THIRTY YEARS OF BLACK EDUCATION (1953-1983) WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON AIMS (AN HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL APPRAISAL)

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that: Thirty years of Black Education (1953-1983) with special emphasis on aims, is my own work and that all the sources used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

M.J. THEMANE

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated:

To my parents, Samuel Selei and
Fridah Lekhiphi.
To the Father of all wisdom.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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"To God be the glory".

M.J. THEMANE.

University of the North, Pietersburg
March, 1989.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AAC	:	All African Convention.
AEM	:	African Education Movement.
ANC	:	African National Congress.
ATASA	:	African Teachers Association of South Africa.
BPC	:	Black People's Convention.
BCP	:	Black Community Project.
CATA	:	Cape Africa Teachers Association.
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students.
CYL	:	Congress Youth League.
DET	:	Department of Education and Training.
NECC	:	National Education Crisis Committee.
SAIRR	:	South African & Institute of Race Relations.
SARRS	:	South African Race Relations Survey.
SASA	:	South African Students Association.
SASM	:	South African Student Movement.
SASO	:	South African Student Organisation.
TATA	:	Transvaal African Teachers Association.
WL	:	Women's League.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1. Aim of Study

This study is a survey of the aims of education for Blacks for a period of thirty years, that is, 1953 - 1983. It explores the ways in which the South African Government has structured Black Education in such a way that it differed from, and incidentally also inferior to, the other systems of education in South Africa, namely, those for the Whites, Indians and Coloureds.

The study also examines the processes through which apartheid has become institutionalised and legalised within education bureaucracy and how political ideas have been used to justify this disparity in Black education for the past thirty years.

Finally, the dissertation considers the extent to which the South African Government has failed or succeeded in promoting the policy of apartheid in the education of the Blackman. The study will also show the extent to which education has been used to promote this policy of apartheid.

It is important to undertake such a study because many Black personnel lack insight into the aims of their education. This is confirmed by the Bantu Journal when it states that many black teachers are ignorant of the aims of Black Education (1:10).

Although many educationists, Black and White, have researched on the various aspects of Black Education,

the writer is not aware of any one who has researched on "aims" specifically. Marambana came closer when she researched on the crisis in Black Education from 1976 - 1986; but, the aims of Black Education did not receive adequate attention and this prompted the undertaking of this study. One writer was correct when he asserted:

> Liberal writers on the history of education in South Africa have tended to take education policy statements at face value. For example, the notorious statements by Dr Verwoerd on the Nature of Bantu Education have never been matched by detailed research into the nature of schooling system to ascertain whether these policy statements really did reflect the practice in schools (2:7).

For that reason this study aims at looking at the policies of the state on Black education and how they affected the practice.

Commenting on P.G. Luthuli's book entitled, "Philosophical Foundations of Black Education", Vilakazi (3:1X) says:

> Professor Luthuli has undertaken a mammoth but necessary task of attempting to elucidate the purposes of Black education in South Africa. The effort is commendable because for too long now, Black educators have not bothered to address basic questions of their philosophy of education.

1.2. Hypothesis

Changing and conflicting aims of education for Blacks have affected the quality of Black Education for a period of thirty years, 1953 - 1983.

1.3. Research Methodology

The method used in this study is called Historical Method. The historical method makes a scientific investigation into the historical problems. This

method comprises three main processes, namely heuristics, hermeneutics and synthesis.

1.3.1. Data Collection

Data collected in this study was mainly gleaned from sources that are primary and secondary. Heuristic procedures were followed, in the process of collecting data. Primary sources such as the De Lange Report, the Eiselen Report, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, et cetera, were consulted, and relevant information was gathered. Information that appeared dubious such as from newspapers, diaries, et cetera, was critically examined before it could be used.

1.3.2. Interpretation of Data

Because the writer in this terrain could not, by direct observation, deduce the authenticity of sources, reliable data was analysed by internal and external criticism. Hermeneutic procedure was thus employed and data was evaluated and synthesised and the hypothesis vindicated. The writer then prepared a scientific document presented herewith.

1.4. Limitations of Study

The study under survey covers a wide area.
It was almost impossible to visit all the Black homelands and independent states, and that was a great limitation. The fact that the area under survey touches on the integrity of the present government, it compelled the writer to be as objective and scientific as possible. Absolute objectivity is however,not always possible.

1.5. Programme of the Study

In Chapter One the study discusses the aim, methods and procedures that were used in the entire study. The writer also defined such concepts that rate concomitantly with aims of education; such terms are policy, ideology, et cetera. Their relationship with the aims of education is expounded.

Then follows a brief historical background of Black Education prior to 1953, including indigenous education in chapter two.

Chapter three is meant to indicate the take-over of Black education from the missionaries by the State. A conflict of aims is here indicated, and how it has bedevilled Black Education.

1.6 Explanation of terms

The importance of explaining terms cannot be overemphasised.
What we gain from explaining terms is the proper understanding of the context within which the study is undertaken. In the light of this it is therefore important to give early prominence to the explanation of such terms as combine to depict the overall meaning of the aims of education, namely: policy, ideology, politics and education. The nature of this, Aims of Black Education", necessitates this explanation of certain concepts.

1.6.1. Policy

The ambiquity in the current usage of the term "policy" makes all attempts at explaining it more

difficult because one explanation appears to stress one aspect, when another stresses another aspect. Ngubentombi (4:1) quotes Lasswell and Kaplan's explanation of policy as follows: "Policy is a projected programme of goal values and practices".

According to this explanation it is implied that policy is a intended programme that guides decisions regarding means of attaining desired goals. In some instances policy may indicate the existence of considered intention, plan or programme but it is often used rather to refer to a course of action in some field where a plan or programme exists.

Ngubentombi (5:2) summarises the many definitions of policy by grouping the following salient characteristics of the term:

(a) Policy entails a course of action.

(b) It may be an intended course of action.

(c) Policy involves the review of a possible alternative as a preliminary action to its final formulation.

(d) Policy points at definite objectives conceived as attainable by the application of a specific system.

(e) The manipulation of the means towards the desired objectives involves constant formulation and reformulation of guiding decisions which, by their nature, may be conceived as supporting policies.

Evidently, therefore, education like any other field of human life, is to be guided by a policy if its desired objectives which are to be achieved. The question then is, what is education policy?

1.6.2 Educational Policy

From the foregoing paragraphs it is clear that every field of human life is guided by a policy; this implies that each field has a unique policy of its own. So education has also a field of its own.

Educational policy entails broadly stated educational objectives. The Eiselen Commission, for instance, appointed by the Nationalist Party to study the system of Bantu Education, listed a number of points which could serve as "definite objectives for Native Education" (6:562-572).

Educational policy must be modified from time to time because the cultural factors keep on changing. There must therefore, be a constant modification of guiding decisions. Nevertheless, educational policies cannot be conceived in isolation, they are always mixed with other considerations. They must never be entirely separated from the manifold issues of public concern within which education takes place.

1.6.3 Ideology

Encyclopedia Britannica defines ideology as follows:

> An ideology is a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones, it is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and to change. (7:194).

This definition implies that an ideology is part of a philosophy of life adhered to by a particular group of people, which is then expressed clearly and carefully by the intellectual group.

The term made its first appearance in French as "ideologie" at the time of the French Revolution. It was introduced by A.L.C. Destutt de Tracy, a philosopher, as a short name for what he called science of ideas. Ideology and politics have a symbiotic relationship. All policies of the Nationalist Government State, be it racial policy, educational policy, et cetera, are rooted in the ideology of Calvinism which gave rise to apartheid in South Africa. This fact has permeated all other policies in the country.

Ideology is clearly inimical to a conception of civil society, for the ideologists typically conceive of society as an enterprise with distinctive aims and make the achievement of aims as dominating enterprise. Furthermore ideology is never content with instinctive loyalty to society. Its main goal is to try to recruit zealous devotion. It has been argued that ideologists distort the true nature of civil society by trying to remodel it on the lines of an altogether different society to serve its own goals.

There appears to be a close relationship between the term policy, ideology and aim as seen from the foregoing definitions. This then necessitates more explanation of the relationship between education and politics.

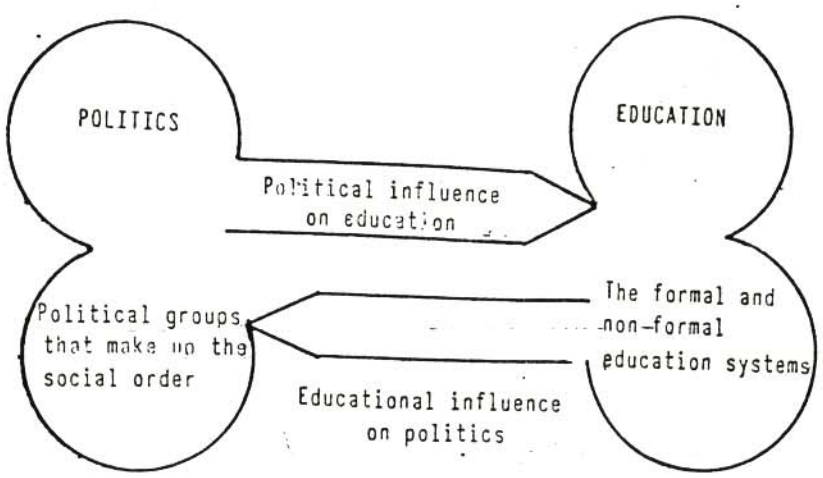
1.6.4 Education and Politics

Education and politics exist in a symbiotic relationship; none is parasitic on the other. This is because education is always experienced within an environment of politics; that is why a Minister of Education is a politician.

The education enterprise, from its location within a particular environment, conducts transactions with several political groups that most prominently populate the same ecological setting. In other words education is a segment within a political system.

The following figure illustrates the point:

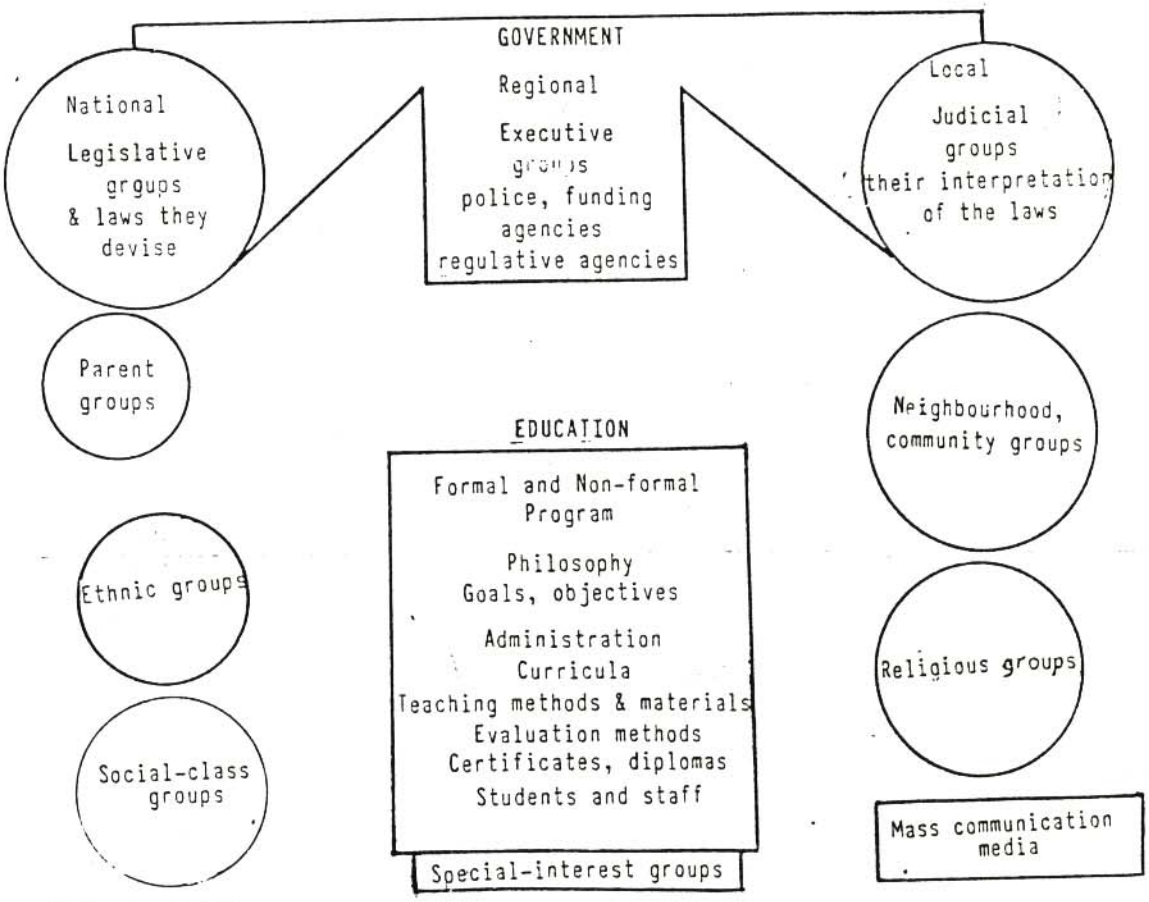
FIGURE 1.



Politics and Education seen as Separate Entities
(Source: 8:4)

Figure 2. below indicates that education is ever swathed in a political ecology; this is a further indication of the mutual relationship between the two. Their relationship is both on micro-level and macro-level. For instance in the classroom situation, the class teacher, class monitor, et cetera, exercise power over the pupils in a particular class, so is the headmster over the teachers, and at a macro-level the Minister of education directs the entire system of education.

FIGURE 2



(Source:9:5)

Thomas (10:8) sums up the relationship between education and politics thus:

One way to envisage the effects of political groups on the education system is to cluster the effects under three categories:

(1) Influence over the support of, and the access to, education. This first category concerns the question: "Who receives how much schooling, of what type, and of what quality"?

(2) Influence over the content and procedure of education. The question in this case is: "What is taught, by what methods is it taught, and how is it assessed?"

(3) Influence over the latitude of social and political action permitted the people who inhabit the schools. The question is: "To what extent should the school's professional staff members and students be allowed to engage in whatever social and political behaviour they choose?

1.6.5 Education

Education is a very wide concept that may refer to a variety of meanings depending on who is using it and in what situation. The term "education" may refer to the following:

(a) Education may refer to teaching

Teaching is an activity by which a human being usually, but not always a child, is taught by an adult to know and to do things.

It is usually concerned with the acquisition of knowledge and skills. This activity is called taching because of the importation of information by the adult to the non-adult. This is one side of education. In a sense the educator leads the educand to adulthood, the emphasis in this case is the development of the head and hand without

the concern of the other sections of the human being. Gunter (9:11) succintly puts it in the following words:
"It should be noted that teaching is specifically limited to the training of the hand and the intellect not with the whole human being".

Teaching can take place at school, church, home, et cetera, it is not restricted by place. Wherever people meet and impart knowledge teaching takes place.

(b) Moulding

As the child grows he comes into contact with different groups of people other than the adult educators. For example, he comes into contact with the peer group. Besides, there are many other influential factors that form part of cultural-historical reality in the society in which he grows and all these have an influence on him and mould him or educate him in a particular manner. This total effect of environmental influences on the child's becoming an adult as well as their effect on the adult's life is referred to by educationists such as Griessel as "moulding" (11:16).

Moulding includes intentional or purposeful education and non-intentional education that influences him outside the school before reaching adulthood and even after reaching adulthood. Therefore the term moulding may be used in other circles interchangeably with education.

1.6.6. The Aim of Education

The aim of education in general is to help someone who is a non-adult to become an adult. Education is therefore, always future orientated. Adulthood as used here refers to responsible and accountable adulthood where the youth will be fully prepared to realise his potentialities and to be ready to take up his task in future. It is therefore the task of education to make the youth aware of their talents and thus equipping them to be independent in this world. Griessel (12:4) says that it is a deliberate assistance on the way towards maturity, it helps the educand to accept a particular approved order, and orient himself and progress independently in terms of it, thus contributing to becoming human.

But on the other hand, the term "adulthood" is understood by different people in different ways according to the particular culture within which education is implemented, and the stage of development which that particular cultural group has managed to attain (13:1).

For example in Greece,to the Spartans in the year 800-33 BC, adulthood meant being physically fit, for being a good soldier.

Adulthood is not a stage that can be reached overnight, it is a life-ongoing process, even an adult is becoming more adult daily. One never reaches the apex of growing. Griessel (14:64) puts it as follows:

> It is a serious mistake to assume that adulthood is reached suddenly in

> the same way as the mountaineer suddenly arrives at the top of a mountain after a wearisome climb up the mountain slope.

1.8. Conclusion:

Black education, like any other educational system, could not escape the influence of state policy or the ruling party's ideology. In our case the period under discussion was dominated by the Nationalist Government with its policy of apartheid or separate development. That this policy or ideology was repugnant to the majority of Blacks goes without saying. They suspected the aims more than the content.

Thus the Blacks had to accept Bantu Education, if not by persuasion then by coercion in as far as the Government was concerned.

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CHAPTER TWO

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO BLACK EDUCATION

2.1. Demography

A study of Black education necessarily calls for some background information on the origin of the Black people and how their settlement in South Africa influenced their education. As this chapter is only intended as an introduction to the subsequent discussion on the aims of Black education, it is of necessity condensed and therefore only touches on the most important aspects.

2.1.1. Origin

During the course of the centuries, ages even before the Christian era, a great number of people settled in Africa.

> They differed in language, culture,tradition, customs, physical characteristics and colour. Apart from the three great African population; the Hamites, Negroes and Bantu, people of European, and Asiatic origin also settled permanently...(1:2).

In their geographical areas to which they subsequently spread, their historical associations and cultural relationships ultimately divided them into three main groups, the Western, Eastern and Southern Black people.

The southern Blacks have now occupied the region South of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers. The region is made up of the following countries: Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa.

The South African Black living in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa can be classified primarily into five major groups, viz. Nguni, Sotho,Venda, Shangaan/Tsonga and the Herero/Owambo groups. It is said that:

> Apparently these Blacks had moved Southwards from their original areas in three main migration streams and had become settled in separate regions. The Nguni, Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi moved down the eastern seaboard penetrating into the regions of present-day Swaziland, Natal and the Eastern Cape. A second group consisting of Sotho, Venda, Shangaan/Tsonga, established itself in the central region to the south of the Zambesi River, in the present-day Botswana, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Lesotho and the Northern Cape... (2:2)

2.1.2. Distribution

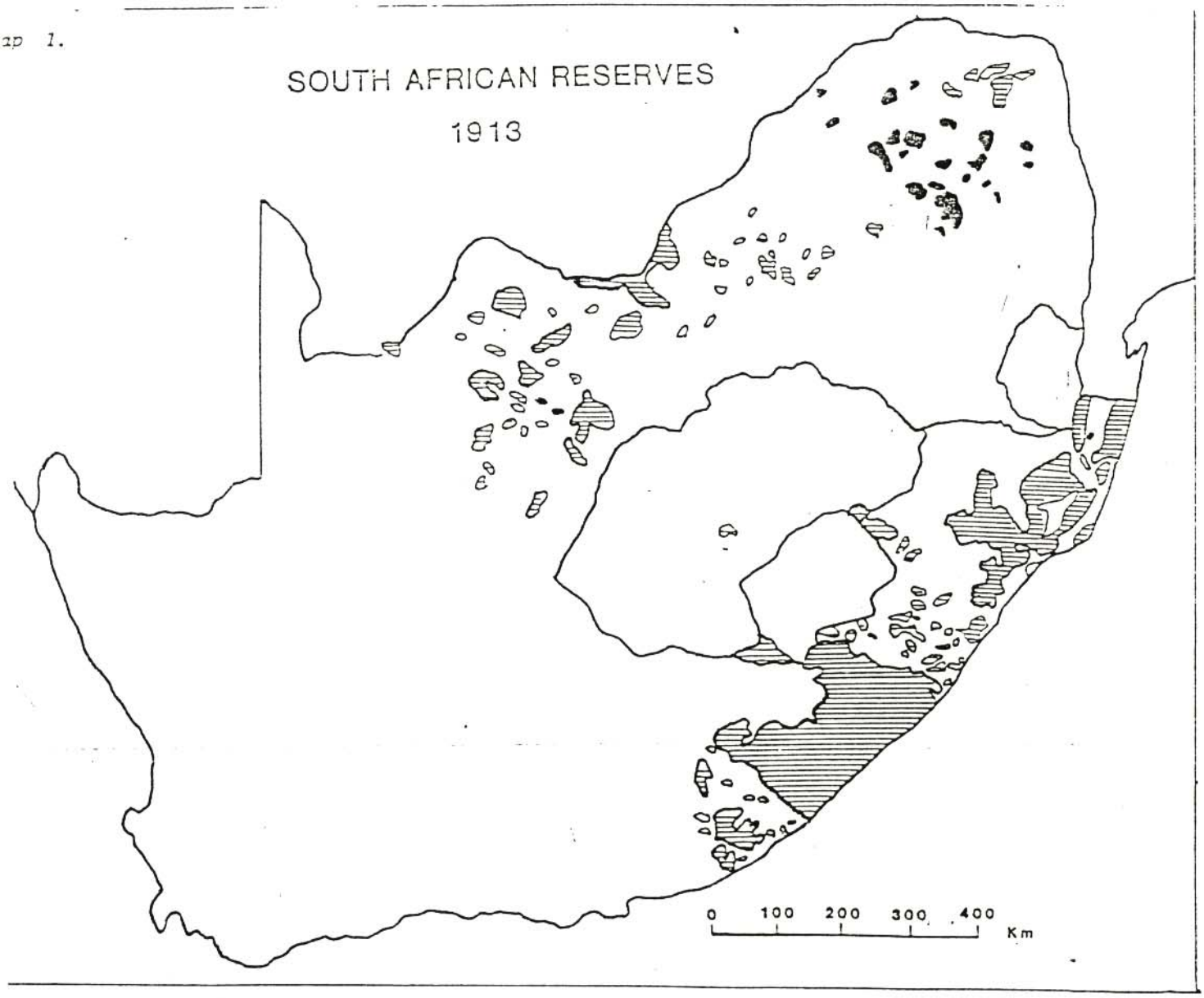
The distribution of the Black population over the present-day South Africa was a gradual process which took some hundreds of years. There were many factors which accounted for the distribution of the various groups, for example wars and search for pastures.

Because of factors such as urbanisation many Blacks started to flock to the White-owned lands and the White dominated cities. One of the outstanding causes of migration from the reserves, as Buttler and Adams (3:11) explains: "... quite apart from recruiting, is the appalling shortage of land for native occupation". The Blacks by 1936 were overpopulated and their land overstocked in the reserves; and in partial recognition of these realities the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 were enacted.

Map 1.

Shows areas that were occupied by vagrious ethnic groups after 1910 within South Africa according to Land Act of 1913.

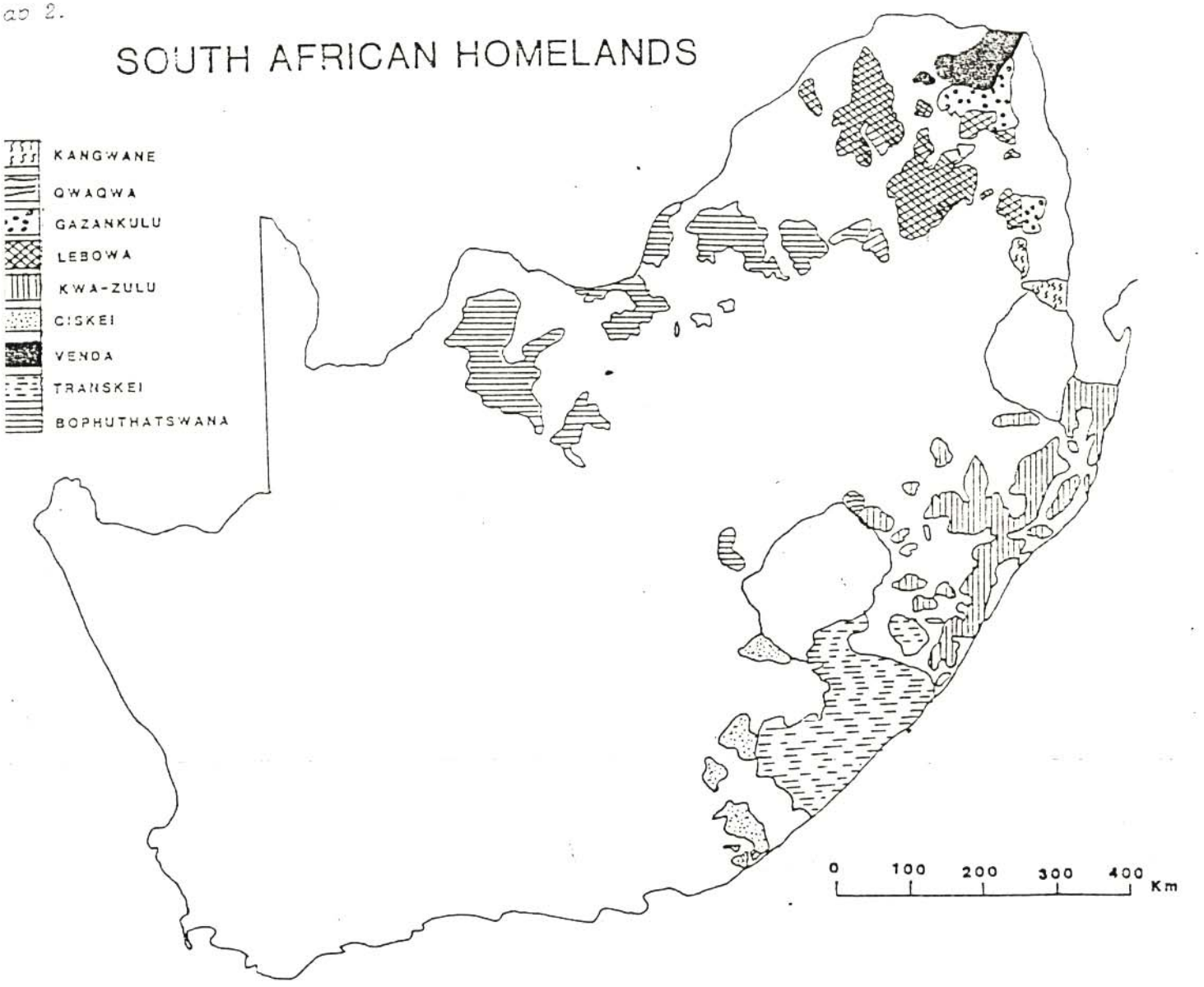
ap 1.



Map 2.

Shows the position of reserves after the 1936 Land Act.

ap 2.



The present (1988) geographical distribution of the Black population is based on the homeland policy, or the policy of separate development of the National Party which came to power in 1948.

TABLE 1

Shows the demographic census of the Black population since 1904.

DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS

CENSUS YEAR	POPULATION NUMBER (1 000)
1904	3 490
1911	4 019
1921	4 698
1936	6 597
1946	7 832
1951	8 560
1960	10 928
1970	15 340
1980	16 924

(Source 4 : 1.5.)

It should be noted that Census for Blacks was never conducted before 1910. The Census conducted in 1865 was exclusively for White population.

These demographic factors discussed in the foregoing paragraphs are indispensable to the provision of education.

2.1.2. Migration

2.1.3. Migration

Encyclopaedia Britannica defines the term migration as follows: "Migration is commonly defined as the permanent change of residence by an individual or a group (4:185).

Black settlement within the boundries of South Africa dates more than four thousand years according to certain archaeologists. That is why in the 16th and 17th centuries, they had several clashes with the Boers in the Cape Province. Eversince politics and race have dominated the South African history, the clashes between them, Boers and Blacks, contributed to the migrations of both.

It appears the economic factors also played a very decisive role in the migration trends of the Blacks in particular. Their migration at random could not be tolerated by the controlling bodies. That is why they were later forbidden to settle in other areas.

Were possible Blacks then migrated to more favourable places where they could sell their labour or get employed, where their children could also attend school regularly.

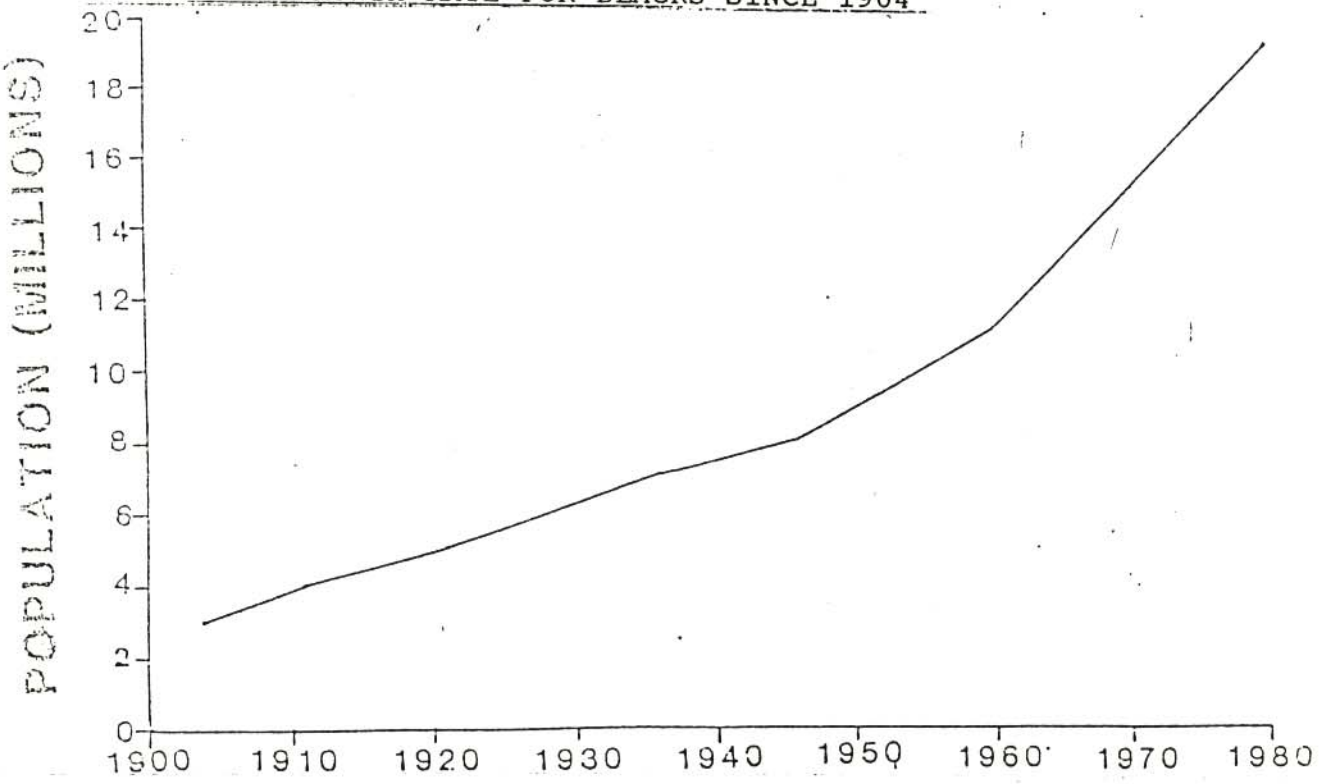
2.1.4. Population Growth

The South African Black population has been experiencing a phenomenal accelerated population growth more than other racial groups. This is partly because of their cultural perspective of family. Unlike the White

population, Blacks believe in large families for security in times of wars. Loram (6:3) says, "A situation unique in the history of race relationship is found in south Africa in the rapid increase of the native ..."

TABLE 2

SHOWS THE GROWTH RATE FOR BLACKS SINCE 1904



This phenomenon has been of great concern to the government and it has always been a scapegoat for not providing equal educational opportunities for Blacks, or refusal to provide free and compulsory education.

Generally, high population growth leads to deterioration in the provision of educational facilities. This has been the case with Black education which is characterised by lack of qualified teachers, shortage of

text books, et cetera. Unfortunately the government has occasionally exaggerated this problem of Black population explosion. Before the arrival of the Whites in Southern Africa, the indigenous people had their own system of education, which was adequate and compulsory.

2.2. Initiation Schools

If education is a natural phenomenon then there must have been some education amongs the blacks even before 1652. Education is a means of transferring norms and values to the younger generation. Initiation schools were traditional institutions used for this purpose.

2.2.1. What is an initiation school?

The initiation school is an institution organised by the older generation to introduce the young generation to the essential practices of the community such as marriage, worship, festivals, et cetera.

The initiation period is the major period in the life of the young person in the Black community. This is the period when the individual undergoes physical, emotional and psychological changes. These changes are radical and take him from childhood to adolescence or to adulthood.

It is like the formal schooling of today where the individual undergoes some changes in the aspects mentioned above as he receives instruction.

2.2.2. The Circumcision rite

At the initiation school the most important operation is circumcision for boys and clitoridectomy for girls.

This rite is practised in all the initiation schools of Blacks in South Africa and is considered important in the traditional life of all Blacks. Mbiti (7:92) describes this rite in the following words:

> Circumcision involves cutting of the foreskin of the boys male organ, while clitoridectomy involves cutting some portion of the girls female organ. In both cases blood is split, and the operation is painful since often no pain-killing herbs or other preparations are used.

As already indicated, this rite is very important. According to African tradition everyone must undergo it otherwise the person remains "a child" no matter how old he or she might be; and it is shameful to be isolated from one's age-mates through lack of this experience.

In some parts of South Africa this form of initiation takes place annually while in others it is a biennial event. There was a time when it took place after an interval of five years.

> It will never begin during the period of drought since it hampers many of the economic activities and it costs a lot of food to feed the initiates. The death of the king may also delay the commencement (8:108).

The initiation ceremony centres around the son of the king. If he, the prince, is still too young this may delay the commencement as they wait for him to mature, to reach the appropriate age, normally twelve to ninenteen years. Initiation is not a private affair, it is a community ceremony.

2.2.3. Preparation for initiation school

Unlike in the Western culture where the children are taken to pre-school for preparation for their primary education, in the case of African culture the preparations are as follows:

i. The members of the community start to talk about it

and all the possible candidates are told in time and they therefore wait for it with joy. It is not regarded as something awesome.

ii. Thereafter the chief will announce the date and all the candidates will assemble to go there. But before that, they are supposed to fight first to contest for leadership.

It is compulsory for all candidates to attend this ceremony since the leader who will be chosen will have specific functions to perform during the initiation. After the election, the leader is going to control some of the activities like the prefect in the western school does. During the initiation period leadership passes from the one who achieved it by bravery and art of fighting with sticks to the one who qualifies in terms of status (royalty).

These preparations differ in detail from community to community. The differences are as follows: the selection of candidates - age limit; the person who is going to perform the operation; the period or duration of the initiation; et cetera.

In most cases the initiates are taken into seclusion in the bush for a period of few weeks to several months.

2.2.4. <u>The meaning and the importance of initiation</u>

What does initiation really have to do with the education of the Blacks and why is it such an important event in their lives?

There are many answeres to this question but a few relevant ones have been considered in this study.

2.2.4.1. A bond is made by the shedding of blood

To all Christians the blood of Jesus serves as a bond of the new convenant because when we drink of it," we are sharing in the blood of Christ ... "C I Cor. 10:16). To the Blacks the blood which is shed during the physical operation binds the person to the land and consequently to the other members of his community as Mbiti (9:93) says:

> It says that the individual is alive, and that he or she wishes to be tied to the community and people among whom he or she has been born as a child. This circumcision blood is like making a covenant, or a solemn agreement, between the individual and his people.

This implies that until the individual has passed through this experience he is still an outsider. Once he has shed his blood he receives the power to be called the "child" of the community.

He becomes a "man", a member of the community, a citizen, a juryman.

2.2.4.2. The individual is recognised to be an adult

In the western culture education is aimed at leading the child to adulthood. In similar manner initiation is conceived by Black communities practicing it as a gateway to adulthood.

It is actually the official and public recognition that the individual is now passing from childhood to adulthood. The cutting of his flesh is a symbol of getting ready for the period of adulthood (10:95).

As long as the person has not yet passed or gone through initiation he is still regarded as a child and he can therefore not be given full responsibilities in the community. Gunter describes such a person as follows:

> Not yet able and prepared by means of self-restraint, self-compulsion and self-control, to self-discipline, to live his life voluntarily according to generally accepted imperatives, to exercise essential authority over himself and whatever is entrusted to him, and also to knowledge, respect and obey higher authority because it is necessary and legitimate.

Once the initiation has taken place, he is ready to enjoy to the fullest the privileges of citizenship and adulthood, and to shoulder various responsibilities both in his immediate family and in the larger community. The initiation school is taken as a period of transition, a bridge between youth and adulthood. It serves as a reconciling stage, bringing together youth and adulthood, reconciling the period of ignorance and that of knowledge. It also joins the living with the dead and the visible with the invisible because after initiation a person may perform religious rituals.

2.2.4.3. Initiation is a gateway to marriage

Before initiation no young person is allowed to get married. Initiation signals the official permission for one to get married and bear children. During the period of seclusion the initiates are taught various aspects concerning the life of their people, among others their history, traditions, beliefs and family

responsibilities. It is at this stage that the mysteries and secrets of the married life are revealed to the young people. It is a form of sex education which is unfortunately lacking in Black education today. Many young people enter marriage without thorough preparation and therefore depend on the dint of luck to make it. Initiation played an important role in family and community stability.

2.2.4.4. A Mark of unity with people

Initiation is a sign of solemn unity and identification with one's community. Through it the young person is sealed to his people and his people to him. It is a social and religious act. For that reason, during the initiation ceremonies, and after, the leader in charge offers sacrifices or prayers to God and ask for His blessings upon the young people (12:94).

2.2.5. The curriculum of the initiation school

During this period of seclusion the initiates go through a set curriculum. The curriculum includes matters pertaining to tribal lie, marriage and other social obligations. The education given took into account the physical, mental and spiritual needs of the initiate (13:22).

The following count among the more important subjects: riddles; formulae; praise poems; laws; et cetera. In military science, the body was subjected to great pain and a process of hardening reminiscent of what obtained

in the ancient Spartan education. Many missionaries condemned this education as evil and cruel. The ancestral spirits were his gods and he had to respect and venerate them.

2.2.6. Returning home

At the end of the period of initiation the young boys would come back home. This is usually a great occasion of rejoicing and feasting in the community. It is like a "new birth in the concept of the Scriptures". The initiates feel refreshed and renewed. They go home as new people with the old having passed away. They are even given new names following initiation to show the radical change they have undergone, like Saul, changing to Paul (Acts 9). Mbiti (14:96) explains that:

> They may also wear new clothes and receive presents from relatives and neighbours. They receive respect from everyone. A new rhythm of life begins for them and they start to play new roles.

2.2.7 Conclusion

Initiation schools have played a significant role in the education of the Blacks before the arrival of Whites in 1652 and they still play or fulfill an important role in traditional education. The institution was nonetheless opposed by the missionaries and many Blacks started to abhor it and even discouraged their children from attending. It has surprisingly survived this onslaught.

2.3. Tribal Social Organisation

2.3.1. Introduction

The institution of chieftainship among the Blacks is of great importance. This is based on the tribal system. The chief is a tribal leader, the chief official of government and arbiter of the nation. But this institution is further divided into "Dikgoro and Mephato" which is based on close relatives and age groups respectively. At these gatherings boys used to receive education about the history of the tribe. This type of education was important for the child as an individual and for the community as a whole.

A council of tribal elders or headmen (kgotla) helped the chief in tribal government and they were also responsible in imparting some knowledge to the young generation. The children went through unplanned curriculum.

The main aim under this system was the transmission of cultural values to the young ones and to preserve their identity as a particular group. This helped in the preservation, perpetuation and adaptation of values to new circumstances. For that reason the education of the youth was based on his environment, to help him subdue and replenish it. Because each child in the tribe was subjected to the same unifying or binding education experience, the process of socialisation was carried on throughout the life of the individual.

From early childhood the child was subjected to an informal elementary education of learning by doing, very little or even no attention was given to the acquisition of abstract knowledge. Boys and girls participated in

the same activities up to the age of six and seven years where social differentiation started. Boys went to heard cattle in the forest whereas the girls remained at home.

Every adult was at this stage a teacher, an instructor or educator. The activities of the children were supervised more intensively and hence their play-life was more exciting and meaningful. The aim of these activities was to develop a good character that is acceptable according to the norms of the particular tribe. After this the went for initiation school which was discussed above.

Adults also received a measure of education or "moulding". This was done by means of ritual ceremonies which played a very significant role in the life of the tribes. Each individual had to undergo certain rites which were conducted by the traditional medicine-man, in order to live as part of the tribe. Law courts (kgotla), forum and festivals also provided for the education of the adults.

2.3.2. Instruction

Instruction was adapted to the life and the ideas of the people and hence it was very simple and direct. This was adequate and fitting for them. The entire system taught and prepared individuals to be fully equipped for anything that befitted a member of the force.

This system of education fostered also national pride and it aimed at preserving national culture which contained the languages of the Blacks. The media of instruction were the home languages. Thus the young ones learnt very easily and spontaneously.

2.3.3. Evaluation of the traditional system of education

Looking closely at this type of education one is able to admire certain things such as the all-embracing nature of education. An individual was addressed as an entity. Furthermore what may be termed schooling covered the period between childhood and adolescence. There was a smooth transition from one stage to the other. As it is explained hereunder:

> Then came the adult stage when often years spent in the mastery of the techniques of the different trades and careers. There was tendency to develop skill and ability in various activities of tribal life (15:25).

This type of education undoubtedly gave the Black man the ability to control his environment. All members of the society were taught to contribute to the development of their environment. This was nothing else but mass education.

This form of traditional education has its own weaknesses, it tends to repress variation rather than promote it. Uniformity always characterises this system. Katiya (16:56) concludes that "thus tribal grouping became an educational force which stamped out eccentricities and impelled each individual towards uniformity".

In respect of girls the main objective was to prepare them for domestic duties and child-bearing in order to perpetuate the tribe in the same way as Spartan girls were educated.

At the initiation school the initiates were brought into direct and intimate contact with the history, the law, the customs and the philosophy of the tribe. The initiates were given chance to learn about these things which held their group together for years and years. It was an education of communal life and social efficiency. All efforts were focused on the tribe, and the young person was automatically going to serve that community without entertaining ideas of self-aggrandizement.

Spiritually the initiate was taught about the spirits of the ancestors - that they lived and will live forever and determined the weal or woe of the individual and the tribe. It was impressed upon him that the tribal gods had to be preserved, propitiated and placated, and the fabric Blacks cultural heritage had to be perpetuated (17:24).

2.4. Formal Black Education before 1953

2.4.1. Introduction

Formal education for Blacks, which contained in it the tenets of western culture, started with the advent of Whites in 1652. The crises of Black education as we have them today can be traced as far back as this date. The westernised form of culture had far-reaching results as far as the life of the Blacks in general and their education in particular are concerned.

Although a detailed account of the period before 1953 does not fall within the scope of this study the salient aspects of it must be mentioned because of the indispensability of this period in the understanding of the aims of education for Blacks later, after 1953. If

this section can be left untouched it will be difficult to understand the period under study; one will just fumble and stumble around without making head or tail of the jumble.

In this section the writer will attempt to sketch briefly the historical development of Black education down the years from 1652 to 1953.

2.4.2. Origins of formal schooling of Blacks

The first school in South Africa was ironically for Blacks. It was a "slave" school and its pupils were mostly adults.
On 17 April 1658 Van Riebeeck, governor of the Cape wrote in his diary:

> Began holding school for the young slaves. To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finished their task (19:3).

In 1663 the School for Whites was opened and from this date on schools were segregated on the basis of colour. This policy received different treatment by different governments which ruled the Cape.

Early schooling for Blacks owes its origin and growth to missionary enterprise. Prof M.C. Mphahlele quotes the Bantu World on this point as follows:

> Without the missionaries and their untiring efforts, energy, determination and Christian spirit, the African would not have achieved the progress they have made in education.

> They are the pioneers of Native education and South Africa owes them a debt of gratitute. It is they who made the civilization of South Africa possible by fighting against the forces of darkness. It was they who gave the African people the light of Christian civilization and thus enabled them to co-operate with Europeans in the development of South Africa's industry and commerce. For this we are truly thankful (18:9).

More details on missionary contribution will be discussed fully in chapter three. Suffice it to say that for about two centuries the education of the Blacks was in the hands of the missionaries.

It was only in 1854, when Sir George Grey was appointed governor of the Cape, that the State started to show interest in the education of the Blacks. Throughout the years Black education was left to the mercy of the missionaries. This does not mean that the State made no effort. The involvement of the state was inadequate to say the least.

2.4.3. Development of Black education in the Cape Province before 1953

All education for Blacks in this province was provided by missionaries in the beginning. Christie (20:36) describes the schools which were established for Blacks in this province as follows:

1799 The first mission school for African was set up at King Willim's Town.

1824 The famous mission station, Lovedale, was set up in the Tyume Valley ...

1841 The government began to give financial aid to mission schools. In this way the government gained some control over the schools ...

Governor Grey played a very important role in the development of Black education in this province. His efforts induced the Cape government to allocate grants for six schools of handicrafts and agriculture.

In spite of all the efforts which many Superintendents-General of Education (SGE's) tried to make in the development of education among the Blacks the pace was very slow because of many formidable obstacles, such as medium of instruction, poverty, et cetera.

The Cape governors were generally unwilling to give higher education to Blacks. They saw Blacks merely as unskilled labourers and denied them social equality. The little education that they received was Christocentric and thus based on religion and not necessarily and directly geared towards economic, social and political development.

Unlike in the other provinces however, in the Cape some Blacks qualified as teachers, clerks, interpreters, and artisans.

2.4.4. Development of Black education in Natal before 1953

As a result of the Great Trek some Boers settled in Natal. But Natal trekkers were soon overtaken by Britain. Education once more fell under British influence. Blacks were discriminated against by the

government and were placed in the reserves. Natal was not better off than the Cape Province when it came to the provision of education for Blacks. Compared to the situation in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape Province were apparently better of. Christie (21:42)comments as follows:

> More attention was paid to African schooling in Natal than in the trekker states. The general segregation policy also applied to school.

State-aid was given to these schools:

1853 Adams College.

1869 Inanda Seminary for girls.

1882 Marianhill Mission.

In 1884 the control of education for Blacks was taken over by the Council of Education. Christie (22:43) has the following comment:

> As in the Cape, we can see the link between the schooling which people had and the work they were able to do. Many Whites believed that schools should teach Africans to do lower-level manual work.

Gradually the situation improved in Natal. By 1912 the position was as follows:

> Figures taken at intervals of twelve years show steadly progress that has been made in the extension of elementary education to the Natives of Natal. In 1912 there were 3 institutions, 5 industrial centres, and 232 elementary schools (23:141).

From the foregoing quotations it can be seen that the English people with their more liberal policies did their best, given their circumstances, to provide Blacks with reasonably adequate formal education.

2.4.5. Development of Black education in the Transvaal before 1953

Prior to the dates 1899-1902 Boer War, German missionaries did little for the "Natives" of the Transvaal. Missionaries were not encouraged and no real education facilities existed for the "Natives".

Unlike in Natal and the Cape Province, Transvaal had absolutely nothing for the Black until 1902. For the White children education went as far as primary level. No secondary education was ever provided for many years before 1953. Some of the work which was begun for the White children was destroyed during the years 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War.

The years prior to Union were therefore years of reconstruction and recovering.

The main reason that impeded the progress of Black Education was the hostility of the Boers to the Blacks, which was characteristic of people who had to fight for survival themselves. The only lessons that they had taught Blacks were lessons in the military field and prowess of the White-man and his infallible supreriority as a human being. The majority of the white inhabitants of Transvaal were opposed to the education of the Blacks.

Had it not been for the little education that the missionaries provided for Blacks in the Transvaal many would have remained illiterate for a long period of time. The famous mission schools established at this

time were Botshabelo (1865) and Kilnerton (1885). Most of the Whites in this province were farmers and as such had no interest in education.

2.4.6. Development of Black education in the Orange Free State before 1953

The early history of the Orange Free State is very closely connected with that of Natal and the Transvaal. During the period 1836-1854, the Voortrekkers began to occupy the terriroty which is today known as the Orange Free State. During the pioneering years there was little opportunity for an organised system of Education.

The nomadic life of the people prevented the establishment of schools. All education was private and of a local nature since the parents or group of parents in one neighbourhood hired their own school-master.

This individual was usually of the vagabond, itinerant type as was found in the early days of the Cape. If a man could write fairly well and looked as if he was accustomed to manual work, he was engaged. He would 'trek' with the farmer and his family on their wagon as they moved from place to place in search of fresh pastures for cattle, and thus 'umbulando' would instruct the children. In this way was evolved the itinerant schoolmaster who was for many years responsible for the education of the great majority of the Orange Free State children.

Indeed, the 1840's were characterised by a cultural and spiritual decline, and this was one of the reasons that prompted Sir Harry Smith to annex the territory as a British possession in 1848.

2.4.7. Conclusion

In all these four provinces, up until 1953, Blacks received a Christocentric type of education. It was propagated by the missionaries. Their influence has left an indelible mark on Black education even up to date.

It is therefore necessary to look at missionary enterprise in Black education in the following Chapter very closely, if not critically.

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CHAPTER 3

CLASH OF AIMS BETWEEN STATE AND MISSIONARIES

3.1 Missionary education in South Africa

The influence of the church in South Africa has been immense. One can hardly think of any human endeavour that has not been directly or indirectly influenced by the church, especially politics and education in South Africa.

Loram (1:46) is right when he says:

> The history of Native education in South Africa is the history of South African missions, for it is entirely to the efforts of the missionaries that the Natives of South Africa have received education at all.

Blacks therefore owe a great deal to the missionaries in spite of some misgivings that will be pointed out in their work. That is why the missionaries have always been eulogised by all those who had something to write about Black Education in South Africa.

It seemed absolutely impossible for the missionaries in South Africa, being mindful of the blessings that the Lord has bestowed upon them, especially in the form of education and Christian religion, to exclude those blessings from the less fortunate and deprived people; namely, the Blacks.

It was often suggested by some critics that Blacks should be converted to Christianity without being

educated. This however, was impossible. Conversion means complete change from the former life to a new life which must be accompanied by discipline and ability to withstand any other change. Therefore, the only and the quickest method to use in evangelising the Blacks was through education.

Blacks have always been thirsty and hungry for education, so that when the missionary brought it they received it with both hands. It could have been evil to deny them such a God-given boon. The efforts made by the Blacks themselves to secure education are extraordinary. No matter how old the Christian convert was, he was so desirous of learning to read and write that something had to be done in the way of instruction. School-Masters and mistresses were often astonished at the request (genuine requests) of the old converts who asked to be allowed to attend school in the evening.

Missionaries were the pioneers in Black Education. They provided all the facilities at the time when the government was not prepared to supply them. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as already indicated in Chapter (2) two, they saved the situation.

The government authorities were very much antagonistic to Black education. The missionaries were thus, solely responsible for the provision of education for the Blacks from the beginning to 1953.

The problem with the education which the missionaries offered is that it carried the tenets of Western culture and it subordinated African culture, African history, African languages, African philosophy and African art and craft. Hereunder the writer expounds on both the

general and specific aims of education for the Blacks as espoused by the missionaries.

3.2 Missionary aims of Black Education

The general aims can be summarised under four headings namely, theological, salvational, antagonistic and eschatological. These were common aims of all missionaries all over the world.

3.2.1 Theological or Doxological aim

This is mainly a religious aim. This is mainly based on the "Great Commission of Christ" of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. When they laboured among the Blacks they were propelled by this aim to win souls for God. Hence they brought into their entire education the element of recognising the sovereignity and the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

There is little that is anthropological in this aim, but the great emphasis falls on God, who is to be exalted, glorified and magnified. Man is therefore relegated to a secondary place.

3.2.2 Salvational or Soteriological aim

This aim is anthropological in nature, in the sense that man is the main focus of attention. He is to be brought into personal contact with his Saviour Jesus Christ. If this cannot be achieved then it is impossible for him to be able to worship God, because God is Spirit and those who worship Him, 'should worship in truth and in spirit'. And it is only those who are born of the Spirit that can be able to worship Him.

This missionary aim was therefore to bring man into the knowledge of Christ so that he can be reconciled to Him. This is also a social preparation for man with his fellowman.

3.2.3 Antagonistic aim

This was a negative aim. The missionaries were primarily against the evil one, Satan. They aimed at destroying the work of the Devil in all its forms and in its place establish the kingdom of God. The Devil must be overthrown and overpowered and God must rule on earth 'as it is in heaven'. This is done by casting out demons and evil spirits and by laying on of hands for healing. As in Mark 16:15-16, 'they shall cast out demons, speak in new tongues and lay hands on the sick ...'

This aim is therefore revolutionary in nature. Blacks had to leave what the missionaries conceived as heathen practices such as worship of ancestors, et cetera and worship the God of the Bible.

3.2.4 An eschatological aim

Based on the "Great Commission" as well, the missionaries also aimed at disciplining the Black people. This was to prepare them for the coming of the Lord Jesus at the end of this life and especially at the judgement day when the righteous will be duly rewarded by entering eternal life and the sinful condemned to everlasting hell fire where there will be gnashing of teeth.

They were to be taught that the salvation plan does not end in them being converted and singing hallelujah but it had a future orientated goal of one day being with God in a new heaven and a new earth.

3.2.5 Critique of the General aims of Missionary Education

According to Mbiti Blacks are deeply religious. He says:

> Bantu life is essentially religious. The relation of the individual to the family, the clan, and the tribe - politics, ethics, law, war, status, social amenities festivals, all that is good and not much that which is bad in Bantu life is grounded in Bantu religion. (2: XXVII)

The mistake which the missionaries committed was to overlook this fact. Instead of presenting the gospel in the context of the culture of the Blacks they despised and tried by all means to supplant it with Western culture. Education, Christianity and Western Culture were a package, the converts could not take one or two out of that package. It was all three or nothing.

Cassidy (3:273) explains this matter as follows:

> The Gospel was revealed to the world, in the context and language of the culture of Palestine two thousands years ago. Since then, the Gospel has been proclaimed, propagated and accepted within cultural milieu of the people of the world. When the Gospel and culture meet, and if the Christian Faith is generated, the product is Christianity.

Writing about the irrelevancy of missionary education Mphahlele (4:10) says:

> It appears naive therefore, to say the least, to assume that the educational activity in mission schools was enhanced by Christianisation. Very often Christianisation promoted docility which the present generation cannot countenance. The older "missionary" Black generation had to master a different external world-one determined by either the white employer, to whom they were always going to be accountable, whose language they had to master, for whom their arithmetic, geography, writing, reading, knowledge and skills were meant.

The type of education envisaged in the general aims of the missionaries created problems for the Black man. It should nevertheless be noted that the missionaries neglected only the social and political aspirations of the Blacks; for the rest they deserve praise and adulation.

3.2.6 Specific Aims

While upholding the general aims explained above, each missionary body, however, stressed one or other aspect of the Christian faith and hence laid emphasis on its endeavours to the pursuit of that which they deemed most urgent and worthy of development in Black communities among whom they laboured.

For the sake of convenience these specific aims of education of the missionary bodies will be discussed with respect to the places of origin of the missionaries concerned, namely:

(i) The Continental or European Missionary Societies.
(ii) The British Missionary Societies.
(iii) The South African Missionary Societies.

Of course, the actual origin of all missions is traceable to the descending of the Holy Spirit on that company of men and women in the upper room in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. From that day to date Christ's disciples, moved by the Holy Spirit, preached and converted Jews and Gentiles to the uttermost parts of the world, South Africa included.

3.2.6.1 The Continental Missionary Societies

The missionary societies that were transplanted from the continent of Europe to South Africa (Cape Colony) were almost all of German origin. These were the Rhenish, Berlin and Moravian Missionary Societies. For that reason all of them emphasised the dignity of manual labour, discipline and regular habits in their schools and above all evangelisation. This philosophy came as a result of the psychological movement of the 16th and 17th century. Monroe (5:663) explains it as follows:

> God created man in his own image, therefore man should create and bring forth like God. The spirit of man should hover over the shapeless, and move it that it may take shape and form, a distinct being and life of its own. This is the high meaning, the deep significance, the great purpose of work and industry, of productive and creative activity. We become truly Godlike in diligence and industry, in working and doing ....

According to the Continental Missionaries hard work was considered as the development of the power to give outward manifestations and expressions of the inner self.

In their schools and education system they (societies) sought to inculcate habits of industry, and a realization of the dignity of manual labour.

They wanted to develop in the Blacks the ability to work hard and to earn their own living by honest toil and by the sweat of their brow. To them work was a sacred duty, a delight and a means for the common good. At the same time the converts were expected to lead a godly life because empty hands would be a tool of the Devil.

For the purpose of this study only two examples of missionary societies who pursued this specific aim will be discussed.

3.2.6.1 Aims of Education of the Moravian Missionary Society

The Moravian Missionary Society originated in Germany. It was started by a very zealous, pious and devout man called Zinzendorf. All their activities, that is their bases, were in a small town called Herrnhut. Some people who happened to meet the Hottentots in South Africa during the exploration reported of their desolate and deprived conditions. After much discussions in 1737 a young man by the name of George Schmidt volunteered to pioneer the work into the unknown dark Africa despite evil rumours of its blood-thirsty and dangerous inhabitants, to give them the message of life.

Therefore the Moravian Missionary Society in South Africa is traceable to the date, 1737.

With numerous difficulties George Schmidt established a strong missionary station called Baviaans Kloof. He laboured very hard among the Hottentots whom he found difficult to communicate with and to get them working. His aim was to cultivate the spirit of hardwork among them. He found them to be very lazy people. Quoted by du Plessis in his journal he said:

> Hottentots are phlegmatic by nature and sleep for a great length of time. At nights they divert themselves by dancing and singing in the moonlight. (6: 54)

In spite of the apathy of the Hottentots, Schimidt's labours of love and patience of hope continued unabated. Of all the dispiriting hurddles that he went through, the most stubborn problem which he met with was the Dutch Colonists who were apparently antagonistic to his work because he was giving Hottentots and the Blacks the Christian light. Their main point of difference was on the doctrine of baptism.

Despite these problems he managed to teach a few natives to read the Dutch New Testament and the desire for manual labour, himself being a model of hard work on his garden. After his death Governor Swellengrebel, who was well disposed towards him, spoke of him as "this simple farmer" (deze eenvoudige Landman). (7: 59).

Many Moravian missionaries came after the departure of Schmidt but they did very little educational work because the colonists hampered initiatives. Nevertheless they continued even up to the time of Lord Charles Somerset in 1826.

Like all the missionary stations anywhere in the world the Moravian brethren were also aiming at Christianising the Blacks. This was an over-riding aim of their education.

Their subsidiary aim was to teach the Blacks the dignity of labour and that they should be able to earn a living, as the Scriptures say "Make it your aim to live a quite life, to mind your own business, and to earn your own living".... (8: 1 Thess. 4:11)

3.2.6.1.2 Aims of Education of the Berlin Missionary Society

Like the Moravian missionary society, the Berlin Missionary society had its roots in Germany.

> The first envoys of the Berlin missionary Society landed in Cape Town from Germany on the 17th April 1834 being the missionaries August Geibel (leader), August Ferdinard Lange, Gustav Adolph Krant, Rheinhold Theodor Gregorowsky and Johannes Schmidt (9: 20).

They established their bases in the territory of Botswana because that was a virgin soil, for missionary work. That is the reason why many hymn books in the Lutheran Church are written in Setswana. These first missionaries laboured with such enthusiasm and eagerness like a bulldog tenaciously pursuing its goal before a myriad of odds, that within a span of time they had already

erected a chapel which also served as a classroom.

This was their first step in the educational enterprise among the Black people and by the early part of the 20th century they had already built many schools for Blacks in the Transvaal. Mminele, quoting the Transvaal Education Department Report of 1934, says:

> ... it may be of interest to note that a century later (1934) the Berlin Missionary Society could boast of having erected 106 schools with 17 058 pupils in the Transvaal alone - thereby topping all other sixteen missions that were operating in the Transvaal ... (10: 21)

The Transvaal was therefore the field in which this society reaped its richest harvests. One shudders to imagine what would have happened to the Blacks and their education in the Transvaal had the Berlin missionaries not come and labour in that province.

The scope of this study does not allow a detailed history of their endeavours. Suffice it to say thanks to Merensky for his indefatigable efforts towards the development of Black education.

Their main aim was naturally the evangelisation of Blacks as already pointed out. This was the greatest goal of all the missionaries. One writer puts the same truth as follows:

> The Seminary itself was to be used as a powerhouse, the base from which self-dependent, self-supporting and self propagating Lutheran Churches would derive their man-power to preach the Gospel and convert the heathen .... (11: 590)

In conclusion, the continental missionary societies as given in the two foregoing examples, that is Maravian and Berlin, can be said to have embodied the monastic aims of education of the Middle Ages and those of the scientific period as they were espoused by Herbert Spencer.

3.2.6.2 Aims of education of the British Missionary Societies

The chief Britain-based missionary societies were the London Missionary Society (LMS), Glasglow, the Presbyterian, Anglican and Wesleyan Churches.

The English people advocated philanthropic, humanistic and liberal doctrines. They drew no distinction between White and Black in their schools. They set before their pupils the same aim of education, which is to nurture the idea of individual responsibility and freedom.

This attitude is traceable to as early as the 15th century during the Disciplinary trend of John Locke (1632 - 1714) who was influenced by the Rise of Liberalism, which was propagated by Zeno, the stoic, described by Nash (12:93) as follows:

> The real purpose of education, Zeno would argue, was to foster the moral conduct of man. Philosophy could be the art-virtue (arete).

All knowledge was useful and important only to the extent that it converged on ethics. For the Stoic, as for all liberal educators, it was not the mere acquisition of knowledge that was central. It was

Zeno's contention that the educated man, the "wise man" could conduct his own life in accordance with a system that knowledge guarantees him not only good life but a happy, peaceful life.

On the question of colour-bar they said that they were interested in saving souls which had no colour.

Although espousing such philosophies as already mentioned, they, by and large, adopted a policy of segregation residentially, socially and culturally. This attitude can be inferred from the following quotation:

> It early seemed necessary, in view of the conflicting interests, of Briton, Boer and Bantu, to regulate the residence of the Natives who were loosely spread over the country .... Mr Cloete recommended that the Natives should be placed on lands set apart for them in the different district of the colony. (13: 6)

3.2.6.2.1 Aims of Education of the London Missionary Society

The London Missionary Society was established in London in the year 1795, that is the same year in which Britain took over the Cape Colony from the Dutch people. The London Missionary Society was founded on an interdenominational basis. Churches or denominations which supported it were Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian and the Congregationalists. Du Plessis (14:7) reporting about the later developments says:

> In the course of time, however, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, who had so far supported the London Society, began to turn their attention and divert

> their gifts to the societies established in connection with own Churches; and the London Society became practically the missionary agency of the Congregationalists.

The London Missionary Society has a long history of a philantrophic approach to the Blacks. Their doctrine on the Blacks was that in Christ there is no Jew or Gentile but that all are one in Christ. Although it was founded by different churches as the above quotation indicates, their practice was non-denominational. Lovett quoted by Lekhela says:

> The party distinctions among us, of names and forms, the diversities of administrations and modes of Church Order, we agree, shall this day be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christians. (15: 20)

These foregoing words were uttered by Dr Thomas Haweis at a meeting which was trying to resolve denominational differences.

In its activities the London Missionary Society launched several mission stations in different places and in the different islands of the Pacific.

The fact that the British had gained possession of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 led to the directors of the London Missionary Society considering the desirability of commencing a mission in the newly acquired Colony.

After several debates and interviews with possible candidates in December 1798, Dr. J.T. van der Kemp and other four men set sail for the Cape of Good

Hope.

On the last day of March 1799 they arrived in South Africa. Dr. J.T. van der Kemp always desired to labour among the Blacks on the Eastern border of the Colony but it was not always possible. Much work was done by him and those who came after him to educate the Blacks and Bushmen who were very primitive. Suffise it to mention that they played a vital role in the abolishment of slavery; introduction of the rudiments of school instruction and generally acculturation of the Blacks.

The general feeling of the Society was to avoid quibbling about trivial issues of the doctrine of salvation but rather to establish a cross-sectional basis of belief without engaging in debates.

Their only point of reference was the spreading of the Gospel of the Blessed God among the heathens. This was their over-riding aim like all other societies. This doxological aim was of fundamental essence to the existence of the London Missionary Society.

Their soteriological aspect of their missionary aims, whereby the heathen will be developed culturally and socially so that he may be a worthy heir of the kingdom of Heaven, was based on their philosophy of liberalism.

Their contribution to the education of the Blacks came as a result of the financial crisis that the Society fell in in 1886 and the new policy which

was inaugurated whereby Blacks would be trained to be self-supporting. This of course necessitated the education and the upliftment of the Blacks, to learn to be independent, which is the ultimate aim of education.

As a result of this situation, in the long run, the doxological aim was superseded and superintended by the need for education, in order to understand the message of the Bible and the events of the times. This happened especially in the nineteenth century.

The emphasis on education was seen by other members of the London Missionary Society as a sign of a lost vision and as a result an investigation was conducted which came with the findings that education was a concomitant commodity to the spreading of the Gospel.

Goodal, quoted by Lekhela, says the following about education:

> .... that the Society's educational policy in the past has been in the main fulfilled .... that without it (education) the Fundamental Principle and the main object of the Society to preach the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God to the heathen would have not been efficiently realised. (16: 22)

On this protocol the London Missionary Society maintained a 'liassez faire, liassez aller' attitude towards education. Hence in their institutions they aimed at producing men who would be leaders not only in the church but also in education and social life.

Above all, the London Missionary Society, with the influence of educating a gentleman at the back of their minds, cherished in all their institutions the spirit of self-discipline, self-control and respect of the fellowman. This was the influence of John Locke's education of a 'gentleman'.

Rev. W C Willoughby writing about the contribution of the London Missionary Society, is quoted by Lekhela about the student's character as having said: "... a finer pile of buildings that might be erected in the lives and characters of the pupils who would, in turn, influence their parents and tribes." (17:602)

The London Missionary Society's missionaries were indeed interested in saving souls, souls that had no colour. They have done enormous work amongst the Blacks, especially to those in the Cape. For this the Blacks should be truly thankful.

3.2.6.2.2 Aims of Education of the Anglican Missionary Society (Church of the Province)

The year 1553 is usually regarded as the beginning of the Church of England. This is the year in which King Henry VIII of England defied the supreme authority of the Pope. The Pope and the King could not agree on the latter's divorce of his wife, the queen. This, without going into details, was the result of many protestations to the Pope. Finally, the Church of England was established and later it was carried to South Africa to do missionary work.

The actual inception of mission work in South Africa on the part of the Anglican Church came as a result of Dr. Robert Gray the first Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena in 1848. Du Plessis quotes Dr Robert Grays' letter as follows:

> The time has, I believe, arrived when it becomes the duty of the Church in this Diocese to enter upon direct Mission work. Any longer delay on our part would, I think, be an evidence of unfaithfulness to the great trust committed to us ... (18:353).

This letter was sent to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England and its basis was a strong recommendation for the Society to start the work in Natal among the Umhala people. From there their mission work expanded throughout the provinces.

Du Plessis (19:356) commenting on the work done by this Missionary Society says; "Educational institutions like St. Alban's College (near Estcourt) were established, from which issued a number of native Clergy and Catechists who have done excellent work in Natal and Zululand (19:356).

This good work was not done in Natal only but it was carried to the Orange Free State where there was already the London Missionary Society and to the Transvaal in 1877 where the Diocese of Pretoria was started under the auspices of the Community of the Resurrection. On the other hand certain sisterhoods (the Wantage and East Grinstead Sisters) undertook a measure of educational work (20:358).

Like the London Missionary Society and Wesleyans, the Anglican Missionaries drew no distinction between their European and Black membership. The bishops and clergy in various dioceses laboured indifferently among whites and blacks. Their main idea was to nurture the idea of individual responsibility and freedom. This could be realised in Bishop Gray's Scheme of Native Education. In his scheme he proposed to establish church schools like those of the Moravian Brethren in South Africa. His main objectives were the following:

(i) the conversion of the heathen to the faith of Christ.
(ii) the education of the young.
(iii) the formation of industrious habits.
(iv) the relief of the sick and afflicted (21:6).

Boys in schools were to be involved in practical gardening and farming and instruction in certain mechanical arts; and girls were to do general housework, particularly sewing, cooking and washing. In short their policy was individualistic, liberalistic and humanistic.

3.2.6.3 <u>The South African Missionaries</u>:

The Dutch Reformed Church is the only one that can be regarded as truly South African.

Its Synod of 1857 marks a distinct point in its history and its mission operation. The Committee for the Missionary Cause (Commissie voor het Zendelings Wezen) brought a report that stirred the spirit of missionary work in the Dutch Reformed

Church. After much deliberations the missions were launched all over the world, even within South Africa itself. The real missionary endeavours in South Africa can therefore be traced as far back as 1861 when two courageous men, Gonmin, a Swiss and M. Alexander Mckidd, a Scotsman, arrived at the Cape.

But it will also be true that even before 1861 there was some missionary work done by Jan van Riebeck who arrived in 1652 although it was not as intensive as all that. During this period some ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church encouraged slaves to attend church. Thus, it is not surprising that the first school in South Africa was a slave school in 1658.

Those who attended school were automatically members of the Church. The Dutch Reformed Church was, and still is, the largest in South Africa. Unfortunately it has been the most reluctant Church to put a hand in the education of the Blacks. The reason for this reluctance is not obvious. In 1894 however, they tried to establish a teacher-training college specifically for Blacks, most unfortunately it was a failure.

The church's first successful adventure in Black education was in 1908 with the founding of the Stofberg Gedenskool in the Orange Free State, near the Transvaal border. This was a good start. Then, thereafter, there was silence. Mphahlele (22:481) commenting on their efforts says:

> It took exactly a quarter of a century before this humanitarian gesture was

> repeated in the Transvaal. It was in 1933 that their first and only teacher-training school Bethesda opleidingskool, was started in the Northern Transvaal ....

Initially, this society concerned itself mainly with the rehabilitation of the slaves. In this way their aim of education was social and religious upliftment. But because of the government's policy of segregation the Church also adopted this policy in its schools and communities.

The underlying aims and purposes of their racial policy are:

(i) to designate an area in south Africa for predominantly white occupation.

(ii) to retain a sufficient number of Africans in these designated areas for labour purposes.

(iii) to secure and maintain an equitable distribution of labour supply.

(iv) to segregate the remaining part of African population into the so-called Reservations or Homelands.

(v) to rule these remaining Africans in the White areas without giving them political status or rights in those areas (23:113).

The idea was the perpetuation of Calvinism which was to preserve the dignity of the person and the group to which he belonged. This attitude or aim can be traced to as far back as the time of Jan van

Riebeck when it was alleged that the presence of Black children was not conducive to the education of white children. The Dutch Reformed Church supported this idea. That is why a separate school for whites in 1663 was established at the Cape.

In all their schools this spirit of separation prevailed and dominated the curriculum. Separation meant inferior education for the Blacks because in practice it is impossible to have inseparate but "equal" education.

3.3 State aims of Black Education

3.3.1 Introduction

The greatest indictment on Black education to date is that the State, without consulting blacks, did the thinking, planning and implementation. This has put black education in a dilemma. Mphahlele (24:1) says:

> It is difficult to understand or imagine how Whites could have succeeded in understanding, appreciating and interpreting the views and values of Blacks when the two lived in two separate worlds. The yawning gulf between them has remained almost unbridgeable.

Thembela (25:7) summarises the main aim of Black Education thus:

> Blacks have always been educated for a wrong purpose, namely to serve their masters.

This shows clearly that the aims of Black Education according to the state have never been accepted by

Blacks. The emphasis and relevance of state aims have thus caused crisis in Black Education.

Without the understanding of the Eiselen Commission it will not be easy to understand the development of the aims of Black education during the period 1953 - 1983. Although it does not directly fall under the scope of this study, it will suffise to discuss its recommendations that let to the enactment of the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953.

In 1949, soon after the inauguration of Dr. D.F. Malan as the Prime Minister, he appointed a Commission on 19th January 1949 to look into the question of Black education. The Commission was asked, inter alia, to formulate plans designed to provide education for Blacks in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under an ever-changing social conditions were to be considered (26:165).

The report of this Commission proved to be one of the most important and controversial documents on education ever produced in South Africa. This report was discussed at length in Parliament and its main recommendations were embodied in the said Act. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter four. On the whole the state's aim of Black education can be summarised under four headings:

3.3.2 Education for Conservation

This type of education aims at conserving or preserving the culture of the people. It is therefore not progressive but conservative. The young are educated in such a way that they will maintain the

status quo. What they are expected to do as adults is exactly the same as what the current generation of adults is doing. The aim was to conserve and perpetuate the founded capital of social experience. In this way they were able to keep the Black man in his social grouping. The following quotation is apt:

> Among the Bantu all the rites and experiences which marked the progression of a man from babyhood to ripe old age were elements in his 'social' education as a member of a particular family. Similarly his experiences at his initiation as a member of a local group (27:5).

This report gave no room for an individual having his aim of education distinct from that of the group. Individual variation in educational aims was not tolerated.

In furthering the aim of preserving Black culture in a separate compartment, the report maintained that the South African Blacks have, in a limited space of time, undergone two major changes. In the first place, the subjection of the Blacks to European political and economic control has made the smooth running of the original social institutions such as the family and the tribe a matter of increasing difficulty. At the same time the informal social education, for example 'the Kgoro', has been sharply challenged by what the young Blacks experience daily from White institutions.

In the second place, schools of a Western type have been introduced and these schools do not perpetuate the aims and values found in Black societies, this is detrimental to the development of Black culture.

The school taught the virtues and merits of modern hygiene, the traditional family knew nothing of this, that and both its organization and economic facilities made the practice of such hygiene impossible. The school taught modern agricultural theory and some practice, the traditional family was both unable and unwilling to allow this practice.

In this sense the state aimed at rigid reproduction of the folklores of the Black people who were incapable of meeting demanding standards of science and technology. In a sense state controlled Black education was incongruous to African culture. This is analogous to what happened in China.

Brubacher (28:2) writing on Chines education, says:

> China's pursuit of educational aims regardless of their congruity with the circumstances of life led in the long run to considering education not as a preparation for participation in adult activities but as an end in itself.

On the basis of the foregoing quotation it is clear that even the State aims of education as embodied in their idea of preservation or conservation of Black culture would not be realised because of their irrelevance to the times.

The accidental social aims for patriotism, economic prosperity and social progress have never been spelled out in the State aims of Black education. The consideration of the home conditions, social and mental environment, the cultural traits and the future position and work in South Africa has extirpated

individual aims of ambition, personal responsibility and self reliance in the Black child.

3.3.3 Education for Citizenship

The recognition of the importance of an individual as against the norm of mass production which made its first appearance in the Athenian education (± 800 - 480 BC) and which was adopted by all western powers, appear to have been neglected in the State aims of education for Blacks. Blacks were never regarded as citizens and thus their education was not geared towards the broad South African citizenship.

3.3.4 Education for Economic Development of the Country

The South African government distinguished two types of "citizens", the master and the servant. The latter did not even qualify as a citizen of the country. The master is a white man and the servant a black man. Just as Plato had different aims of education for different groups, the South African government also had different aims for the Blacks in so far as political, social and economic development was concerned.

Thus the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903 - 1905) recommended that the main aim of Black education was, or should be, to teach and train Blacks for the sake of the economic expansion of the country. The subjects recommended were Hygiene, African Handwork, Gardening and Agriculture for boys; and Needlework for girls.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education in 1936 described this subsidiary aim, as follows:

> We must give the Native an education which will keep him in his place, if the Native is to receive any education he should have as his aim the idea embodied in Dicken's version of the ancient prayer, Oh, let us love our occupations, Bless the squire and his relations. Live upon our daily rations. And always know our proper stations (29:37).

The state, on the other hand, claimed that its main aim with Bantu education was to protect Blacks against economic exploitation. The Bantu Education Journal of 1962 puts it as follows:

> The Economic and Wag Commission considered the Reserves to be of special importance in preserving the Bantu from undue economic exploitation and in maintaining morale. Nevertheless many educated Bantu feel that the Reserves are fast becoming economic and cultural slums, places to be avoided by the educated and enterprising (30:37).

3.3.5 Education for Separate Development

Every educational system down the years, in preparation of its youth, aimed at encouraging their youth in active participation in public life, in political and military activities. In the Roman culture for example, the child was to be inculcated with the ideals of prudence, dignity, modesty, et cetera, in order that he should be actively involved in political realities for civic administration. But with Blacks it has not been so. Blacks have not been given political rights before and even after Union.

The education of Blacks therefore aimed at making them political infants who will be under the guardianship

of the Whites indefinitely. Hoernle (31:6) puts this truth in the following words:

> The main lesson which the Native child has to learn in order to be fitted for its place in a subordinate society is that every White is a baas (master, boss), and that it is best to keep on good terms with a baas.

Thus the aims of Black education according to the state did not cater for the political development of the child. Mbere (32:72) was therefore right when he said:

> Traditionally, the South African racial policy was based on the determination of Whites to retain political and economic dominance over the African majority ....

The aim of education for separate development was meant to make the Blacks politically powerless and economically exploitable. This is because the State regarded the Black people as a type of race that remained childlike, with a child psychology and outlook, who are easily satisfied and are carefree.

The Blacks were to be educated differently and separately from the other racial groups, Whites, Indians and Coloureds and from one another ethnically. This was in accordance with the policy and philosophy of apartheid or separate development.

3.3.6 Education for Christian Salvation

Like education during the Middle Ages, the state wanted to make Black education Christo-centric; thus continue with the general aims of education according

to missionaries - referred to in paragraph 3.1.1. One of the guiding principles of the Eiselen Commission on Native Education 1949 - 1951 reads:

> Onderwys moet in sy wydste perspektief gesien en begryp word, sodat dit op effektiewe wyse georganiseer kan word om voorsiening te maak nie slegs vir doeltreffende skole met uitgesproke Christelike karakter nie, maar ook vir gesonde maatskaplike instellings wat met hierdie Christelike georienteerde skole sal harmonieer (33:9).

Therefore the aim was to try to win the Blacks to Christianity. The Trekkers saw the liberal policies of effecting equalization between blacks and whites as unChristian with regard to their fundamentalist Calvinist religion.

Unlike the Anglo-Saxon missionaries the state's Christian nationalism saw the concept of "Christian" as not only opposed to heathen, but as "White" opposed to "Black". This resulted in the type of education that deplored anything that had to do with Black culture, be it craft or art.

The Nationalist Afrikaaners regarded themselves as children of God who were given the Promised land like Israel. They regarded the Black people as a nation that they had to conquer like Israel conquered the Amalekites, Ammorites, et cetera, on their way to Canaan. Hence even in their teaching of Religious Instruction this appeared as a covert curriculum. This view was strongly supported by the Dutch Reformed Church. This can be traced as far back as 1676 at the general synod. In the Consolidated Education Ordinance No. 15 of 1921; it is stipulated that every

school should open daily with the Lord's Prayer and a Scripture lesson. In addition Religious Instruction was compulsory although a non-examination subject.

3.4 Clash of aims between State and Missionaries

3.4.1 Period prior to 1953

The state and the missionaries have always been in constant clashes concerning the aims of education for the Blacks. The missionaries wanted to teach them this and the state wanted to teach them that. There was always a continual conflict which has resulted in a deplorable situation in which Black education finds itself today.

On the whole Black education has been tolerated rather than being actively fostered by the successive governments. This was because of the uncertainty and ambiquity of its aims.

The Anglo-Saxon missionary societies such as the London missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society, et cetera, aimed at promoting a liberalistic, huministic and philanthropic doctrines among the Blacks and the State was totally antagonistic to this because of their policy of White domination in education, economy and politics.

> Hence, throughout South Africa, the main aim of White education policy is to assure to all white children, as future members of the dominant group, at least that minimum of superiority which is conferred by primary education up to the age of sixteen (34:10).

The state followed the philosophy of life as espoused by the Germanic missionaries, that is the philosophy of hard work and mental discipline. This has always been the position since the time of Jan van Riebeeck. The state complained that the missionaries were making Blacks lazy, rebellious and stubborn. That is why the state had problems with Dr John Phillip of the London Missionary Society when he advocated abolition of slavery.

The question whether it should be the state or the church that controls education remained a thorny issue for decades. The state appointed the different commissions to investigate Black Education such as "The Phelps - Stokes Commission Report of 1922," "Commission on Native Education 1919," "Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935 - 1936," et cetera. All echoed the same story of the inadequancy and insufficiency of Missionary control of Black education. The Anglo-Saxon missionary societies have always been opposed to the government strategy of subjecting Blacks to inferior positions whereas the South African Missionaries actually endorsed such policies and this exacerbated the situation.

Because South Africa has undergone a change of various governments, for example the Batavian period 1652 - 1795, the British period 1795 - 1801, Batavian period 1802 - 1806, British period 1806 - 1839, et cetera, up to the present Nationalist government which came into power in 1948, Black education has always been characterised by uncertainty, absurdities, paradoxes and contradictions between state aims and missionary aims of education up to 1953.

3.4.2 Period after 1953

Before 1953 the arrangement for the control of Black education was confusing and highly complicated. Control was divided between state, the provinces, missions and the people themselves. Each province had its own way of doing things and as such there was no uniformity.

Even after 1953 there was no clarity with regard the fundamental aims of Black education in particular and what the status position of Blacks in South Africa was to be in general. Horrell (35:31) adumbrated the question of their position in the following questions:

> Were they to be part of a common, Westernised Society, or were they to be segregated? Following from this, should the aim of education for Africans be to assist them to adjust successfully to a Western environment, or should it be to lay the foundations for separate communities? Should one's object be to set free the creative forces in every individual, or to mould individuals to a pattern?

These questions have remained unanswered until today (1988). They are, however, hotly debated. Initially the Nationalist Government advocated total separation. Gradually the policy became adulterated and the picture blurred.

3.5 The State determines aims

It was only when the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948 that they attempted to answer the foregoing questions. They came up with the policy of

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apartheid which was received with mixed feelings. Some people were opposed to it while some praised it. Different versions were given by the Dutch Reformed Churches, the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs, and various Nationalist leaders.

Since it is obvious that he who plays the piper calls the tune, the aims of Black education were henceforth going to be determined by the State which financed it.

Behr (36:170) quotes Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, when addressing the Senate in 1954, as follows:

> The state is taking over from the churches to prosecute the same work more efficiently. The needs of religious instruction will be carefully taken into account. Indeed, they will be served more generously, because all churches, not just the ones now in possession, will be given the opportunity to co-operate in satisfying the needs of religion.

The missionaries' aims of education in their clash with those of the state continued; but because of the economic siege which the government laid against missions it became impossible for them to survive.

Horrell (37:20) says the following about the taking over of Black schools by the state:

> On the 2 August 1954 the Secretary for Native Affairs sent a letter to all those conducting teacher-training institutions (the very large majority were run by missions), saying it had been decided that the training of all teachers for state and State-aided schools should be conducted in Departmental training institutions only.

The missions which wished to continue with their schools were given the following options:

(a) to rent or sell their schools and hostels to the department, or

(b) to rent or sell their schools, while retaining the hostels on a subsidized basis, or

(c) to close the teacher training and, instead, conduct primary or secondary schools.

The missions in this situation found themselves under duress to close their schools and thus abandon their aims of education because of lack of financial assistant. One cabinet minister said:

> If there is a church which is prepared to maintain schools entirely at its expense, then that is their affair. They have to be registered. For that purpose a church can train its own teachers but also entirely at its own expense. Or if it wants to use some of the teachers trained in our normal colleges it can do so. We, on the other hand, shall not necessarily employ persons who have been trained at such private schools (38:11).

This proclaimed the end of the era of missionary education and enthroned that of Bantu education which is the main focus of this study.

3.6 Conclusion

Black education was dominated by missionaries from the beginning to 1953. These missionaries were classified into three main groups. Although their main aim was Evangelisation or Christianisation of Blacks, they differed somewhat when it came to the subsidiary aims. Those from the Continent emphasised labour (arbeid) and discipline, those of the British origin followed a liberalistic policy and did not differentiate between Black and White. The Dutch Reformed Church or South African Society advocated a policy of segregation or separation. This policy was adopted by the State in 1953. This resulted in a clash of aims of Black education from 1953 to the present (1988).

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CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE ERA OF BANTU EDUCATION

4.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter the writer has shown the role of the missionary bodies in Black Education. To reiterate, the state never wanted Black Education to rest entirely within the purview of missionary control, for missionaries' thinking and goals were not in consonant with the goals and the thinking of the state.

Black Education therefore, had to be directly controlled by the state. What the state needed then, was the type of education that could make Black people to know their political, social and economic stations in the South African context respectively. Marambana (1:17) puts it well when she says, "that he could fit into the role of unskilled industrial worker in a modern capitalist society, and that he had the right sort of 'Wants' to keep him working in the 'White' areas and to make him a useful consumer".

The motivation for the introduction of a separate education was that for all education to be efficient it had to be expressed in terms of the needs of a particular people, situated in a particular environment, at a particular stage of their development. Therefore, Bantu Education was supposed to be based on the ideology of segregation. Although this was not overtly expressed, the development of this policy may be traced back to the arrival of Whites at the Cape in 1652. It was overtly and officially expressed and documented in 1948 when the Nationalist party came into power.

4.2. 1948 Victory of the National Party

The European population in South Africa is comprised of approximately 65% of the Afrikaans - speaking descendants of Dutch Settlers. The remainder of the European population are English -speaking persons, largely of British extraction. During the general elections of 1948 the Afrikaans-speaking group gained victory over the other sections of the White community. The Blacks, Indians and Coloureds, who form the greater percentage of the South African population, were excluded from the elections. It was during this time that the term 'apartheid' first gained a wide usage when it was used by the Nationalist Party as an election slogan. According to other educationists this slogan was transformed by the Nationalist politicians and intellectuals into a philosophy of government (2:2). It was upon this philosophy that all legislative and administrative laws were to be enacted.

All education systems in South Africa were to be based on this philosophy. The education of Blacks came under scrutiny. It was found that it had no shape and direction, thus the 1950's and 1960's were the most crucial years that saw the most overt and the most blatant employment of education as a tool of government control.

When the state took over power it wanted to restructure everything on the basis of the policy of apartheid. This policy was not the first one which sought to maintain the old-style colonial parternalism, it only differed with the rest in that its ideology was more explicit and its rationalisation was more elaborate. It was through education in particular that this policy was to be

promoted. In 1949 the Government appointed a commission to look into the whole question of Black education, namely the Eiselen Commission.

Because of the importance of this commission to the aims of Black education this study shall endeavour to look at its main findings and recommendations and the provisions of the Bantu Education Act which carries the main aims of Black education.

4.3. The Report of the Eiselen Commission (UG 53/1951)

The Commission was led by Dr W.M.M. Eiselen, who was the secretary of the Department of Native Affairs. The importance of this report was summed up well by many people. Marambana (3:29) said:

> A discussion of Black education no matter how brief, cannot be complete without an examination of the Report of Native Education Commission (Eiselen Commission) 1949-1951 and its product, the Bantu Education Act (Act No 47 of 1953).

After the 1948 general election the newly elected Nationalist Party complained that Black education was not functioning properly and that it had no direction. They felt that the Missionaries were conducting it in a wrong way and that they created wrong expectations in the Black.

> Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live .... Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself (4:8319).

The Commission proposed a set of "guiding principles" for the implementation of Bantu Education as follows:

(a) Education of the Blacks should transmit culture from matured members of the society to an immature group.

(b) Education of the Blacks should give room to "social education" or institutional education which perpetuates experiences such as his initiation as a member of the group. His participation in the discussion of cases at the chief's court, and in regular social activities.

(c) Organised institutions such as schools be built in order to transmit certain cultural heritages in a formal way.

(d) That a harmonious relationship between the school, family and trade should be created and be encouraged. "Where there exists such harmony between schools and the other institutions or educative organs of society, the educationist can afford to concentrate his attention almost exclusively upon the school itself".

(e) "In general terms it may be stated that the more primitive or undeveloped the culture of a society is the simpler is the task of education for the difference between the mature and the immature members of that society is very slight.

Almost all education is given by the social institutions themselves. Mostly in an informal way".

(f) The simple social organisation of the South African Black has undergone two major changes in a limited space which are not in harmony with their institutions, those changes are:

Firstly, the subjection of the Black to European political and economy control has made the smooth-working of the original social institutions such as family and the tribe difficult.

Secondly, Schools of the Western type are not concerned with the development of the values and norms of the Black society but with the transmission of values, skills and attitudes of the other communities, and these are not in congruent with those of the Blacks. The reason necessitates the need for "Bantu education".

(g) Because of the two changes mentioned above the children find themselves in a dilemma. At school they are taught one thing and at home another. Even a family that can be anxious to live according to the western standards it meets major difficulties from other institutions.

(h) "consequently the modern school, unless Bantu social institutions can evolve to bridge the gap between themselves and the schools, must tend to develop persons who are compelled to reject either the school or those ideas which are basic to their own social institutions".

(i) That the government should assist in the development of social institutions which will be able to co-operate with benefit from and support

the work done by the schools. This is of particular urgency in the economic field.

(j) Black education should be in agreement with Black development. "Education is more than a matter of schooling". Therefore school education should be co-ordinated with social development.

(k) finally the commission proposes the following definition of the aims of Black education:

(i) "From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa, and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in the process of development."

(ii) "From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings".

To harmonise the individual and social viewpoint as stated above, it is essential to consider the language of the pupils, their home conditions, their social and mental environment, their culture traits and their future position and work in South Africa. (5:123-129).

Thus, the Nationalist Government intended to design a system of education that will conform to the philosophy of separate development. This philosophy was to be based on the premise that there is a distinctive "Bantu" culture towards which Blacks must aspire.
This approach according to the Nationalist Government would avoid lack of effective planning and duplication of services. Thus on the 19 January 1949 the Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen

was appointed and it reported blue-print for the government's policy of Bantu Education. It played an integral part in shapping Black education in South Africa.

The policy which the Commission was to follow was supposed to be in accord with the Christian National Education (C.N.E.). The Christian National ideas were that the Afrikaner Nationalists were to have a distinct culture, language, and to be a distinct nation. Some actually believed that they were created by God to become a chosen people. Furthermore, they believed that God intended for the races to be apart. Thus the belief is that the implementation of Apartheid, was indeed preservation of the Dutch volk.

Hence the membership of the Commission comprised several leading segregationist intellectuals and its terms of reference were inter alia to formulate plans designed to provide "education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
The commission heard a massive body of evidence from all sections of life, and in 1951 issued its Report.

4.4. 1953. Main provisions of the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953

The Commission found that there were some weaknesses and shortcomings in the provision of Black education. In the main they were four most important criticisms, namely:

(a) Bantu education is not an integral part of plan of socio-economic development;

(b) Bantu education in itself has no organic unity; it is split into a bewildering number of different agencies and is not planned;

(c) Bantu education is conducted without the active participation of the Bantu as a people, either locally or on a wider basis;

(d) Bantu education is financed in such a way that it achieves the minimum of educational effect on the Bantu community and planning is made virtually impossible (6:129).

The Commission also pointed out that there was no clarity about the rightful place of the Blacks in South Africa hence the educational aims were vague. The Report criticised the divided control between the four provinces resulting in lack of effective financial planning (7:575). In essence the Report was a general critique of the nature of race relations and culture contact in South Africa. Although it made references to the processes of change and acculturation at work in Black society, the Commission's view of Bantu Education was based on a notion of Black culture and social order that was intact:

> ...educational practice must recognise that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with

> values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education.
>
> The schools must also give due regard to the fact that out of school hours the young Bantu child develops and lives in a Bantu community, and when he reaches maturity he will be concerned with sharing and developing the life and culture of that community (8:131).

The Commission, thus believed that Bantu Education should stress the dynamic nature of Bantu culture and the need for the obligation to develop it. The Report stressed that this obligation should be carried out by the State rather than by the provinces. The Black parent was to play a greater role as opposed to that of the Churches or mission societies.

The Commission saw the European type of academically oriented education as being very unsuitable for the Blacks. The purpose of the secondary academic education in the European system of education was to provide a widespread education for pupils who would proceed later to university, technicon and college but the Bantu schools, though they followed the curricula set for European schools, were relatively vocational schools for the preliminary training of teachers and nurses.

The Commission's recommendations were piloted through Parliament by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs. He was of the strong opinion that Black

education should be directed according to the policy of the state, the policy of Apartheid. He declared emphatically in his utterances that:

> The general aims of Bantu education Act are to transform education for Natives into Bantu education. A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community. The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him. (9:3575).

In 1953, the Government introduced the Bantu Education Bill, which was exhaustively debated in and outside Parliament. The Bill became the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which placed Black education under the control of the then Department of Native Affairs of the government and it gave considerable powers to its Minister.

Actually the Act only gave provision for major guidelines, the details were supposed to be worked out by the Minister who was Dr H.F. Verwoerd. He was to make regulations in all areas specified.

The following extracts are from Act No 47 of 1953:

DOCUMENT 1: FROM THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT, NO. 47 OF 1953

1. As from the date of commencement of this Act:

   (a) the control of native education shall vest in the Government of the Union subject to the provisions of this Act;

   (b) there shall cease to be vested in the executive committee of a province any powers, authorities and functions, and the provincial council of a province

shall cease to be competent to make ordinances, in relation to native education: Provided that, subject to the provision section eleven:

(i) a provincial administration shall continue to administer any pension, retirement or provident fund established or conducted by such administration in connection with native education;

(ii) a provincial council shall continue to be competent to make ordinances for the proper administration of any such fund.

2. (1) It shall be the function of the Department under the direction and control of the Minister, to perform all the work necessary for or incidental to the general administration of native education.

(2) The Minister may, subject to the laws governing the public service, from time to time appoint such officers and employees as he may deem necessary for the proper performance by the Department of its functions under this Act.

3. (1) As from a date to be fixed by the Minister by notice in the Gazette, no person shall establish, conduct, or maintain any Bantu or native school, other than a Government Bantu school, unless it is registered as prescribed.

(2) The registration of any such school shall be refused or canceled if the Minister, acting on the advice and recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission constituted under the Native Affairs Act, 1920 (Act No. 23 of 1920), given after due inquiry by the said Commission is of opinion that its establishment or continued existence is not in the interests of the Bantu people or any section of

such people or is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils or students attending or likely to attend such school.

(3) Any person who, after the date fixed under sub-section (1), admits any Bantu child or person to, or establishes, conducts or maintains any Bantu or native school which is not registered in terms of this Act, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months (10:53).

4.5. Critique of Bantu Education

Despite the fact that most Blacks and a large portion of Whites were opposed to this concept of apartheid and its corollary, the system of Bantu Education was implemented. There was a great outcry throughout the country. Even in Parliament there were hot debates over the Act of Bantu Education. One of the debates was on the 17 September 1953 when the Minister of Native Affairs moved the second reading of the Act in the House of Assembly.

DOCUMENT 2: FROM A SPEECH BY THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS, 17 SEPTEMBER 1953.

I shall proceed from the premise that members have knowledge of the contents of the report of the recent Native Education Commission, which has already been mentioned in this House.

From that report they will know how, notwithstanding the fact that education has for all these years been controlled by the provincial authorities, there has been continual confusion, of education, and how often in the course of the history of the matter the possibility was considered of making a change in regard to provincial control. I just want to remind honourable members of one incident in the history of the matter, namely that in 1936 an Inter-Departmental Committee was appointed to investigate Native education, which also came to the conclusion that the Central Government should control Native education, but the honourable member for East London (City) [Dr. D. L. Smit], who at that time was Secretary for Native Affairs and who give [sic] evidence before that committee, was not in favour of having Native education under the control of his Department, the Department of Native Affairs, and the findings of that Committee were probably influenced by the evidence given by him to that effect. That was in 1936, but in the years following there were also other influences at work within the then government which judged otherwise than he did and also otherwise than the Inter-Departmental Committee, namely, the Native Affairs commission which at that time issued a report expressing the opinion that Native education ought to resort under the Department of Native Affairs, and if I am not mistaken, Senator Nicholls was one of the important figures in that move. If my information is correct, it is as the result of the memorandum framed by him, or rather, as the result of the report of his Commission, that finally it was decided that Native education should be brought under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. Thereafter, certain provinces raised objections and the war clouds started rolling up and the matter was not continued with, but under the regime of the then Government, in about 1939, a Bill was actually drafted to bring Native education under the control of the Union Government in general and the Department of Native Affairs in particular. Therefore, what we are dealing with now is not without historical background, even in regard to certain honourable members on that side of the House.....
(Source:11. 49)

4.5.1. Criticism of the Aims of Bantu Education

> The greatest criticism was levelled against its groundmotive, namely Christian National Education because in its manifesto of 1948 the Christian National Education Article 15, it is stated:
>
> Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation, its aim should be to inculcate the White man's view of life (12:20).

In that spirit therefore Black education was not in harmony with the philosophy of life of the Blacks. It was manoeuvred to legalise the nationalist principles and aims of education already embodied in the Christian National manifesto of 1948. To the Blacks the principles were not Christian at all because they did not carry the tenents of Christian beliefs which say 'love your neighbour as you love yourself'. On the other hand it was not national because it was based on one group's thinking.

Blacks have therefore been educated for a wrong purpose. The difficulty with Black education is that it was planned by Whites who knew very little about Blacks. Prof Mphahlele is right when he says that:
"the greatest indictment on Black education to date is that the Whites did the thinking, planning and implementation"(13:1).

There were sinister and negative motives associated with the implementation of the Bantu Education.

4.5.1.1. Maintaining White Supremacy

The main reason behind this policy was that every racial group should develop along its own lines to promote the idea of self-determination. The idea of

self-determination has often been used as a scape-goat for securing the cultural fear of domination and assimilation. The policy of Dr H.F. Verwoerd was therefore aimed at maintaining White supremacy in South Africa. The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) quotes van den Berghe as saying:

> We, Afrikaners and White South Africans in general, have no homeland other than South Africa. The country is ours and we have no desire or intention to leave it. We have just as much right to be here as the "Bantu" and we have arrived in South Africa at about the same time as them. We want to preserve our superior "White civilizations" and maintain our racial identity, but we are surrounded by an over-whelming majority of non-whites who threaten to swamp us culturally and racially." (14:116).

Some Whites and Blacks who were more on the 'liberalistic' side of Bantu Education tried to praise it for its relevance in providing education for Blacks in their specific environment. But the fallacy of this appraisal was indicated by the Minister of Native Education, Dr Verwoerd, when he said: "We want to keep South Africa White..... Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely White domination,not leadership, not guidance but control, Supremacy "(15:153).

It is clear from the foregoing statement that its implementation was an attempt to regiment the Black child's mind into accepting the policy of apartheid and the master-servant relationship so as to secure white supremacy.

One cabinet minister commenting on the same issue declared:

> We are for the leadership of the European race in South Africa, and no one will

> dispute it, and no one will endanger it except ourselves if we do not do our duty. There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections, except those who are quite mad. The first is that it is a fixed policy to maintain White supremacy in South Africa (16:73).

This white supremacy was supposed to be ensured through giving Blacks an inferior education. This education was to make them realise that they do not have political rights in South Africa. It is as simple as that.

4.5.1.2. Maintaining Cheap Labour

The second reason from which this policy stemmed was economic survival. For the whites to succeed in the capitalistic system of government they had to compete with the other groups, inter alia the Blacks. For that reason the policy of separate development aimed at keeping Blacks away from competative areas such as mines, factories, et cetera.

Keeping them away from other groups would, in the opinion of Verwoerd,be to keep the Blacks ignorant and backward. This would perpetuate the situation of unskilled and cheap labour. Blacks were supposed to be kept away from the urban areas and this was facilitated by keeping their advanced institutions away from these areas. He stated this matter as follows:

> More institutions for advanced education in urban areas are not desired. Deliberate attempts will be made to keep institutions for advanced education away from the urban environment and to establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves. It is the policy of my department that education would have its roots entirely in the Native areas and the Native environment and Native community (17:7-6).

Verwoerd's policy on the whole depicted a hegemonic design. State control over teachers and curriculum would defintely serve the hegemonic interests.

The detailed historical background of the Nationalist Party coming to accept the capitalistic economy is not the pursuit of this study, but the salient tenets of this system of economy may be mentioned. In fearing competition that is professed by this system of economy the White debarred all Blacks from occuping certain positions that afforded a high salary. This resulted in Whites ascending the economic ladder while Blacks lagged behind. Kallaway (18:311) puts it as follows:

> While real white wages rose in the fifties as whites moved up in the division of labour and the Nationalists consolidated their electoral base black wages fell....

The education system of the Blacks was therefore intentionally planned to make it impossible for them to compete in this system of economy. Table 3 shows how during the sixties and seventies there was a further consolidation and expansion of the manufacturing sector accompanied by significant changes in the pattern of employment of both white and black workers.

TABLE 3

Shifts in the Distributes of Production Works

	1960		1970	
	Black	White	Black	White
Agriculture	1 437 900	118 487	2 260 386	91 813
Mining	548 000	61 599	609 000	62 677
Manufacturing	308 332	213 680	2 513 000	281 603

(Source : 19:38)

The table shows that the increasing proportion of black workers was particularly significant in manufacturing. The large increase in the number of black workers employed in agriculture reflects not an expansion of agriculture's contribution to the GNP but the relocation of surplus blacks into the homelands, a phenomenon which will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

The economic factor in Black education was therefore to encourage cheap labour especially in the field of agriculture.

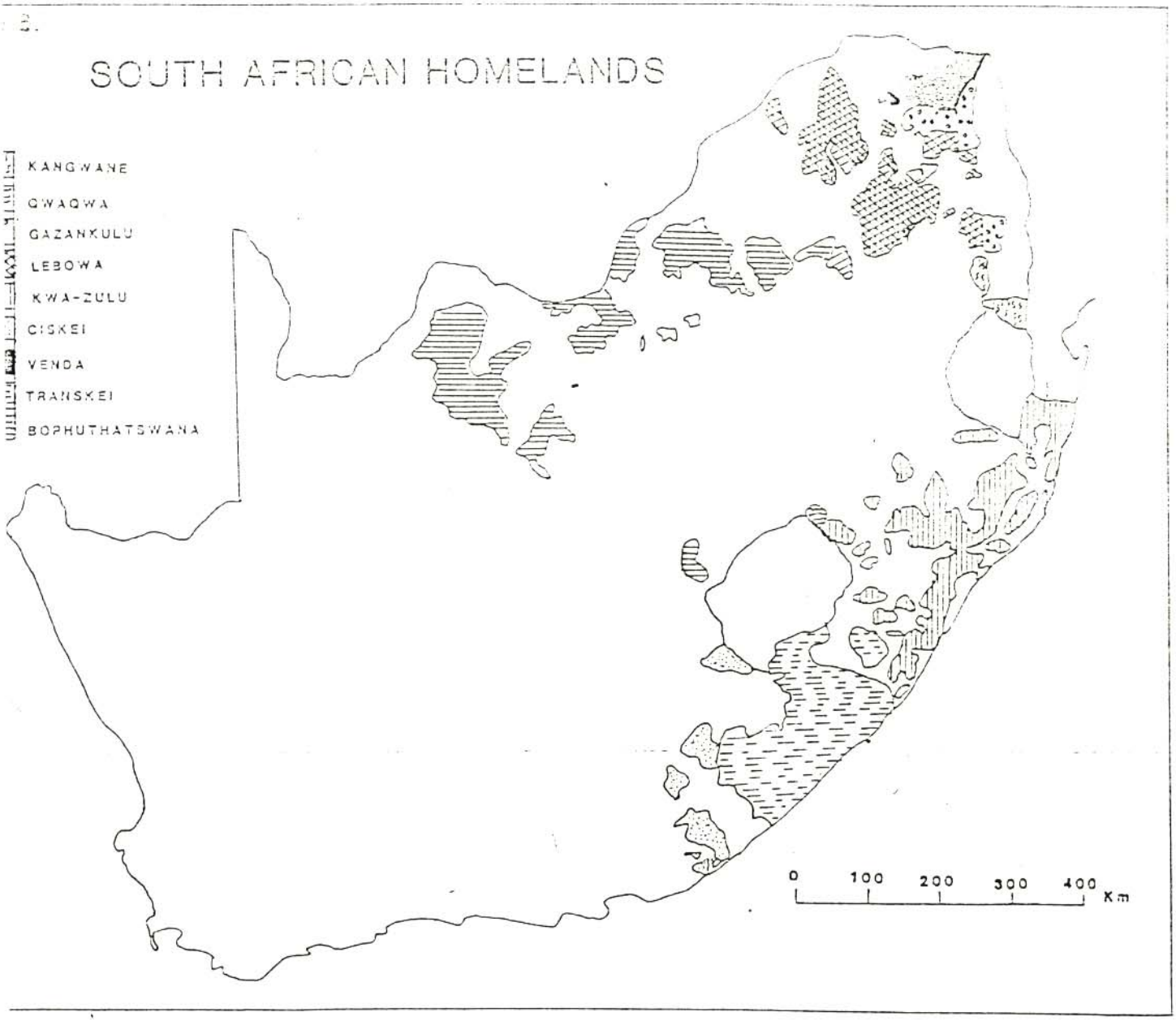
4.6. Creation of Homelands with their own departments of education

In accordance with the Government's policy of separate development, nine homelands have been set aside for the Blacks. These have been granted varying degrees of self-government. They are: Transkei (Xhosa); Ciskei (Xhosa); KwaZulu (Zulu); Lebowa (North Sotho); Venda (Venda); Gazankulu (Shangaan/Tsonga); Bophuthatswana (Tswana); Qwa-qwa (South Sotho);and Kangwane (Swazi).

The dermacation of land was according to the Bantu Trust and Land Act (Act No. 18 of 1936) which determined the size of Black and White territories. This Act was to become the basis upon which the Nationalist Party would build their policy of separate development and the creation of homelands.

The following sketch map shows different homelands of South Africa:

3


SOUTH AFRICAN HOMELANDS
KANGWANE
GWAQWA
GAZANKULU
LEBOWA
KWA-ZULU
CISKEI
VENDA
TRANSKEI
BOPHUTHATSWANA
0
100
200
300
400
KM

The homelands were to form the nucleus for Black's socio-economic development. This was to include their education. Each homeland was supposed to control its own education department. This was in line with the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission. But the policy of education was still under the department of Bantu Education.

Initially the State was not prepared to give autonomy to the Blacks in the homelands, but later it changed its mind and made room for independence provided the homeland opts for it. Transkei was the first homeland in 1963 to gain independence and thus had control over its own education under its own Ministry of Education. This autonomy was, however, given with strings attached. The independent homelands were still to be indirectly under the control of the State in Pretoria. This can be inferred from the words of Verwoerd (20:1) when he said:

> Africans would have full opportunities in the homelands. They can develop their own areas to any level of independence they are able to achieve but will still remain under the control of White South Africa for as long as is still necessary to lead them to civilized self-government of democratic basis.

The homelands were to be economically dependent on the White South Africa. This is an explanation of why Black education has been so poor. This is because the socio-economic background affects the kind and quality of education to be received.

The allocation of money to the homelands was not sufficient because of duplication of services. Black education was therefore poorly financed as it can be seen in the following table, 1983/1984.

TABLE 4

SHOWING INEQUALITIES IN THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION

Population Category	UNIT COST 1983/84 Primary	UNIT COST 1983/84 Tertiary and Secondary	Pupil-Teacher Ratio 1984	Teachers' Qualification Prof Unqualified	Teachers' Qualification %with Std 10	Std 10 Results % Pass	Std 10 Results %with University entrance
Asians	1 105	4 355	1 : 23	11,0	82,3	90,3	45,0
Africans	203	5 270	1 : 41	16,9	23,6	51,1	9,3
Coloureds	722	6 021	1 : 26	8,0	40,1	82,8	16,1
Whites	1 591	3 339	1 : 19	2,3	97	96,6	48,7

Homelands have always received inadequate supply of money. This has substantially affected the aims of Black Education. Table 5 and also 6 indicate clearly this skew allocation of finances in South Africa.

TABLE 5

SHOWING COMPARATIVE STATISTICS ON BLACK AND WHITE EDUCATION

Republic of South Africa	1974/75 R		1974/5 R-million
Department of Bantu Education	51 002 000	Dept of National Education	38,3
Homeland governments ...	80 464 000	Provincial Administration ...	381,8
		Other state Departments.	15,5
	131 466 000		435,6

	1975/76
Dept. of Bantu Education	58 231 000
Homeland Governments	92 808 000
	151 039 000

	1980/81
Dept. of Education & Training ...	143 847 700
Homelands (Excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda	

	1981/2
Dept of Education & Training.....	206 224 700
Homelands (Excluding Bophuthatswana) and Venda).....	208 095 811
	414 320 511

	1980/81		1983	
	R-000	%		
Provinces	957 500	45,6	1188 700 000	44,1
Dept. of National Education	403 400	19,2	499 700 000	18,5
Dept of Col Affairs	247 100	11,8	294 300 000	10,9
Dept of Ed & Training	261 000	12,4	365 300 000	13,6
Dept of India Aff	122 700	5,8	154 600 000	5,7
Other State Depts	108 100	5,2	192 000 000	7,1
	2099 800	100,00	2694 600 000	100,0

(Source. 21:333-334)
These figures reveal that in 1981 45,6% of state funding was spent on White pupils who made about only 20% of the total school population.

TABLE 6

SHOWING PER CAPITA COMPARISON WITH OTHER GROUPS

	1975		1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	
	Including Capital Expenditure	Excluding Capital Expenditure				
Whites	105,00	1021,00	913,00	1221,00	1048,00	1385,00	1211,00
Colourd.	125,53	286,08	253,16	418,84	356,23	593,37	497,59
Indian.	170,94	-	513,00	798,00	670,00	871,87	711,16
Blacks	39,53	176,20	139,66	165,23	118,25	192,34	146,44

1981/82

Bophuthatswana	97,00
Ciskei	133,00
Gazankulu	96,00
Lebowa	91,00
KaNgwane	113,00
KwaNdebele	124,00
KwaZulu	92,00
Qwaqwa	144,00
Transkei	113,00
Venda	138,00

(Source:22:479)

These homelands had everything in common, it was just a duplication of one and the same system of education as planned by the state. Aim of education, content, salaries of teachers, examinations and even medium of instruction were the same for a very long time. Occasionally some "independent" homelands would use their own letter heads, on the same examination question papers.

The homelands are just doing the supervising and controlling work. The important issues, such as policy which affect examinations, teacher - training, issuing of certificates, are all done in Pretoria. This duplication is an indirect cause of poor financing of Black Education since it wastes a lot of money, unlike if there was one single department of education.

This enforced fragmentation and separation was also applied to the university education in 1959 through the promulgation of legislation which led to the establishment of the present universities of the North, Durban-Westville, Western Cape and Zululand, as well as the transfer of the control of the then University College of Fort Hare to the Department of Bantu Education.

Apparently it was the intention of the government, consistent with their policy of separation and differentiation, that each homeland or national state should have its own university or university college.

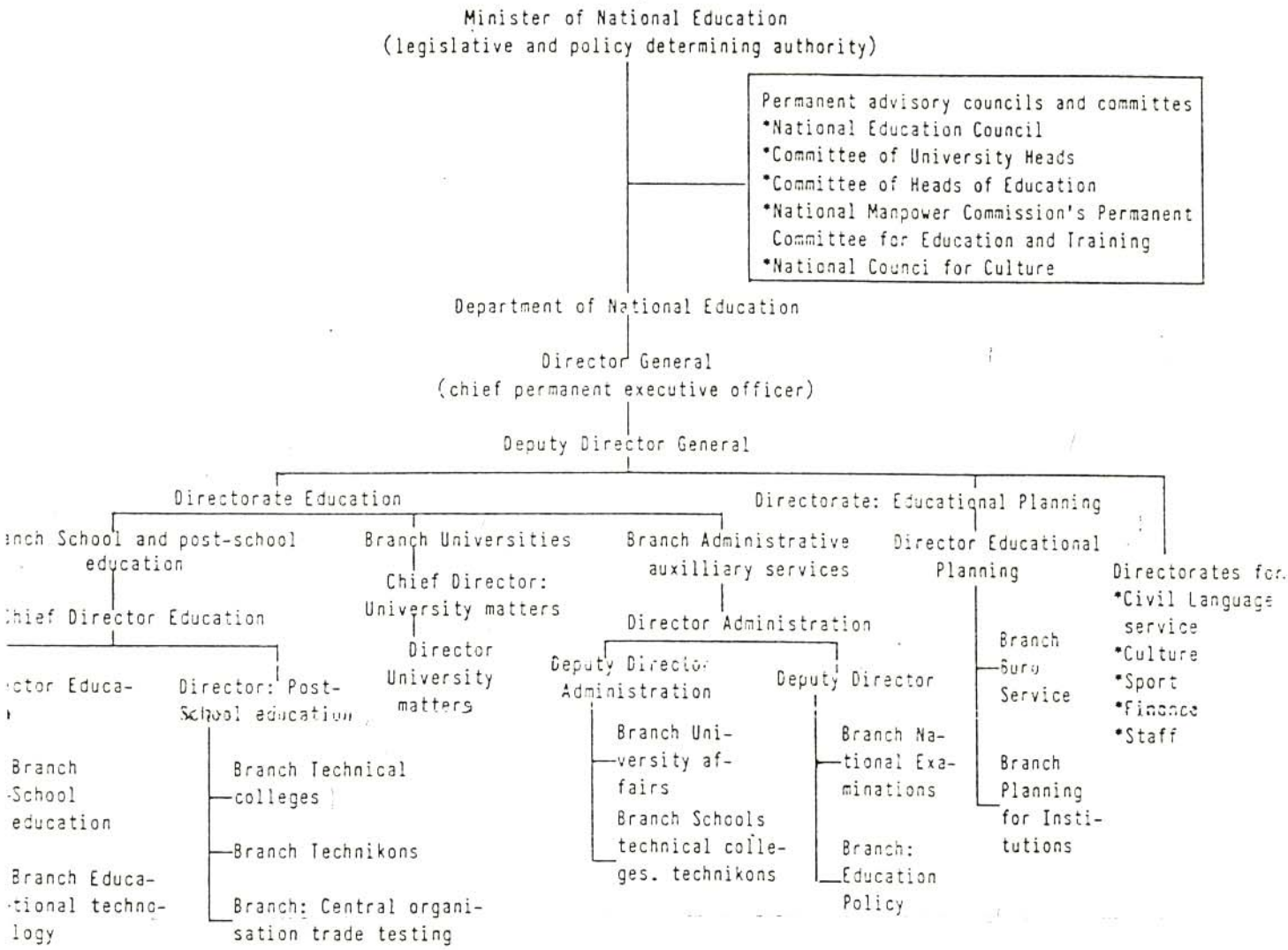
The policy of fragmentation has had disastrous financial implications which is the sole reason for the poor quality of educational facilities in Black schools. The obvious disadvantage is duplication. Besides, there were discrepancies as a result of competition between

homelands. For example, in the survey of Black development in 1970 by the Bureau for Economic Research Development (Benbo) it was stated the then current per capita expenditure on scholars and students in the homelands varied between R19,3 for Bophutatswana and R42,1 for Qwaqwa (23:196). It is because of the nine times duplication that such anomalies abound. Unless and until the aim of separate development is abandoned such discrepancies and anomalies will continue, all to the detriment of the Black child's education.

The second disadvantage is the corruption that comes up as a result of this set up. Some of the homelands leaders practice nepotism, the homeland is treated like a personal possession. This practice is quite common. There are complaints that certain positions are not occupied on merit but on the basis of "blood is thicker than water". This is a regretable state of affairs, especially in the departments of education.

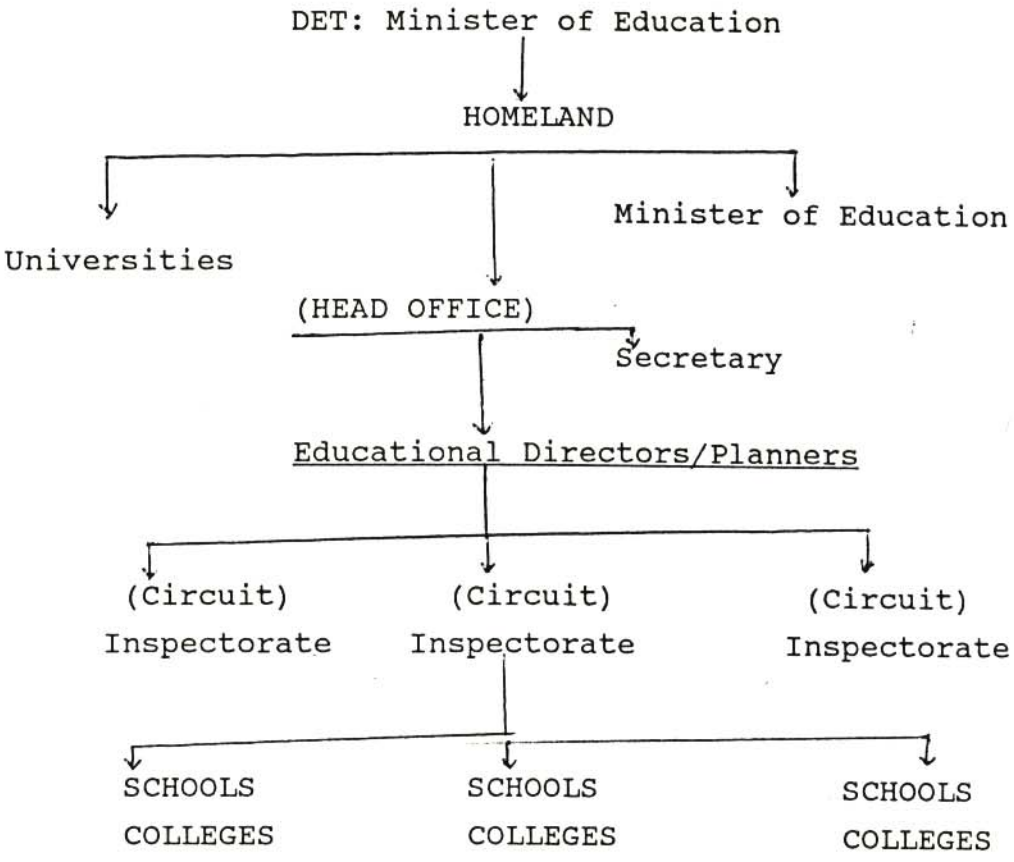
Thirdly, the organisation of the departments of education in the homelands also leaves much to be desired. The subjoined figures illustrate the point:

FIGURE 3: STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION



Department of National Education: Year Report 1981.

FIGURE 2 SHOWS THE STRUCTURE OF THE HOMELAND STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION



A comparison of the two figures clearly shows that with the latter there is very little specialisation.

4. CONCLUSION

The Bantu Education era, 1953-1983, is the darkest period in the history of education for Blacks in this country.

The state, suspicious and envious of Missionary effort among the Blacks, grabbed Black education. This was on the pretext of co-ordinating, systematising and unifying "Bantu Education" as renamed. But the main motivation seemed to have been the introduction and inculcation of

10 _____ : Bantu Education Act No. 47. 1953, Pretoria, 1954.

11 Ibid.

12 Marambana, N.R. : Op Cit.

13 Mphahlele, M.C. : Emphasis and Relevance in Black Education, (Inaugural Address, University of the North) 1982.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5. THE PERIOD OF REJECTION OF BANTU EDUCATION

5.1. Introduction

Black resistance against White domination has a long history. This resistance has been expressed in various ways. Education has been the field that played a major role in that resistance. Resistance to White domination has been expressed on farms, and in the towns.

Marambana (1:135) was right when she said:

> At every turn Blacks were met by an intrasigent minority which meant to maintain control by political hegenomy, by economic subordination, by social segregation, by rules and regulations and if need be, by brute force.

The slaves as early as 1658 resisted the imposition of schooling on them and seemingly they were rejecting the subordination element in this school and in the society as a whole. Colonial education which was used by the mother countries to colonise the Blacks in South Africa was never welcomed from the onset. Blacks were not happy with the exclusion of their values and norms in these schools.

The system of Bantu Education thus established, met with a strong reaction in many quarters. All the arguments of the past were raised again and debates centred around what aims of education were to be like, as compared to those proposed by the Bantu Education Act 1953.

5.2. Rejection of Bantu Education Aims by the Missionary Bodies

Mission schools which were responsible for Black education prior to 1953 felt very bitter when they saw the cruelty of the state expressed in the Bantu Education Act. Although they themselves were not that blameless they however, felt that they were much better of, as compared to the action of the State. The missionary rejection was expressed by especially those who held liberalistic views, that is those who came from the Anglo-Saxon background for example. The Methodist Church for example expressed its dismay at a system which aimed at conditioning people to a predetermined position of subordination. Christie (2:82) points Out that "many of the missionaries argued against Bantu Education on purely religious grounds rather than against Bantu Education as a cornerstone for Apartheid".

Bodies such as the South African Council of Churches rejected the ideology of apartheid as a heresy. They did not see how the policies of apartheid could be reconciled with the doctrines of Christianity.

5.4. Rejection of Bantu Education Aims by Teacher - Associations

Antagonism to Bantu Education was mostly expressed by the Black intelligensia. Actually the earliest resistance came from them because they were the people who were greatly affected by it. Their whole profession was to change tone as a result of it. Christie (3:226) puts it well when he says:

> Bantu Education meant that they will have to work for double sessions each day, class sizes would be larger, salaries would not be improved and they would be government employees.

From 1953 onwards teachers were reduced to the level of State employees directly subordinate to the semi-illiterate school boards which had the power to recommend their appointment and dismissal. Seeing education as a corollary of the fundamental tenets of the apartheid system, the teachers were wholly in opposition to the system because they possessed a clearer understanding of the aims and purposes of education (4:150).

Education was seen by the teachers as a tool to complement the racial policy of apartheid. It was no longer the type of education for the cultural upliftment of their people. Instead they saw themselves as collaborators in the repressive system of education. They saw themselves as going to be the oppressors of their own people.

In 1952 the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) condemned the Eiselen Report and called meetings to discuss its implications. They took a stand by calling on all teachers and parents to do everything possible to resist the Bantu Education system. As a result of this action some teachers, who were in the forefront, were dismissed from the teaching profession.

The same stand was taken by the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA) which also condemned Bantu Education in the strongest terms possible.

Both CATA and TATA were affiliated to the All African

Covention (ACC). The first serious conflict between CATA and the South African authorities was in 1950 when the ACC attacked the new provincial legislations aimed at easing overcrowding by imposing a quota system on schools, effectively excluding 30,000 pupils in the Eastern Cape (5:151).

CATA rejected the system of Bantu Education on the grounds that Blacks had no 'peculiar' qualities and 'peculiar' aptitudes as it was expressed by the Eiselen Report.

But the thrust of most arguments levelled against Bantu Education by these associations was on the issue of separate schools. They saw this separation as a strategy to keep the Black child from greener pastures and to reduce him to a subordinate and subservient position.

> ... the prominent figures were personalities such as Z.K. Mathews, M.L. Kabane, S. Ngcobo, I.B. Tabata, et cetera. They attacked Bantu Education strongly and defended a common society and its accompanying implications. For example, Z.K. Mathews quoted by Hofmeyr pointed out the inevitability and desirability of modernisation and in this regard argued for English as a medium of instructions as follows, ...it is undoubtedly of great advantage to the future leaders of a country if their education is conducted through the medium of a language which will make it possible for them to enter into the heritage of world civilizations (6:44).

Most teachers saw Bantu Education as contradictory to the loftier aim of education, which is to inculcate the spirit of scientific inquiry and also to foster an

appreciation of world cultures and civilizations. Instead Bantu Education fostered tribalism and parochialism among the pupils.

Opposition to Bantu Education was mainly directed at the government's policy of separate development or apartheid. Much of the apartheid legislation passed by the Nationalist party since the assumption of leadership in 1948 was repugnant to most of the Blacks. These include the Bantu Authorities Act (1951) which was opposed because it fragmented people; the Native Labour Act (1953), which set up separate industrial conciliation machinery for Blacks; and the Bantu Education Act (1953), which transferred the control of education for blacks from missions and provinces to the state.

Mathews is quoted as having been disgusted and dismayed by the introduction of Bantu Education Act. He is quoted by his biographer, D. Phillips, as follows:

> The Minister of Native Affairs is proceeding with his plans to transfer African education to the Department of Native Affairs. Once more it is believed that once this transfer has been effected, the aims, content and financing of African education will be streamlined to fit into the apartheid mould. (7:170)

5.5. Rejection of Bantu Education by Political groups

The strongest campaign against the implementation of Bantu Education was by the African National Congress (ANC). In May 1954, they launched a 'Resist Apartheid Campaign'. Bantu Education was one of six issues in the campaign. The other issues, though not directly

related to this study, were Group's Areas Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, and the Anti-Trade Union measures (8:227).

The ANC, due to some lack of resources at its disposal to fight Bantu Education, delegated the issue to the Women's League(WL) and the Congress Youth Leage(CYL).

Another political group that opposed the introduction of Bantu Education was the African Education Movement (AEM) and under its aegis it had a chain of cultural clubs. Its main objective was to encourage school boycotts in protest against Bantu Education. The failure of these organisations may be attributed to the fact that they left everything in the hands of the youth. The Youth League, especially on the Reef, had different objectives to pursue through the school boycotts. For example, the infiltration of the "tsotsi" gangs to school boycotts brought in robbery, murder and all kinds of atrocities.

The de Villiers Louw Commission provides evidence of this youth gang involvement in political activities. For example, during the Newlands tram boycott of August - September 1949, tramway officials reported that Black youth were stoning all tram cars (9:9). These acts of violence watered down the whole issue of genuine struggle for better education.

5.6. Rejection of Bantu Education by the Students

The struggle for better education was perpetuated by the pupils and students themselves. This can be traced to as early as 1658 as already mentioned, when the slave children protested against the medium of instruction. They boycotted school and were found hiding in a cave.

Opposition to schooling by pupils has been a long and a bitter one.

In 1959 when apartheid was applied to the Universities, with the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act many students started to affiliate with Black Consciousness Movements. This movement was intended to conscientise the Blacks to be proud of themselves. Marambana (10:157) puts it as follows:

> Black Consciousness is seen as something through which Blacks can look at themselves with new eyes and not by reference to the values of white society.

This movement expressed an unequivocal rejection of white domination in all its political, economical, social, cultural and psychological aspects. Under the umbrella of the South African Students Association (SASA), students expressed their rejection of the new system of education. It began in the universities but soon spread into a more general political movement. Many organizations were set up which reflected the spirit of antagonism to Bantu Education. In 1972, three important Black Consciousness organizations were established, namely:

(a) SASM (South African Student's Movement)

(b) BPC (Black People's Convention)

(c) BCP (Black Community Project)

All the foregoing organizations worked hand in glove to fight against the introduction of white domination in

all spheres generally and particularly in education. An organization which played a major role in planning the demonstrations of 1976 was the South African Students Movement (SASM).

5.6.1 School boycotts, 1976-1983

The 16 of June 1976 represents both an end and a beginning of a period in the seamless web of the history of South Africa.

Those great events, which began as innocently and undramatically as most important moments in the history of South African Blacks, were the culmination of decades of relatively peaceful protest by black pupils and students against the iniquities of segregation and apartheid in the educational institutions of South Africa. The year 1976 was the climax of all resistance and protest since the inauguration of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The 1976 riots sparked a wave of unrest throughout the country. Hundreds of students lost their lives, some were crippled and some were partly handicapped.

The rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not the main issue, it only served as a flash-point which precipitated the rioting which has proved to be endemic. The main issue was the rejection of the Verwoerdian policies of Bantu Education. Of course what started at school was passed on to the community. Since then Black students have lost confidence in the State. There is seemingly no way in which the state will regain the trust and the consent of the Black students. Alexander (12:8) argues that:

> Neither the sjambok (now called the quirt) nor the Casspir, and no amount of cooing and wooing is going to undo or reverse the thorough demystification of the black schooling began by the bullets of 1976.

Instead the challenge to state policies by the students of 1976 generation has grown stronger and stronger. It expresses itself in concepts such as "liberatory education","people's education" or even" alternative education".

The campaign of 1976 was followed by even a deep-rooted crisis in the schools in 1980. Since 1980 education for blacks has been in a perpetual disruption. April 1980 marked the beginning of the schools boycott that started in Cape Town and rapidly spread throughout the country. "Tens of thousands of black students left their desks to protest against the education system" (13:144).

Unlike in the 1976 school boycotts, in the 1980's students joined hands with the rest of the society. This collaboration made the protests of the 1980's much stronger and more effective in their objectives. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which was formed in 1979 had representatives from high schools, technical high schools, teacher-training colleges, centres of higher education and correspondence colleges (14:160). This body, because of its heterogeinity with both parents, teachers and students, made a strong impression on the government.

5.7. The Political consequences of the Rejection of Bantu Education

In the face of such onslaughts the government had no option but to think of reforming. What was initially envisaged for Blacks was gradually to be replaced by what the Blacks wanted. The State had deluded itself by thinking that educational policies could be formulated in well conditioned rooms and simply be imposed on people without consulting them. This has been the position with Black Education since 1953.

Since politics and education are always in a symbiotic relationship, the events of 1976 and 1980 respectively affected the burning issues which posed questions such as: who must control education? What is the relationship between education, politics and the state? et cetera.

The events of 1976, by the students, the teachers and the parents, challenged the notion "that education contributes to existing imbalance of power in capitalist societies" (15:53). The fundamental structures of which power and privilege are based were challenged.

As a result, the government had to change the term 'Bantu Education' and replaced it with 'Education and Training'. Thus, theoretically and technically, 1976 can be said to have ushered in the new dispensation in the education of Blacks.

But many Blacks have been very sceptical about this change. Some saw this change as cosmetic, some as faltering attempts, et cetera. Mphahlele (16:13) had this to say about the change:

> This did mean that the policy of separate development came to an end, not at all, but henceforth its implementation was going to be relaxed, things were going to be done more tactfully and covertly rather than dogmatically.

Nevertheless, the burning issues that affected the aims of education were addressed for the first time and they were given urgent attention. For the first time there was a serious talk about the establishment of colleges of education, technical schools and even polytechnicons for Blacks in urban areas. All the intentions of the government were expressed in the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979.

5.7.1 The Education and Training Act No 90. of 1979

As mentioned in the forgoing paragraphs the Act replaced the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953, and the Bantu Special Education of 1964. The essential provisions of the Education Training Act were as follows:

- It laid down that educational policy would be decided by the Minister of Education and Training after consultation with the Advisory Council of Education which could comprise 20 members appointed by the Minister.

- The education would have a Christian character but religious persuations of the parents and pupils would be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.

- School boards would be abolished. The central Department would take over the control of all schools

outside the Independent States. The Minister would decide on the establishment of state and community schools, powers to appoint, promote and discharge teachers in these schools rested on him. In state-aided schools, these functions would be exercised by the governing bodies, subject to the Minister's approval.

- Recognition would be given to active involvement of the parents and communities. School committees would administer schools and control funds.

- The Minister was empowered to introduce compulsory education for children belonging to a specific age and resident in a specific area with the co-operation of parents. Penalties would be imposed on parents who do not co-operate.

- The principle of mother-tongue instruction would be observed. The mother-tongue would be used as a medium of instruction up to; and including standard II. The wishes of the parents would be considered in the application of the principle after Std II and also in the choice of the official language to be used as medium in the subsequent classes.

- The Minister was empowered to establish, disestablish, erect and maintain community schools, as well as State schools and penalties for teacher misconduct were to be laid down.

- School health services would be introduced.

- In his discretion, The Minister would recognise association of teachers for the purpose of consultation and might establish a Teachers Council

for Black teachers which would register all professionally qualified teachers and all Black teachers employed in full-time permanent teaching posts. The Council would draw up a Code of Conduct and should a teacher contravene the Code, he might be struck off the register, and would be deemed to have resigned (17:123-127).

The most disappointing factor to Blacks was that Black Education was not brought under the control of National Education. This reaffirmed the state's commitment to the separate educational systems in the country. Marambana (18:188) summarises the feeling of most Blacks on the introduction of this Act as follows:

> In general, the Act is not particularly startling and reveals a trend towards an attempt to improve quality, and to increase state control at all levels. Even in the unlikely event of facilities for Blacks being equal to those for Whites, the 'separate but equal' is likely to prove as unconvincing to future employers as it does in the case of racially differentiated education.

5.7.2 The De Lange Commission (1981)

Four years after the Soweto riots the State appointed a Human Sciences Research Council Commission of Inquiry to conduct an in-depth investigation into all facets of education in South Africa. Its primary objective was to establish principles for an education policy which would allow for the realisation of the potential of all the inhabitants. The Commission produced what is commonly known as the "de Lange Report", the commission was under the Chairmanship of Professor J.P. de Lange. The "de Lange Commission Report" provides for

discussions about educational reforms for all in South Africa. It recognises an educational crisis and addresses itself in finding ways and means of overcoming the crisis.

Reporting in June 1981, the Commission proposed a scheme to streamline and rationalise the existing education system (19:189). Its recommendations were envisaged to create a new meritocratic, non-racial, technicist educational ideology. In so far as Black education in particular was concerned, the Report conceived an idea of helping the Black masses. But it should also be noted that the task was not exclusively out of humanitarian or philanthrophic considerations but also that the government found itself in an invidious position either to give Blacks an opportunity in the economic field and thereby creating a platform for competition or to deny them an opportunity and thereby exacerbate the already declining economy.

> The South African economy had been sliding into recession as from 1970. The inflation rate in 1977 ran at 14% and showed no sign of abating in 1983. The country needs skilled and semi-skilled manpower desperately and this is no longer forthcoming through immigration from the Western world. The Government, as well as commerce and industry have thus come to realize that the most sensible thing to do was to plunge the bucket into the ominpresent sea of the Black force (20:122).

Thus from 1982 onwards doors began to open for Blacks in the following fields of education:

1. Vocational field,

2. Academic field and

3. Technical field.

Equal education however, according to the report, did not mean identical or the same education for everybody. Discrimination was given room, if it would be 'educationally relevant'. In that way the detailed volume of the report did not attempt to go beyond the reformist principles established by the State. Hereunder are the principles of an ideal education system as envisaged by the Report:

- Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of inhabitants.

- Education shall give positive recognition to freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society.

- The provision for education shall be directed in all educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development, and shall take into consideration manpower needs for the country.

- Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.

- The provision of formal education shall be the responsibility of the state, provided the individual,

parents and organisations in society shall have a share of responsibility, choice and voice in this matter.

- The private sector and the state shall have shared responsibility in the provision of non-formal education.

- Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education.

- In the provision of education, the process of centralisation and decentralisation shall be reconciled organisationally and functionally.

- The professional status of the teacher and lecturer shall be recognised.

- Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research (21:14-16).

It remains to be seen how the State will act or react to these foregoing principles. But it is important to note, with commendation, that in 1981 the Vista University Act No. 106 was provided for the establishment of a university for Blacks in an urban area. This might be an indication that the state is busy reforming its policies on the education of the Blacks. Colleges of education have also been established in urban area, like Soweto College of Education.

But it is tempting to say that the different panaceas used to try to reform Black Education have proved unsuccessful. It is not easy to have "normal" education in an "abnormal" Society.

5.8. Conclusion

The Black opinion has been incensed by this bare-faced policy of discrimination since the inception of Bantu Education Act in 1953. Blacks have since 1953 refused to allow themselves to be subjected to such education. This repressive system of education was manifested by the unequal distribution in the per capita expenditure for Blacks as illustrated hereunder:

Table 7

UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (1953-1983)

YEAR	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE
1953-54	R 17	R 40	R 40	R 128
1969-70	R 17	R 73	R 81	R 282
1975-76	R 42	R140	R190	R 591
1977-78	R 54	R185	R276	R 657
1980-81	R139	R253	R513	R 913
1982-83	R146	R498	R711	R1211

(Source: 22:1984)

From the table above it is easy to see that Black education had the least share of all the other racial groups, especially the Whites. This naturally led to the disastrous unrests of 1954, 1974, 1976 and 1980.

By appointing the De Lange Commission the Government gave the impression that it was moving towards some form of a unitary educational system for all South Africans. But this move referred only to administrative

arrangements regarding curricula, examinations, teachers' pay scale, et cetera. There was never at any stage an indication that the fundamental tenets of apartheid could be removed. Separate schools were to be maintained, in accordance with the policy of separate development. This is to be regretted.

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CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

A review of the foregoing chapters reveals that the aims of Black Education have been influenced by the changing factors of a cultural, religious, socio-economic and political nature characterising the history of Black people from 1953 to 1983. Thus, for these three decades, the history of Black Education has been controlled by twin and escalating emotions of white fear and black anger. The doctrine of apartheid as shown in this study, has bedevilled the aims of Black Education from 1953 to 1983. The study has indicated the intricate relationship that exists between politics and education. Thomas (1:1) has rightly put it when he said:

> Politics and Education live in a symbiotic relationship, with each influencing the fate of the other. The nature of this politics - education interaction can vary greatly from case to case, depending on the circumstances involved.

The direction therefore, which the aims of education should take, lies in the hands of the policy-makers. Thus, education can be used as a tool for a class struggle, as for instance, in the Netherlands between 1945 and 1955. An empirical research in the exploration of the functioning of the State in the reproduction of social inequality via education was undertaken. It was found out that the Elementary Technical School (ETS) was

attended by the working class boys only. A schism or wider chasm occurred between the forties and the fifties when schools in the fifties of the country in question, had an enrolment of over 70%. The dominant-end of the ETS was solely to produce semi-skilled labourers (2:53).

Whilst it is true that the proposals about amounts of money to be spent on kinds of schooling often originate from professional educators within the education system, it is also true that the mission statements originate from the policy-makers. The professional educators can also decide whether a particular child is admitted to a given educational programme, but the broadscale aims and kinds of schooling, a particular section of the community should receive, depend on the political bodies.

In an ideal situation statements of philosophy of general purposes and values are translated into specific instructional goals that are assigned to different grade levels of the school. This task of transforming general philosophy into detailed aims is left in the hands of the professional educators and curriculum planners within the education system. But in South Africa, as this study has indicated in Chapter Four and Five, outside political bodies, that do not trust the judgement or intentions of the professionals, have themselves mandated specific aims to be taught in the schools.

A stream of Commissions into the problems of South African education, especially in Black Education, came out with good recommendations but the political bodies rejected or ignored most of them; for example, the question of compulsory and free education for Blacks came over and over again but it was never implemented.

In showing scepticism about the State's willingness to change Bantu Education the Star quoted the South African Black Student's Organisation (SASO) as follows:

> Mr Diliza Mji, president of SASO, said from Durban today that he doubted whether the recommendations by Justice Snyman, concerning Africanisation of 'tribal universities' and removal of ethnic grouping would ever be put into practice (3:1).

Mbere (4:210) reiterating the same sentiments stated that the state failed to meet the formulated objectives of the Eiselen Commission. The tendency to overlook the recommendations can be traced from as far back as the eighteenth century to date. The Wiehahn, the Riekert and the De Lange Commissions came with sound recommendations but few or none of them were ever implemented.

Black education has undergone a period of metamorphasis as from 1953, even before, to 1983. This study has identified the following phases of Black education:

(i) Historical Background to Black Education (Chapter TWO) i.e. prior to 1953.

(ii) Clash of aims between State and Missionaries (Chapter THREE), especially after 1948.

(iii) The Era of Bantu Education (Chapter FOUR) 1953 - 1976.

(iv) The Period of Rejection of Bantu Education (Chapter FIVE), especially from 1976 to 1983.

From the preceding discussion, it follows that the critical assessment of the aims of Black education from 1953 - 1983 needs to take into account the foregoing evolutionary stages as this will not only reveal the shortcomings of each period or era in Black Education but will also shed some light on what should be the envisaged aims of Black Education in the future.

6.2 Evaluation of the indigenous education

Ngubentombi (5:161) indicates that:

> Modern studies prove beyond doubt that the indigenous education was guided by a sound policy .... it was based on the assumption of a definite system of values and, therefore, involved specific objectives ....

The aims of education during this era were guided by the Black ethos whose expression entailed the self as it defined itself in relation to its physique and to the human environment of classes of persons and the social system as a whole. The community conceived itself in relation to non-human environment of plants, animals and astronomical factors and finally on values which ranged from organic to symbolic values.

The moral and philosophical values were the main concern of the indigenous education and they were fostered and enforced through firm and inflexible customs which regulated behaviour in general and was guarded by community pressures such as fear of ostracism and threat of gossip.

These objectives were of course in line with the primitive principles of education both in Africa and

Europe and elsewhere. Brubacher (6:2) makes the following observations about primitive education:

> In the informal education of primitive times there was probably little if any separate awareness of education aims. Such aims if they existed were most probably identical with the aims of life itself. The young aimed to learn what they expected to do as adults.

Since this section on the indigenous aims of Black education does not fall directly under the scope of this study, it suffises to say that the aims of education under this era where only complete and appropriate for the the early stages of Black development. They are therefore, absolutely unsuitable and inappropriate for the modern era. The basis of Verwoerdian argument on the peculiarity of the Black people was ofcourse wrong.

What the Blacks wanted in the 1950's was the type of education that could make provision for the development of the individual to adapt to the fast changing world of the twentieth century. That meant the inculcation of the spirit of enterprise, initiative and creativity and not docility.

6.3 Evaluation of the Missionaries

The educational policy of the missionaries lacked clearly defined aims. This was because of their divergent motives that propelled their engagement in Black Education.

And it was probably because philanthropic trends were interpreted differently. The various missionaries differed substantially from each other because of their philosophical backgrounds as regard the Blacks. What

excerbated their conflicting aims was their sharp ecclesiastical rivalry which existed among them. Nguventombi (7:165) points out that it was inevitable that certain persons and even organizations would use the schools, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unintentionally, to promote particular church or denominational interests.

The lack of a unified purpose and goal in educating the Blacks resulted in the education of Blacks having no organic unity and planning. Notwithstanding the lack of uniformity in educating the Blacks, Missionary education cannot be undermined. Although missionaries have been eulogised by almost everybody who had anything to write about Black education, other people inferring on their aims of education remark that missionary enterprise in Black education is, however, not the main issue at present. The type of education they offered or provided is the issue (8:9).

Incidentally the main aim of the missionaries was not instruction (schooling) but evangelisation. THey did not address the real burning issues which affected the Blacks directly such as their social and political plight and future. The educational process became nothing other than unconditional introduction of the knowledge and ways of European culture and European civilization which was regarded as the culmination of human progress (9:165).

Jones (10:84) indicated earlier that whatever the defects of these schools may be, they usually represented the ideas of education prevailing in the home country. Rose goes on to explain the primary aim of missionary education as follows:

> Despite increasing social and economic disruption, formal education for Bantu children was first established for the primary purpose of christianizing him rather than for helping him adapt to his changing environment and his shifting social status (11:47).

The aims of education during this period were paternalistic in nature. These imported commodities as quoted on the foregoing paragraphs crippled the sound relationship that was supposed to exist between the Black culture and their education. Since education is meant to promote the culture of the people; missionary education was therefore unsuitable to the needs of the black community. Education in this case did not represent the process of cultural development. The converted Africans had to be Europeanised without being assimilated. Amost everything typically African was regarded an barbaric, uncivilised and heathen and thus had to be abandoned. Mphahlele says that, therefore, their products came out of these mission schools wearing foreign masks.

During the same era, missionaries were joined by the European Colonial powers which had colonised vast areas of Africa. Britain was the colonial power that was most active in South Africa, especially amongst the blacks. They paid more attention to education than the others had done. "They wanted to use education as a way of spreading their language and traditions in the Colony" (12:34). But it should, however, be realised that almost all of the education of Blacks was provided by missionaries. They wanted to spread the Western way of life among the 'heathen' Blacks and teach them certain work values. Their fault in the educational aims was to overlook fundamental and pedagogical principles, which are, inter alia, that education should always be

considered in its cultural setting, that is, the home, the community and the environment.

Under the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions, a suitable educational policy was the one which would enable the Black people to evolve gradually in order to take their proper place in a wider functionalistic world with a more sophisticated life. Notwithstanding, they provided education when no one cared, so the Blacks need to be grateful for that.

In spite of the criticism levelled against the missionaries, that they made mistakes-like all other people - and that "the Natives have often been educated on unsound lines and for a wrong purpose, the credit side of their endeavour must however, be emphasised.

Prof Kgware (13:15) is right when he absolves the missionaries in the following words:

> Instead of the missionaries being the subjects of reprobation .... they should be regarded as the people who have taken for the most trouble, and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the Native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something good.

No one can dispute the fact that they equipped the blacks with educational skills which are important in any nation.

Thomas (14:12) is correct when he writes:

> Political bodies and members of the education system usually concur that skills of reading, writing, speaking attentive listening and computing are essential goals.

The era of missionary education came to an end after 1953 when the nationalist party pressurised them. The government's motive of taking over from the missionaries the control of Black education is assessed in the subsequent sub-headings.

6.4 Evaluation of the State

When the National Party came to power in 1948, it aimed at taking control of the education of South African Blacks, removing it from the hands of missionaries and churches.

The reasons for such a move have already been discussed in Chapter Four. To sum them up, education for Blacks was supposed to stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of the Black society. It was supposed to be in line with the policy of apartheid. Nowhere was this segregation more thoroughly documented, than in the field of education.

Besides the overt policy of apartheid, the government wanted to perpetuate the principles of the Christian National Education (CNE). Troup (15:20) writes as follows:

> The Sauer Commission, which reported on the Nationalist Party policy early in 1948 recommended that African Education has to be based on a firm Christian Nationalism and must take account of the needs and level of development of the mass of natives .... Africans will ultimately be responsible for their

> education but under the Whites' supervision.

The spirit of separate development and that of the Calvinistic ideology governed the structuring and planning of Black education.

This motive was behind the Commission led by Eiselen because he was the Secretary for Dr H.F. Verwoerd in the Deaprtment of Native Affairs. As indicated in Chapter one of this study, this policy influenced the system of education for Blacks. The Eiselen Commission reported in 1951 and led to the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953; (which was amended in 1954, 1956, 1959 and 1961).

Bantu Education, under the cloak of promoting Black culture, was principally aimed at preparing the Black child for a subordinate life while White education on the other hand aimed at preparing the White child for a dominant life.

Article 15 of the Manifesto of the Institute for Christian National Education of February 1948 says:

> Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality, and segregation, its aim should be to inculcate the White man's view of life, especially that of the Black nation, which is a superior senior trustee ... (16:21).

Unfortunately for Blacks in South Africa, liberal writers on the history of education in South Africa have tended to take education policy statements at face value. For example, the notorious statements by Dr H.F. Verwoerd on the nature of Black education have never

been matched by detailed research into the nature of schooling system to ascertain whether these policy statements really did reflect the practice in the school.

The politics of South Africa has influenced Black Education substantially. The ethos of apartheid ideology have been well expressed through Black Education in South Africa. Black Education was used by those in power to maintain the status quo. This is well expressed by Thomas (17:11) when he writes:

> A common truism among political scientists is that no governmental system intentionally encourages its own overthrow or replacement by a competing system. After Fidel Castro's revolutions in Cuba, and Ho Chi Min's in Vietnam, neither of this leaders was enthusiastic about further revolutions in their countries ... proper patriotism was taught in the schools.

Black education therefore aimed at perpetuating the status quo of the have's and have not's.

6.5 Evaluation of the Homelands

Chapter five has indicated that in 1959 the State transferred the education of Blacks to the various ethnic groups in the homelands.

Although the control was to be with the various homelands the aims of education essentially remained with Pretoria. The important matters that affected the quality and the aims of education such as examinations, certification, curriculum development, finance, et cetera, were the responsibility of the Central Government as already stated.

This time the apartheid policy was to be applied in a more subtle manner. The task of most of the Commissions were to devise a series of mechanisms for modernising apartheid in order to make it more acceptable, at least to some sections of the South African communities and also to international communities.

In short, the aims of education during this period were the same as those of the era of Bantu Education. The only difference is that they were perpetrated through intermediary bodies, the Homelands' Departments of Education.

6.6 Educational aims of the period of Resistance

The period 1976 onwards can be regarded as a period of rejection of the policies of education set down by the government.

Students rejected what they called "a gutter education" and what the parents called "an irrelevant education". They refused to be discriminated against. They have directly contributed to the economic expansion of the country and they, therefore, demanded political participation in the country. This resistance prompted the government to change their attitude in as far as Black education was concerned, hence the de Lange Commission which recommended a unitary educational system in South Africa. But most unfortunately, even before the de Lange Commission could report, the Government had already taken a stand on the most important principle, namely "a single Ministry of Education". It was rejected.

Up to date there is no clear indication that the fundamental tenets of apartheid will be removed. They will be removed the day the Blacks are enfranchised.

6.7 Conclusion

The evaluation of the foregoing periods in Black education, with special reference to aims, has indicated the truth of what was said by Hartshorne (18:74) in the following words:

> Education does not exist in a vacuum but reflects the broad social, economic and political structure of the country it services.

In South Africa, therefore, the education system for the Blacks is closely related to the broad development programmes and political solutions which are being worked out for them.

Mphahlele (19:16) in his inaugural address sums up the dilemma in which Black education finds itself as follows:

> Whatever the merits of Black education since 1658, when the first school for slaves (Blacks) was established, its arbitrary imposition will always breed protest and cause radicalisation. It is this unnegotiated action that has led to the present impasse with Blacks eversince the riots in 1976. They, the Blacks, seek for something more than reforms in their education. They seek a complete scuttling of the whole system. They demand a new and imaginative educational dispensation and not just an overhauling of a decrepit one.

The exclusion of Blacks in the decision-making has contributed to this crisis. Blacks have as a result of this lack of representation always been educated for a wrong purpose. The following quotation from Mphahlele (20:1) explains this lack of representation:

> It is difficult to understand or imagine how the Whites could have succeeded in understanding, appreciating and interpreting the views and values of Blacks when the two lived in two separate worlds. .... The greatest indictment on Black education to date is that the White did the thinking, planning and implementation.

Lenyai (21:49) says more-or-less the same thing in the following words:

> One of the major problems that has bedevilled the development of African education in South Africa since early twentieth century down the years up to today is the lack of consultation of the African community in the education of its children.

In every country that lays claim to being educationally progressive, the active interest of parents and of local communities in the education of their children has been keen; but this has not been the case in South Africa in as far as Black education is concerned. As a result of this attitude, coupled with inadequate financing, Black education has experienced a high matriculation failure rate as well as a high drop-out rate at all stages of schooling. Both factors contributed to a vast pool of unskilled labour catering to the interests of white industry.

Mbere (22:291) says the following about the contribution

of the Blacks to the economy of South Africa:

> Economically speaking, Bantu education has added to the large number of unskilled Black workers in various industrial plants and mines ...

On the political terrain the aims of the Black Education as planned by the Nationalist Party have given them, (White leaders) a good vantage-point to forcibly repatriate Blacks from urban areas to the homelands. The homelands on the other hand have perpetrated an unfortunate situation of having extreme wealth juxtaposed with islands of poverty in one and the same country, the distinguishing line being colour.

That is partly why Bantu education was opposed and rejected. This rejection has been through the ANC, PAC, and Teachers' Associations. This rejection has affected Black development adversely and for rather too long.

Black education has always been a play ground of different parties' interests, that is, they reflected their own selfish ambitions under the cloak of helping or developing them, the Blacks. The State in particular, since 1953, has intentionally used Black Education to preserve separate racial and national compartments consistent with legitimising ideas and values of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government. Mbere (23:295) puts it succintly well when he says:

> Because South Africa is ruled by a race-oligarchy, in which all substantive power is arrogated to Whites, Bantu education performs a functional role in perpetuating the status quo, the maintenance of power and privilege for whites and the consequent subordination and dispossession of African interests.

This clearly indicates that Black education, from 1953 to 1983, a period of thirty years, has been an unfortunate period in the history of Black education. It was a period of Bantu Education with its ideology of separation and subjugation of the indegenous people. Those who tried to demonstrate resistence or rejection of the "system" were mowed down as happened in 1976. What has become clear is that we have in Black Education a unique situation that needs a political solution.

6.8 Recommendations

The thirty years of Bantu education, 1953 to 1983, can only be described by Blacks as traumatic and tragic. To bring about improvements the following three recommendations should suffise;

6.8.1 The establishment of one Department of Education. All education should be put under one Ministry which shall be responsible for the maintenance of uniform standards.

6.8.2 In accordance with the general policy of the state and the Department of Education the same set of aims of education should be persued in all schools irrespective of colour, race or creed.

6.8.3 All forms of disparity and discrimination in all walks of life should be outlawed and removed because such disparity and discrimination must influence education.

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SUMMARY

Blacks in South Africa have never been in charge of their own education. Whites, whether missionaries or bureaucrats, have directed Black Education from 1658, when the first school was established, to date (1988). The missionaries founded, erected and maintained Black schools without any overt interference or assistance from the State until 1953. These Missionaries can be divided into three main groups: Those from the United Kingdom who advocated the same goals in education for all pupils, White or Black, namely development of personality; those from the Continent of Europe whose main mission was evangelisation and inculcation of the habits of hardwork, honesty and discipline; lastly the South African Society, the Dutch Reformed Church, whose philosophy was separation because each racial group had its own peculiar needs and aspirations.

1953 was a turning point or a breaking point in the history of Black Education. The State took full control of all aspects of Black Education. Control implies financing and naturally he who pays the piper calls the tune. In other words the state, as from 1953, alone dictated the aims or goals of Black Education.

The year 1953 ushered in a new era in Black Education, that of "Bantu Education" based on the philosophy of the Christian National Education. The main mission of Bantu Education can be summed up as follows:

- the education that divides the people into classes and ethnic groups.
- the education that serves as a means to produce subservient and docile people.

- the education that entrenches apartheid, that is separation, and capitalism.

This type of education was therefore unacceptable to the Black people. It met with fierce resistance. It resulted in numerous strikes and school boycotts. For example, in 1976, a conservative state estimate of 700 Blacks, mostly pupils, lost their lives as a result of Bantu Education, specifically the rejection of Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction in Black schools.

From 1979 onwards the Government has changed its strategies. It dropped the name 'Bantu Education' and replaced it with a more acceptable one namely 'Education and Training,' although the term "training" is unsatisfactory especially that it refers to Blacks only. To many people this change was just cosmetic, the fundamental tenets of Bantu Education are not yet eroded.

The de Lange Commission of 1982 came up with Commendable recommendations but the central and the most crucial recommendation which is to create a single Ministry of Education for all people in South Africa has not been accepted by the Government. But the Government has nevertheless, opened doors for Blacks into fields like technicons which were closed to them for rather too long.

The worst thing that bedevils Black Education and consequently its aims, is financing. The expenditure per capita for Blacks compared to other racial groups in South Africa leaves much to be desired. The duplication of services in various homelands is wasteful and therefore the main cause of poor performance in Black schools. With inadequate funds Blacks are bound to aim low and to achieve less than the other racial groups.

It seems the situation in Black Education, especially aims, control and finance, will never be satisfactorily addressed unless and until the Blacks themselves are in charge of their own education. This implies participation at the highest level, the Central Government level.

OPSOMMING

Swartes in Suid-Afrika was nog nooit in beheer van hulle eie onderwys nie. Daarenteen het blanke sendelinge of burokrate Swart Onderwys gerig vanaf 1658 toe die eerste skool opgerig is, tot op hede (1988). Die sendelinge het Swart skole begin, opgerig en onderhou sonder enige openlike bemoeiing of bystand deur die Staat tot 1953. Hierdie sendelinge kan in drie groepe verdeel word. Die sendelinge van die Verenigde Koninkryk het dieselfde doel in die onderwys vir alle leerlinge, Wit of Swart, verkondig, naamlik die ontwikkeling van die persoonlikheid; die van die Kontinent van Europe se hoof oogmerk was evangelisasie en aankweek van gewoontes soos harde werk, eerlikheid en dissipline; laastens was daar die Suid-Afrikaanse Sendingvereniging, die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk wie se filosfie geskoei was op skeiding omdat elke rassegroep sy eie besondere behoeftes en aspirasies het.

1953 was 'n draaipunt of breuk in die geskiedenis van Swart Onderwys. Die Staat het volle beheer geneem van alle aspekte van Swart Onderwys. Beheer impliseer finansiering en die voorskryf van alle handelinge. Met ander woorde, die Staat het vanaf 1953 alleen die doelstellings van Swart Onderwys bepaal.

Die jaar 1953 het 'n nuwe era ingelui in Swart Onderwys, naamlik "Bantoe-Onderwys" gebaseer op die filosofie van Christelik Nasionale Onderwys. Die bree hoofdoel van Bantoe-Onderwys kan soos volg opgesom word:

- die onderwys wat mense verdeel in klasse en etniese groepe.

- die onderwys wat dien as a middel om mense te kweek wat onderdanig en deemoedig is.

- die onderwys wat apartheid, skeiding en kapitalisme ingrawe.

Hierdie soort onderwys was derhalwe onaanneemlik vir Swartmense. Dit is met sterk weerstand begroet. Die gevolg was talle stakings en skoleboikots. In 1976 byvoorbeeld het daar volgens 'n konserwatiewe raming deur die Staat 700 Swartes hulle lewens verloor, mmestal leerlinge, as gevolg van Bantoe-Onderwys, spesifiek oor die verwerping van Afrikaans as verpligte medium van onderrig in Swart skole. Vanaf 1979 het die Regering sy strategiee verander. Dit het die naam "Bantoe-Onderwys" geskrap en vervang met 'n meer aanvaarbare benaming, naamlik "Onderwys en Opleiding", alhoewel die term "opleiding" onaanvaarbaar is, veral omdat dit net na Swartes verwys. Maar omdat hierdie naamsverandering net kosmeties was, is die fundamentele instelling van Bantoe-Onderwys nog nie afgebreek nie.

Die de Lange Kommissie van 1982 het met aanbevelingswaardige aanbevelings gekom maar die sentrale en wesentlikste aanbeveling vir die tot stand koming van een Onderwysdepartement onder een Minister vir die mense in Suid-Afrika, is nie aanvaar nie. Die Regering het egter deure geopen vir Swartes op gebiede soos Technikons wat te lank gesluit was.

Die grootste struikelblok wat Swart Onderwys en gevolglik sy doelstellings kniehalter, is finansiering. Die besteding per capita vir Swartes in vergelyking met ander groepe in Suid-Afrika laat veel te wense oor. Die duplisering van dienste in die verskillende tuislande is verkwistend en dus die hoofoorsaak van die swak vertoning in Swart skole met

onvoldoende fondse en sal Swartes noodgedwonge 'n lae mikpunt he en minder bereik as die ander rassegroepe.

Dit blyk dus dat wat Swart Onderwys betref, veral ten opsigte van doelstellings en finansies, die probleme nooit effektief aangespreek kan word nie, totdat die Swartes self in beheer van hul eie onderwys is. Dit impliseer deelname op die hoogste vlak, die sentrale Regeringsvlak.

APPENDIX A.

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

Before 1652 : Pre-colonial education.

1652 : Arrival of Dutch at the Cape.

1658 : First school in the Cape (slave school).

1663 : Second school (mixed school).

1685 : First separate school exclusively for slave children.

1799 : first mission school for Africans is set up in King William's Town.

1815 : British take over the Cape from the Dutch.

1828 : Ordinance 50 gives equal rights to Khoi and other "free persons of colour".

1833 : All slaves are freed and given equal rights.

1839 : Deptpartment of Education established, Controlled by Britain.

1841 : Government begins to give financial aid to mission schools (to gain some control over these schools).

1843 : British annexation of Natal.

1860's: Diamonds are discovered around Kimberley - social initiation of economic change.

1877 : Last frontier war (started in 1779). Xhosa people lose their independence and land and are forced to work for settler farmers and trekboers.

1880's: Gold is discovered on the Witwatersrand - introduction of migrant labour system for unskilled workers -black subsistence, farmers are taxed, forcing them into wage labour.

1884 : Council of Education (Natal) takes over control and organization of African schools. Separate curricula are drawn up and a system of inspection is introduced.

1902 : Britons defeat the Boers and take over control of Transvaal and OFS. British administration introduces free and compulsory schooling for Whites only.
- Many Afrikaners reject British schooling and set up their own ONE school, but ONE movement gradually dies out.

1908 : An all-white delegation draws up a constitution for the new Union government.

1910 : Union of South Africa.
- African education falls under the control of Minister of Native Affairs.

1913 : - The Land Act sets up the "reserves" (later called "bantustans" and "homelands").
- African subsistence farmers are forced to give up

their land and enter wage labour.
- the South African Native National Congress (later the A.N.C.) is formed to protest against the Act.

1921 : - CATA (Cape African Teachers Association) is formed.

1922-15: Government expenditure on African education is "pegged". Any expansion will have to be financed out of taxation paid by Africans themselves.

1923 : - The Natives (Urban Areas) Act is passed. This law stipulates that blacks are allowed in urban areas as long as they minister to the needs of whites.

1924 : - NUSAS (National Union of S.A. Students) is formed.

1926 : - The "Civilized Labour Policy" and the Apprenticeship Act entrench the job colour bar.

1936 : All Africa Convention (AAC) together with CATA proceeds to act both inside and outside the educational field.

1939-45: World War II.

1946 : - Mineworkers strike
- Strikes at various mission schools.

1948 : The Nationalist comes into power.

1951 : The Eiselen Report stresses "racial" differences.

1952 : Defiance Campaign against pass laws and other apartheid laws and racial discrimination.

1953 : The Bantu Education Act is passed. All African schools must be registered with the government. This heralds the end of mission schools.

1954-5: African Education Movement is formed to give alternative education.

1955 : SACTU is formed - a non-racial federation of unions.

1956 : Federation of South African Women (20 000) march onto the Union Buildings.

1959 : The Extension of University Education Act is passed
- "Tribal colleges" for black university students are established.
- Restriction of blacks attending white universities.

1960 : Shapville.
State of emergency is declared.
ANC and PAC are banned.

1963 : The Indian Education Act is passed. Control of Indian education by Department in full of Indian Affairs. Indian education is made compulsory.

1964 : The Bantu Education Special Act is passed.

1967 : The National Education Policy Act is passed, setting out the principles of ONE Department of White schools.

1968 : SASO (Student Organization) is founded and inspires the start of the Black Consciousness movement.

1972-75: Resistance on black campuses. (The 'May Revolt'; Viva Frelimo Ralies '74; SASO and BPC trial - '75/'76). Student activity gives rise to various strikes by black workers - especially mineworkers (1974).

1975 : Minister of Bantu Education instructs that half of the subjects in Std. 5 and Form 1 must be taught in Afrikaans.

1976 : 16 June, Soweto uprisings begin spreading across the country.

1979 : The Education and Training Act is passed to replace the Bantu Education Act of 1953. African education is now controlled by Department of Education and Training (DET). COSAS (Congress of S.A. Students) is formed to organize students nationally (banned in 1985).

1980 : Schools boycotts begin in Cape Town and spread throughout the country.

1980's: Trade Unions begin to play a more active role in providing education for workers.

1981 : The De Lange Report recommends a single department of education, education of equal quality for all, and changed schooling structure.

1982 : The Education Charter is drawn up.

1983 : The Government issues a White Paper, accepting the De Lange guiding principles but refusing to accept the major recommendation of a single education department for all.

1984-5: Wide-spread schools protests and boycotts.

APPENDIX B

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY (CNE)
1948.

Article 1: Basis

We believe that the teaching and education of the children of white parents should occur on the basis of the life and world view of the parents. For Afrikaans-speaking children this means that they must be educated on the basis of the Christian-National life and world view of our nation. In this life and world view, the Christian and National principles are of basic significance and they aim at the propagation, protestation and development of the Christian and National being and nature of our nation. The Christian basis of this life and world view is grounded on the Holy Scriptures and expressed in the Creeds of our three Afrikaans Churches. By the national principle we understand love for everything that is our own, with special mention of our country, our language, our history and our culture. We believe that these principles must both become fully valid in the teaching and education of our children so that these two principles shall be the hallmark of the entire school with regard to its spirit, aim, syllabus, method, discipline, personal organisation and all its activities. Corresponding with the basic structure of our Christian National life and world view, the national principles always must be under guidance of the Christian principle the National must grow from the Christian root.

Article 2: Christian Teaching and Education

In order to let the light of the revelation of God which is contained in the Scriptures shine in the school, we believe

that Religious Instruction according to the Bible and our Creeds should be the key subject in school. It must determine the spirit and direction of all the other subjects and of the whole school so that all instruction that is given at school shall be founded on the Christian basis of the life and world-view of our nation. It must not be merely a knowledge subject.

Article 3: National Teaching and Education

By national education we understand teaching in which the national principle of love for one's own may effectively become valid in the entire content of the teaching and all activities of the school so that the child shall be led properly and with pride in his spiritual-cultural heritage into the spiritual-cultural possession of the nation.

Article 4: The Child and Christian and National Teaching and Education

(a) we believe that through the Fall, sin has penetrated by means of heredity to later generations and the child as the object of teaching and education is therefore a sinful and not a sinless being.

(c) that God, out of His free grace made a contract with the believing generations, and in the rebirth plants the germ of a new Christian life in the child; that this merciful contract runs through the generations and that therefore the act of teaching must treat a child of believing Christian parents as a believer and not as a heathen child.

(d) that God laid in man a living, immortal, active, self-responsible, self-conscious, purposeful principle

ordinarily called the spirit or soul of man, by which he is distinguished from all other living beings.

(e) that in the child's condition of unripeness, his dependence, his ability to learn by experience, his docility and his imperfection lie the possibility and the necessity of all teaching and education.

(f) that apart from the common characteristics that one child shares with all children from all nations there are also the national characteristics that must be known and repeated.

Article 5: Aim of Teaching and Education

The essence (being) of the process of education we see is this: that the younger generation should inherit what is good and beautiful and noble in the cultural possession of the nation, that the younger generation take over that possession according to their own gifts and needs and that they develop it further and expand it according to the life and world-view of the nation.

Article 6: Content of Teaching and Education

(1) Introduction

We believe that the entire creation of God in the laws of nature and the labour of man is there to be learned about. We believe, however, that the spirit and direction in which all subjects must be taught must coincide with the Christian and National life and world-view, that is, that every subject must be taught in the light of the World of God, infact, on the basis of the relevant scriptural principles-and that in no subject may an anti-Christian or un-Christian or anti-National or un-National propaganda be made. We believe

that religious teaching and subjects like the Mother-tongue as medium and as subject, civics, geography and history are subjects that are of such nature that if rightly taught, they cultivate a Christian and National view of life.

(2) Religious Teaching

By religious teaching we understand instruction chiefly in Bible History and instruction in Christian doctrine (geloofsleer). The instruction in Bible history must not be merely a communication of facts and the instruction in Christian doctrine must not be colourless and hermetically sealed off from the other school activities, but both must form an organic whole with them, and both must be supported by and correspond with the faith and conviction of the parents of schoolgoing children as it is expressed in the Creeds which the parents have adopted. With regard to Afrikaans-speaking children this means that the instruction in Bible history and theology (geloofsleer) must correspond with the Creeds of our three Afrikaner Churches. Not only must the religious instruction itself be of a high standard, but it must take such a central place in teaching that it determines the spirit and direction of all subjects and of the whole school.

(3) Mother-Tongue

We believe that the mother-tongue is the basis of all teaching and education and that the mother-tongue should be the most important secular subject in school. It must also be the only medium in the teaching of all the other subjects, except in the case of other modern languages. Bilingualism cannot be set as the aim of teaching and a beginning can be made with the learning of the second official language only after the child is properly grounded in his mother-togue only and has acquired a sound understanding and knowledge of it.

(4) Civics

We believe that every pupil must be formed into a Christian and national citizen of our country. We believe that every citizen has his rights, responsibilities and duties towards home, church, society and state. We believe that the teaching of the subject CIVICS must be such that it will breed Christian and National citizens.

(5) Geography

We believe that every nation is rooted in its own soil which is allotted to it by the Creator. Every citizen of our country must have a sound knowledge of our land.... and this knowledge must be communicated in such a way that the pupil will love our own soil, also in comparison and contrast with other countries.

(6) History

We believe that history must be taught in the light of the divine revelation and must been seen as the fulfilment of God's decree (raadsplan) for the world and humanity. We believe that the great facts of the Creation, the Fall and Breaking of Contract (bonds-breuk); the re-creation in Christ Jesus and the End (completion-voleiding) of the world are of world historical importance, and that Christ Jesus is the great turning point in world-history. We believe that God has willed separate nations and peoples, and has given each separate nation and people its particular vocation and task and gifts. Youth can faithfully take over the task and vocation of the older generation only when it has acquired through instruction in history a true vision of the origin of the nation, and the direction in that heritage. We believe that next to the mother-togue, the patriotic (vaderlandse)

history of the nation is the great means of cultivationg love of one's own.

Article 7: Method and Discipline

(1) Method

We believe that the idea, "discipline" can be defined as all the inner and outer actions and influences which work together in order to assure that behaviour on the part of everybody in the school which shall make the aim of the teaching and education the most effective. We believe that all authority in school is authority borrowed from God and that it places great responsibilities, duties and rights on both the Christian teacher and the Child. We believe that the aim of all discipline should be the Christian and National formation of, preservation of, the child (vormingen behoud), the welfare of the community, and above all, the glory of God.

Article 8: Control of Teaching.

(1) No Mixed Schools

We believe that there must be at least two sorts of schools for primary and secondary education: one for children of Afrikaans-speaking parents with their communal creed and language, with only Afrikaans as medium: and the other for the children of English-speaking parents with English as medium. We believe that in both sorts of schools there must be the right relationship between home, school, church and state with regard to the spirit and direction, erection, maintenance, control and care of the schools.

(2) Home, School and Church

We believe that the home, the schools and the church are the three places in which our nation is bred, and are therefore a threefold chain in teaching and education, and that they must complement one another so that each one gets its rightful share in the forming of the child.

(3) Home

We believe the teaching and education of the child is the duty and the right of the parents, and they, in collaboration with the church and the state must therefore decide on the spirit and direction of school education, that they must establish schools according to the life and world view, and maintain and control them, that they must appoint the teachers to the schools for their children and keep a watch on their teaching. The parents in community, not as individuals, must determine the spirit and direction; they must establish schools, maintain and control them in collaboration with the church and state.

(4) The Church

We believe that the church must keep a watch over the spirit and direction of education; that it must exercise the necessary vigilance and discipline over the life and doctrine of the teachers as members of the church. We believe also that the church must exercise vigilance by means of the parents.

(5) The State

The state must see to it that in school life law is valid and is maintained, but we also believe that the state may not decide about the spirit and direction of the school so long

as judged by the measure of the law of God,it is not damaging or destructive to the state, also believe that the state must see to it that the teaching which is given is of a good scientific standard, that the forming of the child which takes place at school shall also be moral forming and that all the necessary virtues shall be cultivated.

(6) The School

We believe that the school derives its right and power of teaching and education from the parents that the children must therefore be educated according to the life and world view of the parents-in-community and in their national context. But we believe that the school must be able to exercise its function independently. While home and church decide on the spirit and direction of school education and the state determines the standard and regulates the maintenance of law in the school, the school, again, must be sovereign in its own orbit, namely, with regard to the method of teaching and education, that is, it must decide independently about instituting the plan of study, the method of teaching, school discipline, et cetera. We believe in the ideal of a Christian National school.

(7) The Organisation of the School System

We repudiate the principle of the predominance of home or church or state over the school, and therefore also a system of parent-schools, or church-schools, or state-schools. The school must be free to work independently and self-determinantly within the limits placed upon it. But this freedom must not be thought to be revolutionary; it must be freedom under authority. The erection of schools must proceed in the first place from the parent-community, in collaboration with church and state. The maintenance of the schools must be a communal undertaking of home, church and

state in the following relationship; the parents must contribute towards defraying the schools expenses, the church must financially help needy parents to fulfill their educational task; the state as the authority for legally obtaining financial means, must take upon itself the chief part in defraying the school expenses. The control of the school must in the first place be in the hands of the parents.

Article 9: The Teacher

(1) We believe that the teacher must act as a substitute for the parents, by which we acknowledge the honourable status of the teacher. He must do the work of the parent as the parent would have done it himself had he been able. Our highest demand on the teacher therefore is that he should be a man of Christian life and world view, without which he is nothing less to us than the most deadly danger. Next to this highest claim we demand that the teacher should be a personality who can substitute for us in everything at school and who can be a good example to our children.

(2) We believe that our substitutes must be properly trained for their task. At the institutions of the training of our teachers attention must be given to the following claims: the young men and women must receive a scientifically and systematised Christian life and world view; they must be instructed in all the necessary secular sciences, but most particularly in pedagogic science. We believe that their training can and will succeed only if after proper selection, they are placed under the guidance of men and women who are themselves of a convinced Christian-National life-view and have brought up as such. We wish therefore to see the institutions for the training of our teachers as Christian and National institutions.

Article 10: Nursery Schools

We believe that the Christian and National world and life view is equally valid for nursery schools as for primary and secondary schools. The medium of instruction in the nursery schools should be exclusively the mother-tongue and that in no circumstances may a foreign language be used. The teaching forces (teachers-leerkragte) must be formed by people with a healthy (sound) Christian and National life and world view.

Article 11: Higher Education

(1) We believe that our higher education should have the same basis and purpose as our primary and secondary education, the Christian-National life and world view to the forming of the man of God completely equipped for every good work.

We desire that our institutions for higher education, beside the usual secular sciences, Christian theology (gellofsleer) and particularly Christian philosphy should be taught and practised. But we desire still more instruction and practice in the secular sciences must proceed from the Chiristinal life and world view; in no single science may the light of God's truth be lacking. We believe that our University education especially should be thetic rather than antithetic, never merely electic and never reconciliatory. Christian University institutions must expound Christian science positively, must place it in opposition to non-Christian sciences, but choosing there, and it may never try to reconcile or remove the fundamental oppositions;

Creator and creation, men and animal, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in one another. University Council have no more serious vocation than to appoint the right men and women for the teaching work; the professors and lecturers must be convinced Christian and National scientists.

APPENDIX C

EDUCATION CLAUSES FROM FREEDOM CHARTER

Opening the doors of learning

(Students nationwide are calling for non-racial democratic education. The basic demands are similar to those made by students 30 years ago. Here we look at the educational clauses of the Freedom Charter).

At the time of the campaign to create the Freedom Charter, the Bantu education system had just been introduced. Volunteers were urged when campaigning for the Congress of the People to link the collection of demands to pressing grievances of the people, amongst others, that of Bantu education.

Since 1954 inferior systems of education, modelled on Bantu education, have also been introduced for Coloureds and Indians. At the same time the content of white education continues to encourage racist attitudes and to discourage any sense of fellowship with black South Africans.

It is well known that the rejection of gutter education for a democratic educational system has now become a central arena of popular struggle. The apartheid government cannot meet the people's demands. The government's educational 'reforms' have been unequivocally rejected by the broad mass of students and parents. In fact, in the present economic recession the apartheid government does not even have the means to patch up gutter education sufficiently to continue its own limited 'reform' initiative.

In consequence of the continued rejection of this system, students have moved beyond protest. They have, more and more, advanced their own vision of democratic, equal, non-racial educational system.

While such a vision is found in the Freedom Charter, the Charter's treatment of education is by no means comprehensive.

The Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), Congress of South African Students (Cosas), National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), democratic organisations affiliated to the UDF, have embarked on a project to create an Education Charter. This Charter does not seek to supplant the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter states basic principles and it makes particular demands. Some of these demands reflect the time when the Charter was written (though this is less true of education, than say Southern African affairs). To be more directly relevant to the field of education, the Education Charter could, if created through a sufficiently democratic process, establish what are the most pressing and specific educational demands of the 1980s.

It is likely once people have been widely consulted that new demands will be added to those found in the Freedom Charter. These demands would result on the one hand from the changes in the system of education, and the increasing state repression that is now a crucial component of that system. On the other hand, new demands would emerge from the increasing consolidation of popular, organised struggles against this education. Of these demands, most prominent being the demand for Student Representative Councils in schools.

Neither this demand, nor any other democratic demand, can be in conflict with the education clauses of the Freedom Charter. The principles, though they may require elaboration, will remain the foundation of any Education Charter. It is therefore necessary to consider the education demands of the Freedom Charter.

The educational clauses (which are linked to cultural demands) are headed "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!".

This is the fundamental premise on which the new democratic people's education is based. No longer will education and access to cultural goods be the privilege of a section of our population, whether white or wealthy.

Racist rule has damaged the minds of both black and white. Courses in 'race studies'. 'guidance' and even the more innocuous sounding subjects such as 'history' have filled the minds of whites with unscientific, poisonous, racist accounts of the place and contribution of blacks in this world.

White culture has been depicted as superior yet inaccessible to most blacks, especially Africans. Africans have been encouraged to 'develop along their own lines' with a frozen form of 'traditional culture'.

When the doors of learning and culture are opened, all will be able to realise their own talents. Education will be open to all and aimed at benefiting all.

The Charter declares that the "government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life".

At present 'national talent' means mainly whites and a few blacks who produce forms of art sufficiently insipid to be acceptable to the SABC and similar media. A democratic state would seek to encourage the talents of all South Africans, to provide the tools and skills that would make it possible for ordinary people, who may live in townships or far-away, little villages, to enrich their lives and thus to enhance South African culture life in general.

"At the cultural treasures of mankind", the Freedom Charter continues, "shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands".

As far as the majority of South Africans are concerned, what they have access to, culturally, is mainly the decadent Dallas-type culture that extols values incompatible with the unifying, socially concerned and committed values of the Freedom Charter. Publishing and distribution is controlled by state and capital, to promote primarily racist values and/or profits. What is best in art, films and literature is, in consequence, scarcely available to most South Africans. In the cinemas in the townships and particularly on television, what is available is primarily low-grade car chases and glorifications of 'law and order' that contribute nothing to people's understanding of the world in which they live.

The Freedom Charter asserts that the "aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace".

The injunction to "love their people" is in line with the preamble declaring that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white..." this is a direct attack on racism. It reaffirms the principles of a non-racial social order, where mutual respect and love supplant racism, hatred and suspicion.

The call to honour "human brotherhood" is fundamentally humanistic, that is, people are to be taught to care about their fellow human beings, as opposed to the racist doctrine of apartheid and the selfish, individualistic, dog-eats-dog morality of capitalism.

Liberty would be honoured because once achieved it needs to be continually safeguarded. Just as liberty is necessary to free education, peace is a pre-condition for the enjoyment of any and every freedom. While apartheid exists, there cannot be peace. When peace is established, it has to be defended.

Such education "shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children". Economic factors can form no barrier. All people shall be able to attend.

Such education will be compulsory. This means that the state will be under an obligation to provide it. This is an obligation to end the cultural deprivation which has been the experience of all blacks, but especially Africans and workers. To provide skills and education to all is a condition necessary for the achievement of African and working-class leadership. Such education

would be compulsory in another sense. Parents would not be able to shield their children from the democratic unifying principles of the new educational system. The attendance of children at school would be compulsory.

Such education would be universal, that is, its benefits would be extended to urban and rural areas. Arbitrary rule such as the present age limit for Bantu education, would obviously be abolished.

It would be equal education. There would be no separate education, no private schools, no De Lange-type 'equality in own areas' reforms. It would be an education aimed at building a common national loyalty and culture.

"Higher education and technical training shall" under the Freedom Charter "be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit".

Instead of so much being spent on 'defence' (and here the demand for a democratic education links up with the struggle for peace, and the immediate demand to end conscription) and other repressive apparatuses, the new people's South Africa would be able to release funds to ensure that all have the opportunity to further their education to the highest level of competence.

The Freedom Charter is not only concerned with those who are already equipped to study. It also addresses the problem of widespread illiteracy. In some parts of South Africa, for example the Transkei, the rate of illiteracy has soared well above what it was in the last century. Illiteracy is an impediment to democracy and the participation of all our people in the control of

their own lives. It needs to be wiped out with an urgent, massive programme, as has been implemented in socialist states.

"Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens". This clause relates to their right's as salaried state employees and as citizens of a democratic state.

It will not be possible to arbitrarily reduce or subtract from teacher' salaries. Their participation in politics, far from being penalised, would be regarded as a right and a duty.

This education section of the Freedom Charter concludes by saying that the "colour bar in cultural life, in sport, and in educations shall be abolished".

With regard to sport, the South Africa of the Freedom Charter would try to create healthy people, especially youths, with a broad interest in life. At present blacks have very limited opportunities to participate in sport. Playing fields are non-existent or in poor condition. Sporting equipment is beyond the means of most blacks and most black schools.

The abolition of the colour bar would, taken together with the Charter's broader egalitarian goals, ensure that sport would become a mass activity where all would be able to participate and maintain their health and enrich their recreational periods.

None of the principles or demands contained in these clauses need be supplanted by the Education Charter. Nevertheless, if the Education Charter campaign is conducted on similar lines to the Congress of the People campaign, if activists try to make it a national campaign, reaching and listening patiently to people in both urban and rural areas, it will be possible to supplement these clauses with more recent demands. In that way, by creating the Education Charter, our understanding of the Freedom Charter will be enriched.

APPENDIX D

"PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER"

SAIRR TOPICAL BRIEFING

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

REG. NO. 05/100068/08

PD 3/86
3/3/1986

At the end of last year several hundred people from various parts of South Africa attended a conference at the University of the Witwatersrand on the crisis in black schooling. Convened by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, the conference, which took place on 28th and 29th December, adopted a number of wide-ranging resolutions. Among them was a resolution setting the end of March 1986 as a deadline for the meeting of certain demands.

The problems in the black education system are of national concern, with the result that the South African Institute of Race Relations believes that its members and other interested parties would wish to be aware of the full text of the resolutions. Their publication in this Topical Briefing, with the permission of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, does not imply that the Institute necessarily endorses them.

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RESOLUTIONS

1. ON BANTUSTAN EDUCATION

This conference notes:

1) the imminent forced incorporation into the Kwandebele bantustan of thousands of South Africans in the Moutse district against their will;

2) the fact that Moutse teachers are being forced to sign contracts with the KwaNdebele education authorities upon pain of dismissal or transfer from their schools;

Therefore:

1) condemns this forced incorporation and the victimisation of teachers in Moutse who oppose it;

2) resolves to struggle against bantustan education departments and to support teachers in their struggles against these agents of apartheid.

2. ON STATUTORY SCHOOL COMMITTEES

This conference notes:

that statutory parents' committees at schools are the agents of the State and carry out the work of the oppressive, apartheid education system throughout South Africa;

Therefore resolves that:

1) parents should not be members of statutory parents' committees at schools;

2) progressive parent-teacher-student structures be formed at all schools so that:

   a) parents, teachers, and students can come to understand each other's demands and problems;

   b) interaction can take place between different schools to develop the education struggle to higher levels.

2. ON THE ROLE OF TEACHERS

This conference resolves that:

1) teachers should work actively with students towards the formation of democratically elected SRCs;

2) teachers should work closely with students and parents in dealing with the current education crisis;

3) teachers should become involved in community struggles and help set up PTAs in all schools;

4) education programmes for teachers which bring out the history of progressive teacher's struggles, the role of teachers in the community, and the role of teachers should be conducted;

5) teachers should work to unify all teachers in a single, progressive teacher's body;

6) meetings of teachers should be called in all areas to give student and parent organisations an opportunity to address them on the education crisis.

4. ON THE DETENTION OF OUR PEOPLE

We call for the immediate and unconditional release of all students, parents, and teachers detained in their struggle for people's education in our land.

5. ON SCHOOL FEES

This conference notes:

1) that there is increasing retrenchment of workers, who are in turn the parents of our students;

2) that the oppressed people of our land bear the brunt of all economic crisis;

3) that national resources should be geared towards the education of our people instead of towards the SADF occupying our townships;

Therefore resolved that:

parents should refuse to pay school fees in 1986.

6. ON TEXTBOOKS

This conference demands:

the provision of free text books and other educational materials for our students in all schools.

7. ON STUDENTS ORGANISATION

This conference notes:

1) that the banning of COSAS is an attack by the State on student organisation, unity, and mobilization;

2) that the struggle for a unitary, nonracial, democratic education is an integral part of the struggle for a unitary, nonracial, and democratic society, free of oppression and exploitation;

Therefore resolves:

1) to intensify the campaign to unban COSAS;

2) to implement democratically elected SRCs in all schools and tertiary institutions;

3) to forge close links between students, workers, and community organisations and to co-ordinate action in these different areas;

4) to strive to establish regional and national co-ordination in the student struggle;

5) to strive in co-ordinated campaigns to publicise the legitimate, democratic demands of students;

6) to endeavour to take the struggle for a nonracial, democratic South Africa into every school and hence into every home;

7) to seek consciously to break down artificially created racial barriers;

8) to encourage the different student organisations to unite in action.

8. ON THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL PARENTS' CRISIS COMMITTEE

This conference notes:

1) the good work done by the SPCC and in particular the calling of this consultative conference;

Therefore resolves that:

three (3) members of the SPCC together with one (1) regional representative from each of the following areas

a) Natal
b) OFS
c) western Cape
d) eastern Cape
e) northern Cape
f) Border region
G) Transvaal

constitute themselves into an ad hoc committee to form a national parents' crisis committee that will liase and work with local and regional organisations in the implementation of the decisions of this conference.

9. ON PEOPLE'S EDUCATION - 1

This conference notes that apartheid education

1) is totally unacceptable to the oppressed people;

2) divides people into classes and ethinic groups;

3) is essentially a means of control to produce subservient, docile people;

4) indoctrinates and domesticates;

5) is intended to entrench apartheid and capitalism;

Therefore, we resolve to actively strive for people's education as the new form of education for all sections of our people, declaring that people's education is education that:

1) enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a nonracial, democratic system;

2) eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism, and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis;

3) eliminates illiteracy, ignorance, and exploitation of any person by another;

4) equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a nonracial democratic South Africa;

5) allows students, parents, teachers, and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to enhance the struggle for people's power and to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms;

6) enables workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace.

10. ON PEOPLE'S EDUCATION -2

This conference notes that the implementation of programmes to promote people's education is an urgent matter.

Believing that:

1) all student-teacher-parent and community based organisations must work vigorously and energetically to promote people's education;

2) all programmes must enhance the organisation of all sections of our people, wherever they may be;

3) the programmes must promote the correct values of democracy, nonracialism, collective work, and active participation;

Hereby resolves:

1) that the recommendations of the commission on people's education be referred to the incoming committee for use as a guideline for the formulation of programmes to promote people's education at all levels;

2) that all local, regional, and national structures mobilised the necessary human and material resources in the first instance from within communities and regions and then from other sources.

11. ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN 1986

This national consultative conference, convened by the SPCC at the University of the Witwatersrand on 29 December 1985, having considered in detail the question of whether students of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa should return to school and if so, under what conditions.

1) commends the students and their organisations for the principled and courageous manner in which they have conducted the struggle against racist, inferior, and ethnic education;

2) salutes the heroic sacrifices made by our students throughout the country;

3) acknowledges that the boycott campaign has resulted in fundamental political, organisational, and educational gains in spite of the many problems experienced by the students, and that it has also helped to raise the level of consciousness and

organisation of other sectors of the oppressed and exploited people;

Therefore resolves:

1) to call on all students to return to school on 28 January 1986 (throughout the country);

2) that unless the following demands are met before the end of March 1986, another conference shall be convened to consider what action to take:

a) the erection of school buildings where such buildings have been partly or completely damaged;

b) the postponement of all examinations until March 1986;

c) the release of all students and teachers in detention;

d) the reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred, or suspended teachers;

e) the withdrawal of the SADF and SAP from our townships and soldiers from our schools;

f) the unbanning of COSAS;

g) the recognition of democratically elected SRCs;

h) the lifting of the state of emergency in all parts of the country;

3) to call all relevant student, teacher, and parent organisations to continue the struggle for

   a) the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in all schools;

   b) controls to prevent the sexual harassment of female students;

   c) the abolition of all forms of racist education;

   d) the implementation of people's education in our schools;

4) to recommend to all democratic organisations to exhort students to return to school on the above conditions.

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