiving no reply to his repeated request to the Native Affairs Department (Education Section) in Pretoria for his salary from January to June, he at last in desperation decided to go in person. This was no easy matter. He could travel only during his vacation. The journey was a long one; it was at least a day and a night in the train from that part of the Cape to the Transvaal. Besides the difficulty of raising the money for it, it was none too easy for a Black man to get a ticket at the station unless he had a pass. He might be arrested at any moment. On arriving at the government office in Pretoria he had to cool his heels while the White clerks were finishing off their conversation about sport and such like. At long last a young woman, looking past him, abruptly demanded his business. He began to explain who he was but was unceremoniously told to come to the point. When he mentioned the letters she pointed to a pile on a table in the corner and ordered him to fish out his own from amongst them. He was shocked to find that neither his letters, nor any of the others, had been opened. There and then the young woman opened his correspondence and informed him that he would hear from them in due course. She pushed a pad towards him, telling him to write his name and address, as if all this wasn't already in his letters half a dozen times over. There was nothing for it but

to take the train home immediately or run the risk of arrest for being in a proclaimed area without a special pass to look for work. At the end of the following month he did eventually get his arrears of salary.

All this may have somewhat the air of a myth or an embellished fiction. As to that we are not overmuch concerned. Whether the details are true or not is unimportant. What we are concerned with here is that the story is going round the countryside and is taken for gospel by parents and teachers alike. This is significant and in itself is a commentary on the situation under Bantu Education. Things have come to such a pass that the people expect anything to happen. Under the old system, when teachers were employed by the Education Department, this kind of story could not arise, nor receive credence, because there was no soil for it. Now, if it is fiction, it is nevertheless profoundly true. It captures the very essence of the situation. Here is vividly brought out the insecurity of the teacher's existence and the sheer precariousness of his position. From month to month he doesn't know where he stands; he doesn't know whether the Department still regards him as one of its employees or not. For all he knows, the grant attached to his post may have been withdrawn, and this means that there is no salary available for him. It might be explained here that, while it is the school board or committee that employs the teacher, it is the Native Affairs Department that makes the money available by making a grant for a specific post. When it wants to get rid of a teacher it simply withholds the grant for that post.

The life of such a man or woman is in chaos. He cannot plan his private life; he may not commit himself to any long-term payment because at any moment he may find himself destitute, even though technically he is in employment. Is such a man in a fit condition to perform his duties as a teacher? Incidentally, our teacher's story captures something else, namely the spectacle of the White civil servants in South Africa in their relationship to the Non-Whites. The young woman who makes a member of the public stand cooling his heels is an epitome of their attitude. They seem to regard it as one of their duties at all times to 'put the Black man in his place'. Each petty clerk sees himself as a representative of the master-race, who must assert his superiority by insult. As to the pile of neglected correspondence, this is not simply a matter of inefficiency. It is a reflection of the general attitude of indifference to the welfare of the Non-Whites and, in particular, the attitude of the authorities towards the teacher under Bantu Education. The underlings merely take the cue from their superiors. It is this accuracy in capturing the essence of the situation that lends credence to the story.

V

BANTU EDUCATION MUST FAIL

I. THE PEOPLE DO NOT WANT IT

BANTU Education, like any other educational system, requires certain prerequisites for its success. Firstly, it must be acceptable to those for whom it is designed. Secondly, it must not only be beneficial to them, but be seen by the people as such. Thirdly, it must be in keeping with the general cultural and economic trends of the time. All these three requirements are absent in the Verwoerdian Bantu Education.

There is not a single section of the African population to whom Bantu Education is acceptable. None sees it as bestowing benefits of any kind. All of them, including those living in the most remote corners of the country, have rejected it. Everywhere the Government has had to rely on threats and intimidation. The people see Bantu Education as part and parcel of the imposition of Bantu Authorities, enforced re-tribalization, the pass system and the schemes for the forced removal of whole communities, and the so-called Stabilization Scheme. All these are seen as measures for the rigid control of a people placed outside the body politic, measures that create pauperization and ensure a regimented labour force. What the authorities themselves say about the benefits of Bantu Education is irrelevant. The people, who experience the objective effects of all the schemes, draw their own conclusions. It is for this reason that they are fighting a desperate battle against all of them, including Bantu Education. A number of incidents involving violence show how in the minds of the people these schemes are linked together. Indeed, the Government itself links them together.

The course of events in Sekukuniland, in Northern Transvaal, over the last few years illustrates the kind of thing that is happening in the country. In November, 1954, Dr. Verwoerd himself, accompanied by a number of senior officials of the Native Affairs Department, had addressed the people, urging them to accept the Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education. Upon the introduction of the Bantu Education system, an Anglican mission school was taken over by the N.A.D. But the people were dismayed when it was demoted from secondary to primary grade. Simultaneously they were compelled to reduce their stock, pay grazing fees and increased rentals for arable lots, all under the 'Betterment Scheme'. Strongly resentful of these measures, they decided to reject the Bantu Authorities. Thereupon a number of their leading spokesmen were banished. Tension in the whole region mounted. At the end of 1957 armed police in a procession of cars and pick-up vans invaded the villages. A further batch of leaders was deported. In February, 1958, a Government proclamation was gazetted giving the Minister of Native Affairs the right to 'seal off' any area by prohibiting the entry or exit of Africans without a written permit from the Native Commissioner. This carried a maximum fine of £300, or three years' imprisonment, or both. In addition, the car used to convey such persons may be confiscated. It also prohibits anyone in the area from making a statement, verbal or written,

which, in the opinion of the authorities, interferes with Government action in the given area. The same heavy penalty is prescribed.

A week after the proclamation was gazetted it was applied to Sekukuniland. The regulations imposed an obligation on all people over eighteen, living in the area, to report anyone who entered without permission. Failure to report carried a penalty of L100, or six months' imprisonment, or both. In April the authorities closed down a primary school and the pupils were not allowed to attend any other school. Incensed and outraged by all this, the people refused to send their children to Bantu Education schools. The situation in Sekukuniland is one of mounting tragedy. Invasions by the police armed with sten-guns are the order of the day. And now, at the time of writing (1958), there is a mass trial of two hundred villagers pending. They are being charged with 'murder, arson and incitement to riot'.

This pattern of events is becoming all too familiar in South Africa. The people of Zeerust have already suffered their 'Sekukuniland'. There the trouble centered round the refusal of the African women in the villages to carry passes. There, too, there were mass arrests and deportations. Resistance was significantly accompanied by the refusal of the people to send their children to Bantu schools. At other places, where the Government is using strong-armed methods to impose Bantu Authorities, the people have burned down Bantu Education schools. To those who know how much the Africans are prepared to sacrifice in order to educate their children, such an act dramatically brings home their deep resentment of Bantu Education. Those flames that destroy the schools must for them symbolize their consuming desire to rid themselves of this monstrosity.

No one is left in doubt as to the total rejection of Bantu Education by the people. Even those intellectuals who had succumbed to coercion and assisted in working it are dismayed at the position in which they find themselves today. As it unfolds, it makes demands that are so patently anti-educational that they can no longer rationalize or deceive themselves about it. Robbed of any moral justification for their actions, they feel exposed and their standing in the community compromised. They feel trapped. They become apologetic to the people about those duties imposed on them by Bantu Education and shift the blame on to the authorities. Thus there is no section left to defend it. Even the illiterate Government chiefs do not pretend that it is of benefit to the people; it is something that has to be carried out—like the culling of their cattle—because the Government wants it.

It is obvious, then, that a system of education that is so completely unacceptable to the people, a system that has to bolster itself up with police pick-up vans and sten-guns, mass arrests and deportation, is doomed to fail.

2. AN ABSURD ANACHRONISM

The prognosis of the failure of the Verwoerdian scheme rests not only on a consideration of the subjective factor, the Africans' rejection of it, but also on an examination of the objective situation in South Africa. The whole concept of Bantu Education flies in the face of the economic, cultural and political forces at work in society. The old tribal

economy of the African people as well as the feudal economy of the Afrikaners were long since wiped off the face of the land and replaced by an industrial economy. The gold mines use the most up-to-date machinery in the world today. Since the Second World War secondary industry has grown by such leaps and bounds, considerably outstripping both mining and agriculture, that it makes by far the largest contribution to the national income. In spite of all the severe legal impediments to urbanization, the Non-Europeans constitute the largest labour force and are part and parcel of the industrial machinery of the country.

This inescapable fact has dictated a change that is rapidly taking place in their mode of living, with all its hardships, and in their habits of thought. The operation of an industrial machine is itself a potent means of education of a kind necessary to the society that is no longer tribal or feudal. The hand that moves the lever is very different from the hand that wielded the hunter's club, or the plough. For the worker the machine and the factory dictate a new set of relationships and attitudes, and outside the factory also, a new set of social and economic needs. In this industrial setting education for tribalism has no place and no meaning. It is an absurd anachronism.

In truth, capitalism has not simply changed the habits of the tribalist and the feudalist. It has created a new man. The powerful forces of production have transformed society, creating a social order essential for their operation, and determining the nature of the social, political and economic institutions. The educational system, too, must fit into this social order, since it prepares the individual to take his place in such a society and make his contribution to it. The content of education must be the same for all. For in this economic unit with all its multifarious activities each member must be armed with the necessary equipment to play his part to his utmost capacity. Industry and commerce by their very nature shatter the tribal order with its separate little entities; it binds the population together into a single economic unit, while at the same time it creates its own internal divisions, namely, class divisions. These have nothing to do with tribal or ethnic groupings. In fact they cut across such relationships. Anyone, then, who attempts to foster tribal education today, with the purpose of turning history backwards and creating an outmoded social system, is attempting the impossible. Bantu Education schemes are the pipe-dreams of those politicians who, ostrich-like, persist in burying their heads in the sand and stubbornly refuse to face economic, political and social realities. The dynamics of the forces at work in South African society must inevitably demolish those fantasies.

It is true that the policy of starving the African of education and fostering illiteracy was always designed to ensure a cheap 'Native' labour force. The Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1939-40, stated:

The life of the gold-mining industry, the economic flywheel of all our economic activities, depends on the continuance of cheap native labour.... Any attempt to alter the existing economic structure by drastic action would bring it to ruin.'

This policy at first produced rich dividends for the White *herrenvolk* as long as the country depended largely on mining and farming. The overseas market for gold and diamonds created a boom and gave a false sense of security to the South African economy. With the

collapse of the diamond market and the uncertainty of the gold, the situation was drastically altered. South Africa has increasingly to maintain its position both internally and externally on the basis of manufactured goods. Thanks to the post-war conditions there has been an enormous expansion of industry. Those two boom periods served to conceal the basic weaknesses in the industrial set-up. Now industry demands ever-increasing skill and efficiency in its labour force, so that the policy of 'cheap labour' becomes highly expensive. An illiterate, unskilled, underpaid labour force, without rights of any kind, is a heavy drag on the economy of the country. With the drop in boom conditions and the return to normalcy in the Western world market, the policy of maintaining a 'cheap native labour' force becomes dangerous. With the onset of economic depression it is positively reckless and in the long run can lead only to economic disaster.

The rapid expansion of industry has revealed another devastating weakness which flows from the purblind policy of *Apartheid*. There are simply not enough people sufficiently educated and trained to cope with the economic activities of the country.

In a presidential address delivered at a meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, 1952, Dr. S. Biesheuvel, Director, National Institute for Personal Research, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, made the following statement:

There is a shortage in South Africa of people with professional, administrative and technical ability, because a small European population is trying to meet virtually all requirements in these top employment classes for a nation of 12,600,000. . . - One seriously limiting factor to whatever plans we may have for the further development of our multi-racial society is the shortage of men and women able to provide the leadership in industry, commerce, government and learning that is needed by a modern state.'

Basing his argument on tests carried out in England, Dr. Biesheuvel calculated that in countries organized along the lines of the West, the distribution of intelligence is such that only four per cent of the population qualify for undertaking work in professional, administrative and technical fields. In the *Apartheid* conditions of South Africa (we may add) four-fifths of the population are deliberately excluded from participating in those fields. Thus the choice of this *elite* is limited to a small number of economically active Whites. The point that Dr. Biesheuvel makes is that in South Africa they would have to find at least 23 per cent, i.e. about six times the number of this *elite*, from amongst the economically active European population. There is no reason to believe, comments Dr. Biesheuvel,

'that our original and later immigrant stock was a superior example of the parent population. There is consequently no likelihood that the Europeans in South Africa will be able to provide a much larger proportion of superior people than they can in other countries, despite the favourable opportunities which they enjoy here. . . . The shortage is therefore permanent and must get worse unless we allow African ability to find its own level....'

These are the carefully measured tones of a highly-placed official. In plain language

this means that the policy of *Apartheid* is gripping the economy of the country by the throat and dooming it to chronic poverty. There is a desperate shortage of skilled labour, but the Government busies itself passing Job Reservation and Apprenticeship Acts to exclude Non-Europeans from skilled jobs; there is an acute housing shortage, and they pass the Native Building Workers Act to prevent Africans from training and working as builders. There is a dire need for doctors and nurses; people are dying in thousands for lack of hospitalization, and the Government spends its time passing University Acts to shut out all Non-Europeans from universities. The wastage of manpower and the low productivity per man, inefficiency both in the organization of industrial activity and of state services, in the railways and post-offices— all these are the by-products of a colour-caste society. In our daily life evidences of an all-pervading inefficiency are sometimes grotesque, sometimes tragic. The young White person behind the post-office counter selling stamps and unable to count the change, is exasperating. But the innumerable railway accidents involving loss of human life are a grim reflection on the policy that refuses to use the sum total of the nation's intelligence as it should be used. Millions of Non-White men and women are denied the possibility of development and of making their contribution to society commensurate with their ability. Vast sums of money and a vast amount of energy are squandered on the upkeep of a bureaucracy the sole function of which is to maintain *Apartheid*—*Bantu* Authorities, *Bantu* Education, Coloured Education, Coloured Affairs Departments, Native Affairs Departments and all the other subterfuges for arresting the natural progress of the Non-White people of South Africa. The colossal wastage of such a policy is not to be reckoned simply in terms of the overall inefficiency in the organization of industrial activity, but in the immeasurable cost in human suffering, misery and death. *Herrenvolkism*, it seems, would hang itself and South African society as a whole on the altar of race superiority.

South Africa cannot much longer afford to indulge in the luxury of hare-brained schemes of retribalization and education for barbarism in defiance of the demands of a modern industrial economy. Nor is it *Bantu* Education alone that will have to go. The Augean stables of the whole educational system require drastic cleansing. Christian-National Education, intended for White children, is itself so encrusted with anachronisms and outmoded ways of thought that it is unable to equip even the privileged Whites for the demands of today. Still rooted emotionally in the age of Kruger, and fearing to lose their exclusive privileges, the *herrenvolk* fear to provide equal educational opportunities for all, including the Non-Whites. Yet for further progress universal education is the *sine qua non*. It is essential to adapt the content and purpose of education to the system of which it is an integral part.

One of the curious anomalies in South African society is that those who have been invested with the control of a modern state should continue to pay allegiance to *Krugerism*.

Their mode of thinking is still in many ways more appropriate to the feudal culture of the Boer Republics. While accepting the benefits of an industrial economy, and indeed revelling in them, they reject the logic of that economy, its political, social and economic concomitants.

In the rapidly changing world of today the outlook of the feudal racialist is as

anachronistic as the tribal outlook was in relation to the ideas of Enlightenment that accompanied expanding capitalism in the eighteenth century.

3. A NEW RENAISSANCE

Once more mankind stands on the threshold of spectacular developments that must embrace the whole world. Today, distant continents have become next-door neighbours; nations have become more and more interdependent economically, and in other ways. With the vast network of swift communications, the giant jet planes, radio and television, the world grows smaller and smaller. All these things make it impossible to stand apart from the mainstream of human progress. There are no longer any dark continents for the feudalist to take refuge in; no laagers behind which he can barricade himself. There are no high walls so impregnable that ideas cannot penetrate them.

Mankind is on the eve of the second Industrial Revolution, a revolution that is more far-reaching in its scope than the first, and will transform the face of the earth. At present the world is gripped in that state of dis-ease and turmoil which has always marked periods of transition.

Automation is the key to this vast transformation. The electronic computer has opened up possibilities in industrial techniques hitherto undreamed of. Automation is not simply a quantitative improvement in mechanization, which up to now has been regarded as the last word in the development of industry. It is a new factor. In its effects it must produce a qualitative change, both in the industrial process and its organization, and in society as a whole. Just as capitalism disrupted the whole mode of life under feudalism, so will the new industrial revolution bring about radical changes in the way of present-day life and modes of thought.

From this soil must spring a new cultural renaissance. And we are already witnessing its first stirrings. It is not, like the earlier Renaissance in Europe, a rebirth limited to a single continent. It is a world phenomenon. Signs of this rebirth are manifest throughout Asia and Africa, too. The foundations of a new culture are being laid.

Just as the idea of universities, those centres for acquiring and spreading universal knowledge, came into being during the early stages of the first Renaissance, so now questions of education, both in the East and the West, have become all-important. Undeveloped countries are concentrating on educating their people and the fight against illiteracy is given pride of place. The new generations cannot afford to be steeped in ignorance. Everywhere the demands of the new era are for more and ever better education. 'Knowledge is power', has become the slogan of all the backward nations.

In the competition between the East, led by the Soviet Union and China, and the West, headed by America and Britain, the rate of technological development becomes of paramount importance. Already the West, confronted with the scientific achievements of Russia, so recently regarded as a backward Asiatic country, is seriously considering ways and means of overhauling the whole of its educational system. The Sputnik that is encircling the earth is a visible sign of the superiority of Soviet technology in some fields. It is evidence of the fact that there are several branches of science in which the Soviet

Union, if not in advance of the West, has at least caught up with it. The reason for this is certainly not in any innate superiority of Soviet man, but, amongst other things, it is bound up with their system of education.

From such information as is available concerning education in the Soviet Union, it is evident that it is organized on a grand scale. There is an intensive drive for universal education. It is not simply a question of putting an end to illiteracy - though this in itself was a big task - but of giving the whole population the highest possible degree of education commensurate with their abilities. While the student is introduced early to science, it is not at the expense of a liberal education. Up to the age of eighteen he is given a good grounding in the arts, so that your scientist and other specialists are also men and women of wide knowledge and culture. Very large numbers receive scientific and technological education. At the universities students are given not only free tuition and free board but their living expenses are also covered. The attitude to education as a whole, and to men of learning who impart knowledge to the youth is different from that of the West. The high standing of the lecturer and teacher reflects the importance they attach to the training of the young. Research institutions are highly endowed. Those who distinguish themselves in research and are awarded professorships are not then made heads of departments where they are distracted by clerical work and the duties of organization, and are thus lost to science. Men of science are left free to devote all their energies to research.

It is this broad plateau of education that provides the base for the spectacular advances in science, of which Sputnik is the visible sign.

While automation opens up vast possibilities of development, it must not be supposed that it will usher in a new heaven and a new earth. The first industrial revolution brought immense wealth, but at the same time it created many unexpected social problems. It swept large numbers of people off the countryside and drew them into the cauldron of industrial activity. It produced all the evils of early capitalism in Europe: child-labour, long working hours, low wages, the disease and squalor of crowded cities. And in its wake came bloody wars. Faced with new problems, man devised methods of dealing with them. Social and political institutions as well as economic organizations came into being to meet the new situation. The first cycle is coming to an end and the next and higher stage of the spiral is opening up. If automation is to achieve its purpose and fulfil its productive potential, it will create more wealth in goods than man has hitherto conceived of. But instead of drawing an ever-increasing number of men and women into employment in industry, it will replace not only manual labour in all its repetitive operations, but also clerical staff, reducing to a minimum the armies of book-keepers, accountants and managers. It is enough to state only this aspect of the matter to imagine some of the problems that will arise. Questions that present themselves immediately are: what will happen to the millions of workers who would become redundant in industry, and where will the markets be found for the superabundance of goods? It is not our task here to pursue this aspect of the subject. But there is no doubt that automation will bring disruption to the present way of life. It must burst the present capitalist integument. Once more man will be called upon to solve the problems brought about by progress. And one thing is certain, in the process man himself will change both in his modes of living and of

thought.

Automation will require people of a high degree of efficiency and skill. It will push up the whole standard of education, the content and purpose of which will have to be adapted to the new demands. With increased productivity per man, working hours will be reduced and people will have much more leisure at their disposal. Thus it will be the function of education to prepare men and women with increased capacity both for greater skills and for creative leisure. In all this a new man will be emerging, capable of tackling the problems of society. And a new cultural renaissance will accompany this development. Man must increasingly unravel the secrets of nature, conquer its forces and harness them to his needs.

All this will involve a prolonged and hazardous climb, a climb fraught with difficulties and social convulsions. One does not need to visualize the end; it is in the nature of man always to pursue a further goal. The magnitude of the task in itself provides a challenge to the indomitable spirit of man.

At present science is, in the main, harnessed to the chariot of war and the genius of man is employed for the most barbaric purposes. The discovery of the limitless power of atomic energy is turned to the creation of diabolical instruments of devastation and destruction. The ways of progress are devious and growth is painful; the mechanical inventions of man have outstripped his social evolution and moral values. But there will come a time when wars have been banished from his affairs and these same inventions will be harnessed for the benefit of humanity. His energy will be liberated for the task of exploring new fields of conquest. Already the nations are launching their satellites into outer space and aiming to reach the moon. They are rocketing their little dogs and mice on aerial journeys to peep into the mysteries of the universe and send back messages of what they find in that unknown country from whose bourne no traveller has yet returned. Modern man is attempting to overcome time and distance and conquer the very heavens.

Viewed from such heights, how small must seem the fanatic devotees of *Apartheid*, how narrow their vision, how puerile and ineffectual their schemes for re-tribalization and education for barbarism. It is hard to believe that, while the world is astir with change and new forces are making themselves felt throughout Asia and the rest of Africa, the rulers of South Africa can stubbornly keep their gaze fixed on the past. Do they think, Canute-like, that they can hold back the tide of human progress at a word of lordly command?

Confident as we are that the Verwoerdian policies must fail, we do not for one moment minimize their dire effects in the present. No one can take refuge in facile hopes or contemplate with equanimity the fate of a whole people doomed to frustration and penury, a people to whom every channel of development is closed, and whose children are excluded from the knowledge and culture of a modern state. The whole concept of *Apartheid* is an insult to human dignity. *Apartheid*, with all its miserable brood, its Group Areas, its Immorality Acts, its Pass laws, its Bantu Authorities, its Bantu Education and Coloured Education schemes - all this is an outrage to human intelligence.

It is our belief that the people of South Africa, both White and Non-White, will one day jerk themselves out of their complacent smugness and prostration, wake up to their responsibilities and seek to wipe out from the book of history this chapter of degradation, misery and moral destitution.

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